SI-YU-KU

Buddhist Records

Of

THE WESTERN WORLD

BY

SAMUEL BEAL

SI-YU-KI.

BUDDHIST RECORDS

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THE WESTERN WORLD

TRANSLATED FROM THE CHINESE

OF HIUEN TSIANG (A.D. 629).

BY

SAMUEL BEAL,

B.A. (TRIN. COL. CAMB.), R.N. (RETIRED CHAPLAIN AND N.I.), PROFESSOR OF CHINESE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON; RECTOR OF WARK, NORTHUMBERLAND, ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
(Bound in One)

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
Delhi :: Varanasi :: Patna

Indological Publishers & Booksellers
Head Office : 41-U.A., Bungalow Road, Delhi-110 007
Branches : 1. Chowk, Varanasi-1 (U.P.)
2. Ashok Rajpath, Patna-4 (BIHAR)

First Printed : *London*, 1884
Reprint : *Delhi*, 1981

Price : Rs. 100

Printed in India
By Shantilal Jain, at Shri Jainendra Press,
A-45, Phase I, Industrial Area, Naraina. New Delhi-110 028
Published by Narendra Prakash Jain, for Motilal Banarsidass,
Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110 007.

These Volumes

ARE DEDICATED

(BY GRACIOUS PERMISSION)

TO

H.R.H. ALBERT EDWARD

PRINCE OF WALES.

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Part II

INTRODUCTION.

THE progress which has been made in our knowledge of Northern Buddhism during the last few years is due very considerably to the discovery of the Buddhist literature of China. This literature (now well known to us through the catalogues already published) [1] contains, amongst other valuable works, the records of the travels of various Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India during the early centuries of our era. These records embody the testimony of independent eye-witnesses as to the facts related in them, and having been faithfully preserved and allotted a place in the collection of the sacred books of the country, their evidence is entirely trustworthy.

It would be impossible to mention *seriatim* the various points of interest in these works, as they refer to the geography, history, manners, and religion of the people of India. The reader who looks into the pages that follow will find ample material for study on all these questions. But there is one particular that gives a more than usual interest to the records under notice, and that is the evident sincerity and enthusiasm of the travellers themselves. Never did more devoted pilgrims leave their native country to encounter the perils of travel in foreign and distant lands; never did disciples more ardently desire to gaze on the sacred vestiges of their religion; never did men endure greater sufferings by desert, mountain,

[1] *Catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, by Samuel Beal; *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, by Bunyiu Nanjio.

and sea than these simple-minded earnest Buddhist priests. And that such courage, religious devotion, and power of endurance should be exhibited by men so sluggish, as we think, in their very nature as the Chinese, this is very surprising, and may perhaps arouse some consideration.

Buddhist books began to be imported into China during the closing period of the first century of our era. From these books the Chinese learned the history of the founder of the new religion, and became familiar with the names of the sacred spots he had consecrated by his presence. As time went on, and strangers from India and the neighbourhood still flocked into the Eastern Empire, some of the new converts (whose names have been lost) were urged by curiosity or a sincere desire to gaze on the mementoes of the religion they had learned to adopt, to risk the perils of travel and visit the western region. We are told by I-tsing (one of the writers of these Buddhist records), who lived about 670 A.D., that 500 years before his time twenty men, or about that number, had found their way through the province of Sz'chuen to the Mahâbôdhi tree in India, and for them and their fellow-countrymen a Mahârâja called Śrîgupta built a temple. The establishment was called the "Tchina Temple." In I-tsing's days it was in ruins. In the year 290 A.D. we find another Chinese pilgrim called Chu Si-hing visiting Khotan; another called Fa-ling shortly afterwards proceeded to North India, and we can hardly doubt that others unknown to fame followed their example. At any rate, the recent accidental discovery of several stone tablets with Chinese inscriptions at Buddha Gayâ,[2] on two of which we find the names of the pilgrims Chi-I and Ho-yun, the former in company "with some other priests," shows plainly that the sacred spots were visited from time to time by priests from China, whose names indeed are unknown to us from any other source, but who were

[2] See *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xiii. pp. 552-572.

impelled to leave their home by the same spirit of religious devotion and enthusiasm which actuated those with whom we are better acquainted.

The first Chinese traveller whose name and writings have come down to us is the Śâkyaputra Fa-hian. He is the author of the records which follow in the pages of the present Introduction. His work, the *Fo-kuŏ-ki*, was first known in Europe through a translation[3] made by M. Abel Rémusat. But Klaproth claimed the discovery of the book itself from the year 1816,[4] and it was he who shaped the rough draft of Rémusat's translation from chap. xxi. of the work in question to the end. Of this translation nothing need be said in this place; it has been dealt with elsewhere. It will be enough, therefore, to give some few particulars respecting the life and travels of the pilgrim, and for the rest to refer the reader to the translation which follows.

SHIH FA-HIAN.

A.D. 400.

In agreement with early custom, the Chinese mendicant priests who adopted the Buddhist faith changed their names at the time of their leaving their homes (ordination), and assumed the title of Śâkyaputras, sons or mendicants of Śâkya. So we find amongst the inscriptions at Mathurâ[5] the title Śâkya Bhikshunyaka or Śâkya Bhîkshor added to the religious names of the different benefactors there mentioned. The pilgrim Fa-hian, therefore, whose original name was Kung, when he assumed the religious title by which he is known to us, took also the appellation of Shih or the Śâkyaputra, the disciple or son of Śâkya. He was a native of Wu-Yang, of the district of Ping-Yang, in the province of Shan-si. He left his home and became a Śrâmaṇêra at three years of age. His

[3] *Foĕ kouĕ ki*, Paris, 1836.

[4] Julien's Preface to the *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. ix. n. 2.

[5] *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. iii pp. 37, 48; also Professor Dowson, *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. v. pp. 182 ff.

early history is recorded in the work called *Ko-săng-chuen*, written during the time of the Liang dynasty, belonging to the Suh family (502–507 A.D.) But so far as we are now concerned, we need only mention that he was moved by a desire to obtain books not known in China, and with that aim set out in company with other priests (some of whom are named in the records) from Chang'an, A.D. 399, and after an absence of fourteen years returned to Nankin, where, in connection with Buddhabhadra (an Indian Śramaṇa, descended from the family of the founder of the Buddhist religion), he translated various works and composed the history of his travels. He died at the age of eighty-six.

Fa-hian's point of departure was the city of Chang'an in Shen-si; from this place he advanced across the Lung district (or mountains) to the fortified town of Chang-yeh in Kan-suh; here he met with some other priests, and with them proceeded to Tun-hwang, a town situated to the south of the Bulunghir river, lat. 39° 30′ N., long. 95° E. Thence with four companions he pushed forward, under the guidance, as it seems, of an official, across the desert of Lop to Shen-shen, the probable site of which is marked in the map accompanying the account of Prejevalsky's journey through the same district; according to this map, it is situated in lat. 38° N., and long. 87° E. It corresponds with the Cherchen of Marco Polo. Fa-hian tells us that Buddhism prevailed in this country, and that there were about 4000 priests. The country itself was rugged and barren. So Marco Polo says, "The whole of this province is sandy, but there are numerous towns and villages."[6] The Venetian traveller makes the distance from the town of Lop five days' journey. Probably Fa-hian did not visit the town of Cherchen, but after a month in the kingdom turned to the north-west, apparently following the course of the Tarim, and after fifteen days arrived in the kingdom of Wu-i or Wu-ki. This kingdom seems

[6] *Marco Polo*, cap. xxxviii.

to correspond to Karshar or Karasharh, near the Lake Tenghiz or Bagarash, and is the same as the 'O-ki-ni of Hiuen Tsiang.[7] Prejevalsky took three days in travelling from Kara-moto to Korla, a distance of about 42 miles,[8] so that the fifteen days of Fa-hian might well represent in point of time the distance from Lake Lob to Karasharh. Our pilgrims would here strike on the outward route of Hiuen Tsiang. It was at this spot they fell in with their companions Pao-yun and the rest, whom they had left at Tun-hwang. These had probably travelled to Karasharh by the northern route, as it is called, through Kamil or Kamul to Pidshan and Turfan; for we read that whilst Fa-hian remained at Karasharh, under the protection of an important official, some of the others went back to Kao-chang (Turfan), showing that they had come that way.

From Karasharh Fa-hian and the others, favoured by the liberality of Kung sün (who was in some way connected with the Prince of Ts'in), proceeded south-west to Khotan. The route they took is not well ascertained; but probably they followed the course of the Tarim and of the Khotan rivers. There were no dwellings or people on the road, and the difficulties of the journey and of crossing the rivers "exceeded power of comparison." After a month and five days they reached Khotan. This country has been identified with Li-yul of the Tibetan writers.[9] There is some reason for connecting this "land of Li" with the Lichchhavis of Vaiśâlî. It is said by Csoma Korösi "that the Tibetan writers derive their first king (about 250 B.C.) from the Litsabyis or Lichavyis."[10] The chief prince or ruler of the Lichchhavis was called the "great lion" or "the noble lion."[11] This is probably the explanation of Maha-lí, used by Spence Hardy as "the name of the king of the Lichawis."[12] Khotan would thus be the land of the

[7] Vol. i. p. 17.

[8] Prejevalsky's *Kulja*, p. 50.

[9] Rockhill.

[10] *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 236, n.

[11] *Sac. Bks. of the East*, vol. xix. p. 258.

[12] *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 282.

lion-people (*Siṁhas*). Whether this be so or not, the polished condition of the people and their religious zeal indicate close connection with India, more probably with Baktria. The name of the great temple, a mile or two to the west of the city, called the Nava-saṅghârâma, or royal "new temple," is the same as that on the south-west of Balkh, described by Hiuen Tsiang;[13] and the introduction of Vaiśravaṇa as the protector of this convent, and his connection with Khotan, the kings of that country being descended from him,[14] indicate a relationship, if not of race, at least of intercourse between the two kingdoms.

After witnessing the car procession of Khotan, Fa-hian and some others (for the pilgrims had now separated for a time), advanced for twenty-five days towards the country of Tseu-ho, which, according to Klaproth, corresponds with the district of Yangi-hissar, from which there is a caravan route due south into the mountain region of the Tsung-ling. It was by this road they pursued their journey for four days to a station named Yu-hwui, or, as it may also be read, Yu-fai; here they kept their religious fast, after which, journeying for twenty-five days, they reached the country of Kie-sha. I cannot understand how either of the last-named places can be identified with Ladakh.[15] Yu-hwui is four days south of Tseu-ho;[16] and twenty-five days beyond this brings the pilgrims to the country of Kie-sha, in the centre of the Tsung-ling mountains.

Nor can we, on the other hand, identify this kingdom of Kie-sha (the symbols are entirely different from those used by Hiuen Tsiang, ii. p. 306, for Kashgâr) with that of the Kossaioi of Ptolemy, the Khaśas of Manu, and the Khaśâkas of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*.[17] These appear to have been related to the Cushites of Holy Scripture.

[13] Vol. i. p. 44.

[14] *Inf.*, vol. ii. p. 309.

[15] See Laidlay's note, *Fa-hian*, p. 26, n. 6, and Wood's *Oxus* (Yule's introduction), p. xl. n. 2.

[16] So we read in Fa-hian's text.

[17] See Eitel, *Handbook*, s.v. *Khacha*; Laidlay's *Fa-hian*, p. 31.

Advancing for a month across the Tsung-ling range towards India, the pilgrims reached the little country of To-li, that is, the valley of Dârail in the Dard country. This valley is on the right or western bank of the Indus, long. 73° 44′ E., and is watered by a river Daril.[18] Still advancing south-west for fifteen days, they strike the Indus (or probably the Swât river), crossing which, they enter on the kingdom of Udyâna, where they found Buddhism in a flourishing condition. Concerning this country and its traditions, we have ample records in Hiuen Tsiang, Book iii. (p. 119). Here then we may leave Fa-hian; his farther travels may be followed by the details given in his own writings, and to these we refer the reader.

SUNG YUN.

A.D. 518.

This pilgrim was a native of Tun-hwang, in what is sometimes called Little Tibet, lat. 39° 30′ N., long. 95° E. He seems to have lived in a suburb of the city of Lo-yang (Honan-fu) called Wan-I. He was sent, A.D. 518, by the Empress of the Northern Wei dynasty, in company with Hwui Săng, a Bhikshu of the Shung-li temple of Lo-yang, to the western countries to seek for books. They brought back altogether one hundred and seventy volumes or sets of the Great Development series. They seem to have taken the southern route from Tun-hwang to Khotan, and thence by the same route as Fa-hian and his companion across the Tsung-ling mountains. The Ye-tha (Ephthalites) were now in possession of the old country of the Yue-chi, and had recently conquered Gandhâra. They are described as having no walled towns, but keeping order by means of a standing army that moved here and there. They used felt (leather) garments, had no written character, nor any knowledge

[18] Vide infra, p. 134, n. 37.

of the heavenly bodies. On all hands it is plain the Ye-tha were a rude horde of Turks who had followed in the steps of the Hiung-nu; they were, in fact, the Ephthalites or Huns of the Byzantine writers. "In the early part of the sixth century their power extended over Western India, and Cosmas tells us of their king Gollas who domineered there with a thousand elephants and a vast force of horsemen."[19] Sung-yun also names the power of the king whom the Ye-tha had set up over Gandhâra. He was of the Lae-lih dynasty, or a man of Lae-lih, which may perhaps be restored to Lâra. According to Hiuen Tsiang,[20] the northern Lâra people belonged to Valabhî, and the southern Lâras to Mâlava. It was one of these Lâra princes the Ye-tha had set over the kingdom of Gandhâra. It may have been with the Gollas of Cosmas that the Chinese pilgrims had their interview. At any rate, he was lording it over the people with seven hundred war-elephants, and was evidently a fierce and oppressive potentate.

The Ye-tha, according to Sung-yun, had conquered or received tribute from more than forty countries in all, from Tieh-lo in the south to Lae-lih in the north, eastward to Khotan, westward to Persia. The symbols Tieh-lo probably represent Tîrabhukti, the present Tirhut, the old land of the Vṛijis. The Vṛijjis themselves were in all probability Skythian invaders, whose power had reached so far as the borders of the Ganges at Patna, but had there been checked by Ajâtaśatru. They had afterwards been driven north-east to the mountains bordering on Nêpâl.[21] The Ye-tha also extended their power so far as this, and northward to Lae-lih, *i.e.*, Mâlava. As these conquests had been achieved two generations before Sung-yun's time, we may place this invasion of India therefore about A.D. 460.

The notices of the country of Udyâna by Sung-yun

[19] Yule, Wood's *Oxus*, xxvii. [20] Vol. ii. pp. 260, 266, notes 56, 71.
[21] V. de St. Martin, *Mémoire*, p. 368.

vie with those found in Hiuen Tsiang for abundance of detail and legendary interest. It is singular that the supposed scene of the history of Vessantara, "the giving king" of Hiuen Tsiang and the Pi-lo of Sung-yun, should be placed in this remote district. The *Vessantara Jâtaka* (so called) was well known in Ceylon in Fa-hian's time;[22] it forms part of the sculptured scenes at Amarâvatî and Sânchi; it is still one of the most popular stories amongst the Mongols. How does the site of the history come to be placed in Udyâna? There are some obscure notices connected with the succession of the Maurya or Môriya sovereigns from the Śâkya youths who fled to this district of Udyâna which may throw a little light on this subject. The Buddhists affirm that Aśôka belonged to the same family as Buddha, because he was descended from Chandragupta, who was the child of the queen of one of the sovereigns of Môriyanagara. This Môriyanagara was the city founded by the Śâkya youths who fled from Kapilavastu; so that whatever old legends were connected with the Śâkya family were probably referred to Udyâna by the direct or indirect influence of Aśôka, or by his popularity as a Buddhist sovereign. But, in any case, the history of Udyâna is mixed up with that of the Śâkya family, and Buddha himself is made to acknowledge Uttarasêna as one of his own kinsmen.[23] We may suppose then that these tales did actually take their rise from some local or family association connected with Udyâna, and found their way thence into the legends of other countries. Hence while we have in the Southern account mention made of the elephant that could bring rain from heaven, which was the cause of Vessantara's banishment, in the Northern accounts this is, apparently, identified with the peacock (*mayûra*) that brought water from the rock.[24] But the subject need not be pursued farther in this place; it is sufficient to note the fact that

[22] *Fa-hian*, cap. 38.

[23] *Inf.*, vol. i. pp. 131 f.

[24] *Inf.*, vol. i. p. 126.

many of the stories found in the Northern legends are somehow or other localised in this pleasant district of Udyâna. Sung-yun, after reaching so far as Peshâwar and Nagarahâra, returned to China in the year A.D. 521.

Hiuen Tsiang.

A.D. 629.

This illustrious pilgrim was born in the year 603 A.D., at Ch'in Liu, in the province of Ho-nan, close to the provincial city. He was the youngest of four brothers. At an early age he was taken by his second brother, Chang-tsi, to the eastern capital, Lo-yang. His brother was a monk belonging to the Tsing-tu temple, and in this community Hiuen Tsiang was ordained at the age of thirteen years.[25] On account of the troubles which occurred at the end of the dynasty of Sui, the pilgrim in company with his brother sought refuge in the city of Shing-tu, the capital of the province of Sz'chuen, and here at the age of twenty he was fully ordained as a Bhikshu or priest. After some time he began to travel through the provinces in search of the best instructor he could get, and so came at length to Chang'an. It was here, stirred up by the recollection of Fa-hian and Chi-yen, that he resolved to go to the western regions to question the sages on points that troubled his mind. He was now twenty-six years of age. He accordingly set out from Chang'an in company with a priest of Tsing-chau of Kan-suh, and having reached that city, rested there. Thence he proceeded to Lan-chau, the provincial city of Kan-suh. He then advanced with a magistrate's escort to Liang-chau, a prefecture of Kan-suh, beyond the river. This city was the entrepôt for merchants from Tibet and the countries east of the Tsung-ling mountains; and to these Hiuen Tsiang explained the sacred books and revealed his purpose of going to the kingdom of the Brâhmaṇs to seek for the law. By them

[25] That is, became a novice or Srâmaṇêra.

he was amply provided with means for his expedition, and, notwithstanding the expostulation of the governor of the city, by the connivance of two priests he was able to proceed westward as far as Kwa-chau, a town about ten miles to the south of the Hu-lu river, which seems to be the same as the Bulunghir.

From this spot, going north in company with a young man who had offered to act as his guide, he crossed the river by night, and after escaping the treachery of his guide, came alone to the first watch-tower. Five of these towers, at intervals of 100 li, stretched towards the country of I-gu (Kamul). We need not recount the way in which the pilgrim prevailed on the keepers of the first and fourth tower to let him proceed; nor is it necessary to recount the fervent prayers to Kwan-yin and his incessant invocation of the name of this divinity. Suffice it to say, he at last reached the confines of I-gu, and there halted. From this place he was summoned by the prince of Kao-chang (Turfan), who, after vainly attempting to keep him in his territory, remitted him to 'O-ki-ni, that is, Kara-sharh, from which he advanced to Kuché. Here the narrative in the pages following carries us on through the territory of Kuché to Bâlukâ, or Bai, in the Aksu district, from whence the pilgrim proceeds in a northerly direction across the Icy Mountains (Muzart) into the well-watered plains bordering on the Tsing Lake (Issyk-kul); he then proceeded along the fertile valley of the Su-yeh river (the Chu or Chui) to the town of Taras, and thence to Nujkend and Tâshkand.

It is not necessary to follow the pilgrim's route farther than this, as the particulars given in the translation following, and the notes thereto, will sufficiently set forth the line of his advance.

Hiuen Tsiang returned from his Indian travels across the Pâmîr and through Kashgâr and the Khotan districts. He had been away from China since A.D. 629; he returned A.D. 645. He brought back with him—

1. Five hundred grains of relics belonging to the body (flesh) of Tathâgata.

2. A golden statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.

3. A statue of Buddha carved out of sandal-wood on a transparent pedestal. This figure is a copy of the statue which Udâyana, king of Kauśâmbî, had made.

4. A similar statue of sandal-wood, copy of the figure made after Buddha descended from the Trayastriṁsas heaven.

5. A silver statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.

6. A golden statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.

7. A sandal-wood figure of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.

8. One hundred and twenty-four works (*sûtras*) of the Great Vehicle.

9. Other works, amounting in the whole to 520 fasciculi, carried by twenty-two horses.

There are many interesting particulars given in the "Life of Hiuen Tsiang" by Hwui-lih, which need not be named here, respecting the work of translation and the pilgrim's death at the age of sixty-five. They will be fully set forth in the translation of that memoir, which it is hoped will follow the present volumes.

We will simply add, that of all the books translated by Hiuen Tsiang, there are still seventy-five included in the collection of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. The titles of these books may be seen in the catalogue prepared by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, coll. 435, 436.

Buddhist Literature in China.

Although it was known that there were copies of translations of the Buddhist *Tripiṭaka* in the great monasteries in China, no complete set of these books had been brought to England until the Japanese Government furnished us with the copy now in the India Office Library in the year

1875. Respecting these books I will extract one passage from the report which was drawn up by direction of the Secretary of State for India:—

"The value of the records of the 'Chinese pilgrims' who visited India in the early centuries of our era, and the account of whose travels is contained in this collection, is too well understood to need any remark. I regret that none of the books referred to by M. Stas. Julien, in his introduction to the '*Vie de Hiouen Thsang*,' and which he thought might be found in Japan, are contained in this collection; but there is still some hope that they may be found in a separate form in some of the remote monasteries of that country, or more probably in China itself."[26]

To that opinion I still adhere. I think that if searching inquiry were made at Honan-fu and its neighbourhood, we might learn something of books supposed to be lost. And my opinion is grounded on this circumstance, that efforts which have been made to get copies (in the ordinary way) of books found in the collection of the Tripiṭaka have failed, and reports furnished that such works are lost. M. Stas. Julien himself tells us that Dr. Morrison, senior, reported that the *Si-yu-ki* (the work here translated) could not be procured in China. And such is the listlessness of the Chinese literati about Buddhist books, and such the seclusion and isolation of many of the Buddhist establishments in China, that I believe books may still exist, or even original manuscripts, of which we know nothing at present. It would be strange if such were not the case, considering what has taken place in respect of fresh discoveries of fragments or entire copies of MSS. of our own sacred scriptures in remote monasteries of Christendom.

In conclusion, I desire to express the debt I owe, in the execution of this and other works, to the learning and

[26] Beal's Catalogue, p. 1.

intimate knowledge of the Chinese language possessed by M. Stas. Julien.

I should not have attempted to follow in his steps had his own translation of the *Si-yu-ki* been still procurable. But as it had long been out of print, and the demand for the book continued to be urgent, I have attempted to furnish an independent translation in English of the Chinese pilgrim's travels.

I am very largely indebted to James Burgess, LL.D., for assistance in carrying these volumes through the press. His close acquaintance with Buddhist archæology and literature will give value to many of the notes which appear on the pages following, and his kind supervision of the text and preparation of the index attached to it demand my thanks and sincere acknowledgments.

I am also under great obligations to Colonel Yule, C.B., and to Dr. R. Rost, for their ever-ready help and advice, especially during my visits to the Library of the India Office.

I have not overlooked the remarks of various writers who have honoured me by noticing my little book (*Buddhist Pilgrims*), published in 1869. I venture, however, to hope that I have by this time established my claim to be regarded as an independent worker in this field of literature. I have not therefore quoted instances of agreement or disagreement with the writers referred to; in fact, I have purposely avoided doing so, as my object is not to write a chapter of grammar, but to contribute towards the history of a religion; but I have suffered no prejudice to interfere with the honesty of my work.

I shall now proceed to the translation of the travels of Fa-hian and Sung-yun, referring the student to the original edition of my *Buddhist Pilgrims* for many notes and explanations of the text, which want of space forbids me to reproduce in these volumes.

THE TRAVELS OF FA-HIAN.

BUDDHIST-COUNTRY-RECORDS.

By Fa-hian, the S'âkya of the Sung (Dynasty).

[DATE, 400 A.D.]

I. FA-HIAN, when formerly residing at Ch'ang-an,[1] regretted the imperfect condition of the *Vinaya piṭaka.* Whereupon, afterwards, in the second year of Hung-shi, the cyclic year being *Chi-hai*,[2] he agreed with Hwui-king, Tao-ching, Hwui-ying, Hwui-wu, and others, to go to India for the purpose of seeking the rules and regulations (*of the Vinaya*).

Starting on their way from Ch'ang-an, they crossed the Lung (*district*) and reached the country of K'ien-kwei;[3] here they rested during the rains. The season of the rains being over, going forward, they came to the country of Niu-t'an;[4] crossing the Yang-lu hills, they reached Chang-yeh,[5] a military station. Chang-yeh at this time was much disturbed, and the roadways were not open. The king[6] of Chang-yeh being anxious, kept them there, himself entertaining them. Thus they met Chi-yen, Hwui-kin, Sang-shau, Pao-yun, Sang-king, and others; pleased that they were like-minded, they kept the rainy

[1] The former capital of the province of Shenrsi, now called Si-gan-fu.

[2] There is an error here of one year. It should be the cyclical characters *Kang tsze*, *i.e.*, A.D. 400–401 (*Ch. Ed.*)

[3] This is the name of the prince who ruled the country. The capital town is, according to Klaproth, to the north-east of Kin, a *hian* town close to Lan-chau.

[4] This is also the name of a prince, and not of a country. He ruled over a district called Ho-si, "the country to the west of the (Yellow) River" (Tangut).

[5] Chang Yeh is still marked on the Chinese maps just within the north-west extremity of the Great Wall.

[6] Called Tün-nieh, who died A.D 401 (*Ch. Ed.*)

season together. The rainy season being over, they again pressed on to reach Tun-hwang.[7] The fortifications here are perhaps 80 li in extent from east to west, and 40 li from north to south. They all stopped here a month and some days, when Fa-hian and others, five men in all, set out first, in the train of an official, and so again parted with Pao-yun and the rest. The prefect of Tun-hwang, called Li-ho, provided them with means to cross the desert (*sand-river*).[8] In this desert are many evil demons and hot winds; when encountered, then all die without exception. There are no flying birds above, no roaming beasts below, but everywhere gazing as far as the eye can reach in search of the onward route, it would be impossible to know the way but for dead men's decaying bones, which show the direction.

Going on for seventeen days about 1500 li, they reached the country of Shen-shen.[9]

II. This land is rugged and barren. The clothing of the common people is coarse, and like that of the Chinese people; only they differ in respect to the serge and felt. The king of this country honours the law (of Buddha). There are some 4000 priests, all of the Little Vehicle belief (*learning*). The laity and the Śramaṇas of this country wholly practise the religion of India, only some are refined and some coarse (in their observances). From this proceeding westward, the countries passed through are all alike in this respect, only the people differ in their language (*Hu words*). The professed disciples of Buddha, however, all use Indian books and the Indian language. Remaining here a month or more, again they went north-west for fifteen days and reached the country of Wu-i (Wu-ki?).[10] The priests of Wu-i also are about 4000 men;

[7] A frontier town of considerable military importance, 39° 30′ N. lat., 95° E. long. (Prejevalsky's Map). This town was wrested from Tün-nieh in the third month of this year by Li Ho, or more properly Li Ko, who ruled as the "illustrious warrior king of the Liang dynasty" (*Ch. Ed.*)

[8] The desert of Lop (Marco Polo).

[9] The kingdom of Shen-shen or Leu-lan (conf. Richtofen in Prejevalsky's *Kulja*, p. 144, and *passim*).

[10] The pilgrims probably followed

all (*belong to*) the Little Vehicle (*school of*) learning; their religious rules are very precise (*arranged methodically*). When Sramaṇas of the Ts'in land arrive here, they are unprepared for the rules of the priests. Fa-hian obtaining the protection of Kung-sün, an official (*hing t'ang*) of the Fu (*family*), remained here two months and some days. Then he returned to Pao-yun and the others.[11] In the end, because of the want of courtesy and propriety on the part of the Wu-i people, and because their treatment of their guests was very cool, Chi-yen, Hwui-kin, and Hwui-wu forthwith went back towards Kao-chang, in order to procure necessaries for the journey. Fa-hian and the others, grateful for the presents they received of Fu Kung-sün, forthwith journeyed to the south-west. On the road there were no dwellings or people. The sufferings of their journey on account of the difficulties of the road and the rivers (*water*) exceed human power of comparison. They were on the road a month and five days, and then managed to reach Khotan.[12]

III. This country is prosperous and rich (*happy*); the people are very wealthy, and all without exception honour the law (*of Buddha*). They use religious music for mutual entertainment. The body of priests number even several myriads, principally belonging to the Great Vehicle. They all have food provided for them (*church-food, commons*); the people live here and there. Before their house doors they raise little towers, the least about twenty feet high. There are priests' houses for the entertainment of foreign priests and for providing them with what they need. The ruler of the country lodged Fa-hian and the rest in a *saṅghârâma*. The name of the *saṅghârâma* was

the course of the river Tarim. (For Wu-ki see *infra*, p. 17, n. 52.)

[11] It would appear from this that Fa-hian had reached Wu-i by the route of Lake Lop and the river Tarim; the others had gone from Tun-hwang by another route.

[12] Called in Tibetan works Li-yul, or the land of Li. It is possible that the word Li (which means *bell-metal* in Tibetan) may be connected with *li* in *Lichchhavis*. (Compare Spence Hardy, *M. B.*, p. 282, and *ante*, p. v.)

Gomati. This is a temple of the Great Vehicle with three thousand priests, who assemble to eat at the sound of the *ghaṇṭâ*. On entering the dining-hall, their carriage is grave and demure, and they take their seats in regular order. All of them keep silence; there is no noise with their eating-bowls; when the attendants (*pure men*) give more food, they are not allowed to speak to one another, but only to make signs with the hand. Hwui-king, Tao-ching, Hwui-ta set out in advance towards the Kie-sha country, but Fa-hian and the rest, desiring to see the image-procession, remained three months and some days. In this country there are fourteen great *saṅghârâmas*, not counting the little ones. From the first day of the fourth month they sweep and water the thoroughfares within the city and decorate the streets. Above the city gate they stretch a great awning and use every kind of adornment. This is where the king and the queen and court ladies take their place. The Gômati priests, as they belong to the Great Vehicle, which is principally honoured by the king, first of all take their images in procession. About three or four li from the city they make a four-wheeled image-car about thirty feet high, in appearance like a moving palace, adorned with the seven precious substances. They fix upon it streamers of silk and canopy curtains. The figure is placed in the car[13] with two Bôdhisattvas as companions, whilst the Dêvas attend on them; all kinds of polished ornaments made of gold and silver hang suspended in the air. When the image is a hundred paces from the gate, the king takes off his royal cap, and changing his clothes for new ones, proceeds bare-footed, with flowers and incense in his hand, from the city, followed by his attendants. On meeting the image, he bows down his head and worships at its feet, scattering the flowers and burning the incense. On entering the city, the queen and court ladies from above the gate-tower

[13] For some curious details about the *Rath-yâtrâs*, or car-festivals, see Simpson, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., vol. xvi. pp. 13 ff.

scatter about all kinds of flowers and throw them down in wild profusion. So splendid are the arrangements for worship.

The cars are all different, and each *saṅghârâma* has a day for its image-procession. They begin on the first day of the fourth month and go on to the fourteenth day, when the processions end. The processions ended, the king and queen then return to the palace.

Seven or eight li to the west of the city there is a *saṅghârâma* called the Royal-new-temple. It was eighty years in finishing, and only after three kings (*reigns*) was it completed. It is perhaps twenty *chang* in height (290 *feet*). It is adorned with carving and inlaid work, and covered with gold and silver. Above the roof all kinds of jewels combine to perfect it. Behind the tower there is a hall of Buddha, magnificent and very beautiful. The beams, pillars, doors, and window-frames are all gold-plated. Moreover, there are priests' apartments, also very splendid, and elegantly adorned beyond power of description. The kings of the six countries east of the Ling give many of their most valuable precious jewels (*to this monastery*), being seldom used (for personal adornment), [*or*, they seldom give things of common use].

IV. After the image-procession of the fourth month, Sang-shau, one of the company, set out with a Tartar (Hu) pilgrim towards Ki-pin.[14] Fa-hian and the others pressed on towards the Tseu-ho country.[15] They were twenty-five days on the road, and then they arrived at this kingdom. The king of the country is earnest (in his piety). There are a thousand priests and more, principally belonging to the Great Vehicle. Having stopped here fifteen days, they then went south for four days[16] and entered the Tsung-ling mountains. Arriving at Yu-hwui, they kept their religious rest; the religious rest being over, they

[14] Kâbul.

[15] Probably the Yârkand district.

[16] They probably followed the Yârkand river.

journeyed on twenty-five days to the Kie-sha[17] country, where they rejoined Hwui-king and the rest.

V. The king of this country keeps the *Pan-che-yue-sse*. The *Pan-che-yue-sse* (*Pañchavarshá*, parishad) in Chinese words is "the great five-yearly assembly." At the time of the assembly he asks Śramaṇas from the four quarters, who come together like clouds. Being assembled, he decorates the priests' session place; he suspends silken flags and spreads out canopies; he makes gold and silver lotus flowers; he spreads silk behind the throne, and arranges the paraphernalia of the priests' seats. The king and the ministers offer their religious presents for one, two, or three months, generally during spring-time. The king-made assembly being over, he further exhorts his ministers to arrange their offerings; they then offer for one day, two days, three days, or five days. The offerings being finished, the king, taking from the chief officer of the embassy and from the great ministers of the country the horse he rides, with its saddle and bridle, mounts it, and then (taking) white taffeta, jewels of various kinds, and things required by the Śramaṇas, in union with his ministers he vows to give them all to the priests; having thus given them, they are redeemed at a price from the priests.

The country is hilly and cold; it produces no variety of grain; only wheat will ripen. After the priests have received their yearly dues the mornings become frosty; the king, therefore, every year induces the priests to make the wheat ripen, and after that to receive their yearly portion. There is a stone spitting-vessel in this country belonging to Buddha, of the same colour as his alms-dish. There is also a tooth of Buddha; the people of the country have built a *stûpa* on account of this tooth. There are a thousand priests and more, all belong-

17 For some remarks on this country see vol. ii. p. 298, n. 46. As stated on p. xiv., a people called Kossaioi are noticed by Ptolemy. But they seem to be Cushites. Concerning the Kossaioi or Kassai, as a very ancient people, see Mr. T. G. Pinches' remarks, *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xvi. p. 302.

ing to the Little Vehicle. From the mountains eastward the common people wear garments made of coarse stuff, as in the Ts'in country, but with respect to felt and serge they are different. The religious practices of the Śramaṇas are so various and have increased so, that they cannot be recorded. This country is in the middle of the Ts'ung-ling range; from the Ts'ung-ling onwards the plants, trees, and fruits are all different (*from those before met with*), except the bamboo, the *an-shih-lau* (pomegranate ?), and the sugar-cane.

VI. From this going onwards towards North India, after being a month on the road, we managed to cross Ts'ung-ling. In Ts'ung-ling there is snow both in winter and summer. Moreover there are poison-dragons, who when evil-purposed spit poison, winds, rain, snow, drifting sand, and gravel-stones; not one of ten thousand meeting these calamities, escapes. The people of that land are also called Snowy-mountain men (Tukhâras ?). Having crossed (Ts'ung)-ling, we arrive at North India. On entering the borders there is a little country called To-li,[18] where there is again a society of priests all belonging to the Little Vehicle. There was formerly an Arhat in this country who by magic power took up to the Tuśita heaven a skilful carver of wood to observe the length and breadth (*size*), the colour and look, of Maitrêya Bôdhisattva, that returning below he might carve wood and make his image (*that is*, carve a wooden image of him). First and last he made three ascents for observation, and at last finished the figure. Its length is 80 feet, and its upturned foot 8 feet; on fast-days it ever shines brightly. The kings of the countries round vie with each other in their religious offerings to it. Now, as of yore, it is in this country.[19]

VII. Keeping along (Ts'ung)-ling, they journeyed southwest for fifteen days. The road was difficult and broken,

[18] Called the valley of Ta-li-lo by Hiuen Tsiang, *infra*, p. 134, n. 37.

[19] For an account of this image see *infra*, p. 134.

with steep crags and precipices in the way. The mountain-side is simply a stone wall standing up 10,000 feet. Looking down, the sight is confused, and on going forward there is no sure foothold. Below is a river called Sin-t'u-ho. In old days men bored through the rocks to make a way, and spread out side-ladders, of which there are seven hundred (*steps?*) in all to pass. Having passed the ladders, we proceed by a hanging rope-bridge and cross the river. The two sides of the river are something less than 80 paces apart, as recorded by the *Kiu-yi*;[20] but neither Chang-kin nor Kan-ying of the Han arrived here. The body of priests asked Fa-hian whether it was known when the eastward passage of the religion of Buddha began. Hian replied, "When I asked the men of that land, they all said there was an old tradition that from the time of setting up the image of Maitrêya Bôdhisattva, and afterwards, there were Śramaṇas from India who dispatched the dharma-vinaya beyond this river." The setting up of the image took place rather more than three hundred years after the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha, in the time of Ping-wang of the Chau family.[21] According to this, we may say that the extension of the great doctrine began from this image. If, then, Maitrêya Mahâsattva be not the successor of Śâkya, who is there could cause the three gems to spread everywhere, and frontier men to understand the law? As we certainly know that the origin of the opening of the mysterious revolution is not man's work, so the dream of Ming Ti was from this also.

VIII. Crossing the river, we come to the country of Wu-chang.[22] The country of Wu-chang commences North India. The language of Mid-India is used by all. Mid-India is what they call the middle country. The dress of the people, their food and drink, are also the same as in the middle country. The religion of Buddha is very flourishing. The places where the priests stop and lodge

[20] A topographical description of the empire.
[21] 770 A.D.
[22] Udyâna.

they call *saṅghârâmas.* In all there are five hundred *saṅghârâmas;* they belong to the Little Vehicle without exception. If a strange Bhikshu arrives here, they give him full entertainment for three days; the three days being over, then they bid him seek for himself a place to rest permanently.

Tradition says: When Buddha came to North India, he then visited this country. Buddha left here as a bequest the impression of his foot. The footprint is sometimes long and sometimes short, according to the thoughtfulness of a man's heart: it is still so, even now. Moreover, the drying-robe-stone in connection with the place where he converted the wicked dragon still remains. The stone is a *chang* and four-tenths high, and more than two *chang* across. It is smooth on one side. Three of the pilgrims, Hwui-king, Tao-ching, and Hwui-ta, went on ahead towards Buddha's shadow and Nagarahâra. Fa-hian and the rest stopped in this country during the rains; when over, they went down south to the country of Su-ho-to.[23]

IX. In this country also the law of Buddha flourishes. This is the place where, in old days, Śakra, ruler of Dêvas, made apparitionally the hawk and dove, in order to try Bôdhisattva, who cut off his flesh to ransom the dove. Buddha, when he perfected wisdom, going about with his disciples, spoke thus: "This is the place where, in a former birth, I cut my flesh to ransom the dove." From this the people of the country getting to know the fact, built a *stûpa* on the spot, and adorned it with gold and silver.

X. From this, descending eastward, journeying for five days, we arrive at the country of Gandhâra (Kien-to-wei). This is the place which Dharmavarddhana, the son of Aśôka, governed. Buddha also in this country, when he was a Bôdhisattva, gave his eyes in charity for the sake of a man. On this spot also they have raised a great *stûpa,* adorned with silver and gold. The people of this country mostly study the Little Vehicle.

XI. From this going east seven days, there is a country

[23] Svât.

called Chu-ch'a-shi-lo.[24] Chu-ch'a-shi-lo in Chinese words is "cut-off head." Buddha, when he was a Bôdhisattva, gave his head in charity to a man in this place, and hence comes the name. Again going eastwards for two days, we come to the place where he gave his body to feed the starving tiger. On these two spots again are built great *stûpas*, both adorned with every kind of precious jewel. The kings, ministers, and people of the neighbouring countries vie with one another in their offerings, scattering flowers and lighting lamps without intermission. These and the two *stûpas* before named the men of that district call "the four great *stûpas*."

XII. From the country of Gandhâra going south for four days, we come to the country of Fo-lu-sha.[25] Buddha in former days, whilst travelling with his disciples here and there, coming to this country, addressed Ânanda thus: "After my death (*parinirvâṇa*), a king of the country called Ki-ni-kia (Kanika or Kanishka) will raise on this spot a *stûpa*." After Kanishka's birth, he was going round on a tour of observation. At this time Śakra, king of Dêvas, wishing to open out his purpose of mind, took the form of a little shepherd-boy building by the roadside a tower. The king asked and said, "What are you doing?" Replying, he said, "Making a Buddha-tower." The king said, "Very good." On this the king built over the little boy's tower another tower, in height 40 *chang* and more, adorned with all precious substances. Of all *stûpas* and temples seen by the travellers, none can compare with this for beauty of form and strength. Tradition says this is the highest of the towers in Jambudvîpa. When the king had completed his tower, the little tower forthwith came out from the side on the south of the great tower more than three feet high.

The alms-bowl of Buddha is still in this country. Formerly a king of the Yue-chi, swelling[26] with his army, came

[24] Takshaśilâ, vid. *infra*, p. 138.
[25] Purushapura (Peshâwar).
[26] This is a forced translation. I think the symbol *ta* should be placed before Yue-chi; it would thus refer to the Great Yue-chi.

to attack this country, wishing to carry off Buddha's alms-bowl. Having subdued the country, the king of the Yue-chi, deeply reverencing the law of Buddha, wished to take the bowl and go; therefore he began his religious offerings. The offerings made to the three precious ones being finished, he then caparisoned a great elephant and placed the bowl on it. The elephant then fell to the ground and was unable to advance. Then he made a four-wheeled carriage on which the dish was placed; eight elephants were yoked to draw it, but were again unable to advance. The king then knew that the time of his bowl-relationship was not come. So filled with shame and regrets, he built on this place a *stûpa* and also a *saṅghârâma*; moreover, he left a guard to keep up every kind of religious offering.

There are perhaps 700 priests. At the approach of noon the priests bring out the alms-bowl, and with the Upâsakas make all kinds of offerings to it; they then eat their mid-day meal. At even, when they burn incense, they again do so. It is capable of holding two pecks and more. It is of mixed colour, but yet chiefly black. The four divisions are quite clear, each of them being about two-tenths thick. It is glistening and bright. Poor people with few flowers cast into it, fill it; but some very rich people, wishful with many flowers to make their offerings, though they present a hundred thousand myriad of pecks, yet in the end fail to fill it. Pao-yun and Sang-king only made their offerings to the alms-dish of Buddha and then went back. Hwui-king, Hwui-ta, and Tao-ching had previously gone on to the Nagarahâra country to offer their common worship to the Buddha-shadow, his tooth and skull-bone. Hwui-king fell sick, and Tao-ching remained to look after him. Hwui-ta alone went back to Fo-lu-sha, where he met with the others, and then Hwui-ta, Pao-yun, and Sang-king returned together to the Ts'in land. Hwui-ying, dwelling in the temple of Buddha's alms-bowl, died there.

From this Fa-hian went on alone to the place of Buddha's skull-bone.

XIII. Going west 16 *yôjanas*, (Fa-hian) reached the country of Na-kie (Nagarahâra). On the borders, in the city of Hi-lo,[27] is the *vihâra* of the skull-bone of Buddha; it is gilded throughout and adorned with the seven precious substances.

The king of the country profoundly reverences the skull-bone. Fearing lest some one should steal it, he appoints eight men of the first families of the country, each man having a seal to seal (*the door*) for its safe keeping. In the morning, the eight men having come, each one inspects his seal, and then they open the door. The door being opened, using scented water, they wash their hands and bring out the skull-bone of Buddha. They place it outside the *vihâra* on a high throne; taking a circular stand of the seven precious substances, the stand is placed below (*it*), and a glass bell as a cover over it. All these are adorned with pearls and gems. The bone is of a yellowish-white colour, four inches across and raised in the middle. Each day after its exit men of the *vihâra* at once mount a high tower, beat a large drum, blow the conch, and sound the cymbal. Hearing these, the king goes to the *vihâra* to offer flowers and incense. The offerings finished, each one in order puts it on his head (worships it) and departs. Entering by the east door and leaving by the west, the king every morning thus offers and worships, after which he attends to state affairs. Householders and elder-men also first offer worship and then attend to family affairs. Every day thus begins, without neglect from idleness. The offerings being all done, they take back the skull-bone. In the *vihâra* there is a final-emancipation tower (*a tower shaped like a dâguba*) which opens and shuts, made of the seven precious substances, more than five feet high, to receive it.

Before the gate of the *vihâra* every morning regularly,

27 Hidda.

there are sellers of flowers and incense; all who wish to make offerings may buy of every sort. The kings of the countries round also regularly send deputies to make offerings. The site of the *vihâra* is forty paces square. Though heaven should quake and the earth open, this spot would not move.

Going from this one *yôjana* north, we come to the capital of Nagarahâra. This is the place where Bôdhisattva, in one of his births, gave money in exchange for five flowers[28] to offer to Dipaṅkara Buddha. In the city there is, moreover, a Buddha-tooth tower, to which religious offerings are made in the same way as to the skull-bone.

North-east of the city one *yôjana* we come to the opening of a valley in which is Buddha's religious staff, where they have built a *vihâra* for making offerings to it. The staff is made of ox-head sandal-wood; its length is a *chang* and six or seven tenths; it is enclosed in a wooden sheath, from which a hundred or a thousand men could not move it. Entering the valley and going west four days, there is the *vihâra* of Buddha's *saṅghâṭî*, to which they make religious offerings. When there is a drought in that country, the magistrates and people of the country, coming together, bring out the robe for worship and offerings, then Heaven gives abundant rain. Half a *yôjana* to the south of the city of Nagarahâra there is a cavern (*stone dwelling*); it is on the south-west side of a high mountain. Buddha left his shadow here. At a distance of ten paces or so we see it, like the true form of Buddha, of a gold colour, with the marks and signs perfectly clear and shining. On going nearer to it or farther off, it becomes less and less like the reality. The kings of the bordering countries have sent able artists to copy the likeness, but they have not been able (*to do so*). Moreover, those people have a tradition according to which the

[28] These flowers are generally represented as growing on one stalk or stem (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. l.)

thousand Buddhas will here leave their shadows. About five hundred paces to the west of the shadow, when Buddha was alone, he cut his hair and pared his nails. Then Buddha himself with his disciples together built a tower about seven or eight *chang* high, as a model for all towers of the future. It still exists. Beside it is a temple; in the temple are 700 priests or so. In this district there are as many as a thousand towers in honour of Arhats and Pratyêka Buddhas.

XIV. After remaining here during two months of winter, Fa-hian and two companions went south across the Little Snowy Mountains. The Snowy Mountains, both in summer and winter, are covered (*heaped*) with snow. On the north side of the mountains, in the shade, excessive cold came on suddenly, and all the men were struck mute with dread; Hwui-king alone was unable to proceed onwards. The white froth came from his mouth as he addressed Fa-hian and said, "I too have no power of life left; but whilst there is opportunity, do you press on, lest you all perish." Thus he died. Fa-hian, caressing him, exclaimed in piteous voice, "Our purpose was not to produce fortune!"[29] Submitting, he again exerted himself, and pressing forward, they so crossed the range; on the south side they reached the Lo-i[30] country. In this vicinity there are 3000 priests, belonging both to the Great and Little Vehicle. Here they kept the rainy season. The season past, descending south and journeying for ten days, they reached the Po-na[31] country, where there are also some 3000 priests or more, all belonging to the Little Vehicle. From this journeying eastward for three days, they again crossed the Sin-tu river. Both sides of it are now level.

XV. The other side of the river there is a country named Pi-t'u.[32] The law of Buddha is very flourishing; they belong both to the Great and Little Vehicle. When they

[29] Or, to be a fortunate one.
[30] Rohi, *i.e.*, Afghanistan.
[31] Bannu.
[32] Bhiḍa.

saw pilgrims from China arrive, they were much affected and spoke thus, "How is it that men from the frontiers are able to know the religion of family-renunciation and come from far to seek the law of Buddha?" They liberally provided necessary entertainment according to the rules of religion.

XVI. Going south-east from this somewhat less than 80 *yôjanas*, we passed very many temples one after another, with some myriad of priests in them. Having passed these places, we arrived at a certain country. This country is called Mo-tu-lo.[33] Once more we followed the Pu-na[34] river. On the sides of the river, both right and left, are twenty *saṅghârâmas*, with perhaps 3000 priests. The law of Buddha is progressing and flourishing. Beyond the deserts are the countries of Western India. The kings of these countries are all firm believers in the law of Buddha. They remove their caps of state when they make offerings to the priests. The members of the royal household and the chief ministers personally direct the food-giving; when the distribution of food is over, they spread a carpet on the ground opposite the chief seat (the president's seat) and sit down before it. They dare not sit on couches in the presence of the priests. The rules relating to the almsgiving of kings have been handed down from the time of Buddha till now. Southward from this is the so-called middle-country (Mâdhyadeśa). The climate of this country is warm and equable, without frost or snow. The people are very well off, without poll-tax or official restrictions. Only those who till the royal lands return a portion of profit of the land. If they desire to go, they go; if they like to stop, they stop. The kings govern without corporal punishment; criminals are fined, according to circumstances, lightly or heavily. Even in cases of repeated rebellion they only cut off the right hand. The king's personal attendants, who guard him on the right and left, have fixed salaries. Through-

33 Mathurâ. 34 Jumnâ or Yamunâ river.

out the country the people kill no living thing nor drink wine, nor do they eat garlic or onions, with the exception of Chandâlas only. The Chaṅdâlas are named "evil men" and dwell apart from others; if they enter a town or market, they sound a piece of wood in order to separate themselves; then men, knowing who they are, avoid coming in contact with them. In this country they do not keep swine nor fowls, and do not deal in cattle; they have no shambles or wine-shops in their market-places. In selling they use cowrie shells. The Chandâlas only hunt and sell flesh. Down from the time of Buddha's *Nirvâṇa*, the kings of these countries, the chief men and householders, have raised *vihâras* for the priests, and provided for their support by bestowing on them fields, houses, and gardens, with men and oxen. Engraved title-deeds were prepared and handed down from one reign to another; no one has ventured to withdraw them, so that till now there has been no interruption. All the resident priests having chambers (*in these vihâras*) have their beds, mats, food, drink, and clothes provided without stint; in all places this is the case. The priests ever engage themselves in doing meritorious works for the purpose of religious advancement (*karma*—building up their religious character), or in reciting the scriptures, or in meditation. When a strange priest arrives, the senior priests go out to meet him, carrying for him his clothes and alms-bowl. They offer him water for washing his feet and oil for rubbing them; they provide untimely (*vikâla*) food. Having rested awhile, they again ask him as to his seniority in the priesthood, and according to this they give him a chamber and sleeping materials, arranging everything according to the *dharma*. In places where priests reside they make towers in honour of Śâriputra, of Mudgalaputra, of Ânanda, also in honour of the *Abhidharma*, *Vinaya*, and *Sûtra*. During a month after the season of rest the most pious families urge a collection for an offering to the priests; they prepare an untimely meal

for them, and the priests in a great assembly preach the law. The preaching over, they offer to Śâriputra's tower all kinds of scents and flowers; through the night they burn lamps provided by different persons. Śâriputra originally was a Brâhmaṇ; on a certain occasion he went to Buddha and requested ordination. The great Mudgala and the great Kâśyapa did likewise. The Bhikshuṇîs principally honour the tower of Ânanda, because it was Ânanda who requested the lord of the world to let women take orders; Śrâmaṇêras mostly offer to Râhula; the masters of the *Abhidharma* offer to the *Abhidharma*; the masters of the *Vinaya* offer to the *Vinaya*. Every year there is one offering, each according to his own day. Men attached to the Mahâyâna offer to *Prajña-pâramitâ*, Mañjuśrî, and Avalôkitêśvara. When the priests have received their yearly dues, then the chief men and householders and Brâhmaṇs bring every kind of robe and other things needed by the priests to offer them; the priests also make offerings one to another. Down from the time of Buddha's death the rules of conduct for the holy priesthood have been (thus) handed down without interruption.

After crossing the Indus, the distance to the Southern Sea of South India is from four to five myriads of li; the land is level throughout, without great mountains or valleys, but still there are rivers.

XVII. South-east from this, after going 18 *yôjanas*, there is a country called Saṁkâśya. This is the place where Buddha descended after going up to the Trayastriṁśas heaven to preach the law during three months for his mother's benefit. When Buddha went up to the Trayastriṁśas heaven by the exercise of his miraculous power (*spiritual power of miracle*), he contrived that his disciples should not know (*of his proceeding*). Seven days before the completion (*of the three months*) he broke the spell, so that Aniruddha, using his divine sight, beheld the Lord of the world afar, and forthwith addressed the venerable (Ârya) Mahâmudgalaputra, "You can go and salute the

Lord of the world." Mudgalyâyana accordingly went, and bowing down, worshipped the foot and exchanged friendly greetings. The friendly meeting over, Buddha said to Mudgalyâyana, "After seven days are over I shall descend to Jambudvîpa." Mudgalyâyana then returned. On this the great kings of the eight kingdoms, the ministers and people, not having seen Buddha for a long time, were all desirous to meet him. They assembled like clouds in this country to meet the Lord of the world. At this time Utpalâ Bhikshuṇî thought thus with herself: "To-day the kings of the countries and the ministers and people are going to worship and meet Buddha. I am but a woman; how can I get to see him first?" Buddha forthwith by his miraculous power made her, by transformation, into a holy Chakravartti king, and as such she was the very first to worship him. Buddha being now about to come down from the Trayastriṁsas heaven, there appeared a threefold precious ladder. The middle ladder was made of the seven precious substances, standing above which Buddha began to descend. Then the king of the Brahmâ heavens (Brahmakâyikas) caused a silver ladder to appear, on which he took his place on Buddha's right hand, holding a white chauri. Then Śakra, king of Dêvas, caused a bright golden ladder to appear, on which he took his place on the left, holding in his hand a precious parasol. Innumerable Dêvas were in attendance whilst Buddha descended. After he had come down, the three ladders disappeared in the earth, except seven steps, which remained visible. In after times Aśôka, wishing to discover the utmost depths to which these ladders went, employed men to dig down and examine into it. They went on digging till they came to the yellow spring (the earth's foundation), but yet had not come to the bottom. The king, deriving from this an increase of faith and reverence, forthwith built over the ladders a *vihâra*, and facing the middle flight he placed a standing figure (of Buddha) sixteen feet high. Behind the *vihâra* he erected a stone pillar

thirty cubits high, and on the top placed the figure of a lion. Within the pillar on the four sides are figures of Buddha; both within and without it is shining and bright as glass. It happened once that some heretical doctors had a contention with the Śramaṇas respecting this as a place of residence. Then the argument of the Śramaṇas failing, they all agreed to the following compact: "If this place properly belongs to the Śramaṇas, then there will be some supernatural proof given of it." Immediately on this the lion on the top of the pillar uttered a loud roar. Witnessing this testimony, the unbelievers, abashed, withdrew from the dispute and submitted.

The body of Buddha, in consequence of his having partaken of divine food during three months, emitted a divine fragrance, unlike that of men. Immediately after his descent he bathed himself. Men of after ages erected in this place a bath-house, which yet remains. There is also a tower erected on the spot where the Bhikshuṇî Utpalâ was the first to adore Buddha. There is also a tower on the spot where Buddha when in the world cut his hair and his nails, and also on the following spots, viz., where the three former Buddhas, as well as Śâkyamuni Buddha, sat down, and also where they walked for exercise, and also where there are certain marks and impressions of the different Buddhas. These towers still remain. There is also one erected where Brahmâ, Śakra, and the Dêvas attended Buddha when he came down from heaven. There are perhaps a thousand male and female disciples who have their meals in common. They belong promiscuously to the systems of the Great and Little Vehicle, and dwell together. A white-eared dragon is the patron of this body of priests. He causes fertilising and seasonable showers of rain to fall within their country, and preserves it from plagues and calamities, and so causes the priesthood to dwell in security. The priests, in gratitude for these favours, have erected a dragon-chapel, and within it placed a resting-place (*seat*) for his accommodation.

Moreover, they make special contributions, in the shape of religious offerings, to provide the dragon with food. The body of priests every day select from their midst three men to go and take their meal in this chapel. At the end of each season of rain, the dragon suddenly assumes the form of a little serpent, both of whose ears are edged with white. The body of priests, recognising him, place in the midst of his lair a copper vessel full of cream; and then, from the highest to the lowest, they walk past him in procession as if to pay him greeting all round. He then suddenly disappears. He makes his appearance once every year. This country is very productive: the people are very prosperous, and exceedingly rich beyond comparison. Men of all countries coming here are well taken care of and obtain what they require. Fifty *yôjanas* to the north of this temple there is a temple called "Fire Limit," which is the name of an evil spirit. Buddha himself converted this evil spirit, whereupon men in after ages raised a *vihâra* on the spot. At the time of the dedication of the *vihâra* an Arhat spilt some of the sacred water, poured on his hands, and let it fall on the earth, and the place where it fell is still visible; though they have often swept the place to remove the mark, yet it still remains and cannot be destroyed. There is, besides, in this place a tower of Buddha which a benevolent spirit ever keeps clean and waters, and which (*was built*) without a human architect. There was once an heretical king who saîd, "Since you can do this, I will bring a great army and quarter it here, which shall accumulate much filth and refuse. Will you be able to clear all this away, I wonder?" The spirit immediately caused a great tempest to rise and blow over the place, as a proof that he could do it. In this district there are a hundred small towers; a man might pass the day in trying to count them without succeeding. If any one is very anxious to discover the right number, then he places a man by the side of each tower and afterwards numbers the men;

but, even in this case, it can never be known how many or how few men will be required. There is also a *saṅghârâma* here containing about 600 or 700 priests. In this is a place where a Pratyêka Buddha ate[35] (*the fruit*); the spot of ground where he died is just in size like a chariot-wheel; all the ground around it is covered with grass, but this spot produces none. The ground also where he dried his clothes is bare of vegetation; the traces of the impress of the clothes remain to this day.

XVIII. Fa-Hian resided in the dragon *vihâra* during the summer rest. After this was over, going south-east seven *yôjanas*, he arrived at the city of Ki-jou-i (Kanauj). This city borders on the Ganges. There are two *saṅghârâmas* here, both belonging to the system of the Little Vehicle. Going from the city six or seven li in a westerly direction, on the north bank of the river Ganges, is the place where Buddha preached for the good of his disciples. Tradition says that he preached on impermanency and sorrow, and also on the body being like a bubble and foam. On this spot they have raised a tower, which still remains. Crossing the Ganges and going south three *yôjanas*, we arrive at a forest called A-lo. Here also Buddha preached the law. They have raised towers on this spot, and also where he sat down and walked for exercise.

XIX. Going south-east from this place ten *yôjanas*, we arrive at the great country of Sha-chi. Leaving the southern gate of the capital city, on the east side of the road is a place where Buddha once dwelt. Whilst here he bit (*a piece from*) the willow stick and fixed it in the earth; immediately it grew up seven feet high, neither more or less. The unbelievers and Brâhmaṇs, filled with jealousy, cut it down and scattered the leaves far and wide, but yet it always sprung up again in the same place as before. Here also they raised towers on places where the four Buddhas walked for exercise and sat down. The ruins still exist.

[35] Probably the text is corrupt. There is a common phrase, "to drink the draught of sweet dew," a euphemism for "*died*." It may be so in the present instance.

XX. Going eight *yôjanas* southwards from this place, we arrive at the country of Kiu-sa-lo (Kôsala) and its chief town She-wei (Śrâvastî). There are very few inhabitants in this city, altogether perhaps about 200 families. This is the city which King Prasênajit governed. Towers have been built in after times on the site of the ruined *vihâra* of Mahâprajâpatî, also on the foundations (*of the house*) of the lord Sudatta, also on the spot where the Aṅgulimâlya was burnt, who was converted and entered nirvâṇa; all these towers are erected in the city. The unbelieving Brâhmaṇs, from jealousy, desired to destroy these various buildings, but on attempting to do so, the heavens thundered and the lightnings flashed, so that they were unable to carry out their design. Leaving the city by the south gate and proceeding 1200 paces on the road; on the west side of it is the place where the lord Sudatta built a *vihâra*. This chapel opens towards the east. The principal door is flanked by two side chambers, in front of which stand two stone pillars; on the top of the left-hand one is the figure of a wheel, and on the right-hand one the image of an ox. The clear water of the tanks, the luxuriant groves, and numberless flowers of variegated hues combine to produce the picture of what is called a Jêtavana *vihâra*. When Buddha ascended into the Trayastriṁshas heavens to preach for the sake of his mother, after ninety days' absence, King Prasênajit desiring to see him again, carved out of the sandal-wood called Gôśîrshachandana (*ox-head*) an image of the Buddha and placed it on Buddha's throne. When Buddha returned and entered the *vihâra*, the image, immediately quitting its place, went forward to meet him. On this Buddha addressed these words to it: "Return, I pray you, to your seat. After my *Nirvâṇa* you will be the model from which my followers (*four schools or classes*) shall carve their images." On this the figure returned to its seat. This image, as it was the very first made of all the figures of Buddha, is the one which all subsequent ages have fol-

lowed as a model. Buddha then removed and dwelt in a small *vihâra* on the south side of the greater one, in a place quite separated from that occupied by the image, and about twenty paces from it. The Jêtavana *vihâra* originally had seven stages. The monarchs of the surrounding countries and the people vied with each other in presenting religious offerings at this spot. They decked the place with flags and silken canopies; they offered flowers and burnt incense, whilst the lamps shone continually from evening till daylight with unfading splendour. A rat taking in his mouth the wick of a lamp caused it to set fire to one of the hanging canopies, and this resulted in a general conflagration and the entire destruction of the seven storeys of the *vihâra*. The kings and people of the surrounding countries were deeply grieved, thinking that the sandal-wood figure had also been consumed. Four or five days afterwards, on opening the door of the eastern little chapel, they were surprised to behold the original figure there. The people were filled with joy, and they agreed to rebuild the chapel. Having completed two stages, they removed the image from its new situation back to where it was before. When Fa-Hian and To-Ching arrived at this chapel of the Jêtavana, they reflected that this was the spot in which the Lord of men had passed twenty-five years of his life; they themselves, at the risk of their lives, were now dwelling amongst foreigners; of those who had with like purpose travelled through a succession of countries with them, some had returned home, some were dead; and now, gazing on the place where Buddha once dwelt but was no longer to be seen, their hearts were affected with very lively regret. Whereupon the priests belonging to that community came forward and addressed (Fa)-Hian and To-(Ching) thus: "From what country have you come?" To which they replied, "We come from the land of Han." Then those priests, in astonishment, exclaimed, "Wonderful! to think that men from the frontiers of the earth should come so far as this from a desire to

search for the law;" and then talking between themselves they said, "Our various superiors and brethren, who have succeeded one another in this place from the earliest time till now, have none of them seen men of Han come so far as this before."

Four li to the north-west of the *vihâra* is a copse called "Recovered-sight." Originally there were 500 blind men dwelling on this spot beside the chapel. On one occasion Buddha declared the law on their account; after listening to his sermon they immediately recovered their sight. The blind men, overcome with joy, drove their staves into the earth and fell down on their faces in adoration. The staves forthwith took root and grew up to be great trees. The people, from a feeling of reverence, did not presume to cut them down, and so they grew and formed a grove, to which this name of "Recovered-sight"[36] was given. The priests of the chapel of the Jêtavana resort in great numbers to this shady copse to meditate after their mid-day meal. Six or seven li to the north-east of the Jêtavana *vihâra* is the site of the chapel which Mother Viśâkhâ built,[37] and invited Buddha and the priests to occupy. The ruins are still there. The great garden enclosure of the Jêtavana *vihâra* has two gates, one opening towards the east, the other towards the north. This garden is the plot of ground which the noble Sudatta bought after covering it with gold coins. The chapel is in the middle of it; it was here Buddha resided for a very long time, and expounded the law for the salvation of men. Towers have been erected on the various spots where he walked for exercise or sat down. These towers have all distinctive names given them, as, for example, the place where Buddha was accused of murdering (*the harlot*) Śundarî.[38] Leaving the Jêtavana

[36] Restored by Stan. Julien to Âptanêtravana (tome ii. p. 308), and by Cunningham to Âptâkshivana (*Arch. Surv.*, vol. i. p. 344, n.) Cf. vol. ii. p. 12.

[37] This chapel of Mother Viśâkhâ is placed by Cunningham south-east from the Jêtavana (*Arch. Surv.*, vol. i. p. 345, n.) The text may be wrong.

[38] See vol. ii. p. 7.

by the eastern gate, and going north seventy paces, on the west side of the road is the place where Buddha formerly held a discussion with the followers of the ninety-six heretical schools. The king of the country, the chief ministers, the landowners and people, all came in great numbers to hear him. At this time a woman who was an unbeliever, called Chiñchimanâ,[39] being filled with jealousy, gathered up her clothes in a heap round her person so as to appear with child, and then accused Buddha in a meeting of priests of unrighteous conduct. On this Śakra, the king of Dêvas, taking the appearance of a white mouse, came and gnawed through her sash; on this the whole fell down, and then the earth opened and she herself went down alive into hell. Here also is the place where Dêvadatta, having poisoned his nails for the purpose of destroying Buddha, went down alive into hell. Men in after times noted these various places for recognition. Where the discussion took place they raised a chapel more than six *chang* (70 feet) high, with a sitting figure of Buddha in it. To the east of the road is a temple (*Dêvâlaya*) belonging to the heretics, which is named "Shadow-covered." It is opposite the *vihâra* erected on the place of the discussion, and of the same height. It has received the name of "Shadow-covered" because when the sun is in the west, the shadow of the *vihâra* of the Lord of the World covers the temple of the heretics; but when the sun is in the east, the shadow of the latter is bent to the north, and does not overshadow the chapel of Buddha.[40] The heretics constantly appointed persons to take care of their temple, to sweep and water it, to burn incense and light lamps for religious worship; towards the approach of morning their lamps disappeared, and were discovered in the middle of the Buddhist chapel. On this the Brâhmaṇs, being angry, said, "These Śramaṇas take our lamps for their own religious worship;" whereupon the Brâhmaṇs set a night-watch, and then they saw their own gods take the lamps and move round Buddha's

[39] Vol. ii. p. 9, n. 23. [40] Vol. ii. p. 10.

chapel three times, after which they offered the lamps and suddenly disappeared. On this the Brâhmaṇs, recognising the greatness of Buddha's spiritual power, forsook their families and became his disciples. Tradition says that about the time when these things happened there were ninety *saṅghârâmas* surrounding the Jêtavana chapel, all of which, with one exception, were occupied by priests. In this country of Mid-India there are ninety-six heretical sects, all of whom allow the reality of worldly phenomena. Each sect has its disciples, who beg their food, but do not carry alms-dishes. They also piously build hospices by the side of solitary roads for the shelter of travellers, where they may rest, sleep, eat and drink, and are supplied with all necessaries. The followers of Buddha, also, as they pass to and fro, are entertained by them, only different arrangements are made for their convenience. Dêvadatta also has a body of disciples still existing; they pay religious reverence to the three past Buddhas, but not to Śâkyamuni Buddha.[41]

Four li to the south-east of Śrâvastî is the place where the Lord of men stood by the side of the road when King Virûḍhaka[42] (Liu-li) wished to destroy the country of the Śâkya family; on this spot there is a tower built. Fifty li to the west of the city we arrive at a town called To-wäi;[43] this was the birthplace of Kâśyapa Buddha. Towers are erected on the spot where he had an interview with his father and also where he entered *Nirvâṇa*. A great tower has also been erected over the relics of the entire body of Kâśyapa Tathâgata.

XXI. Leaving the city of Śrâvastî, and going twelve *yôjanas* to the south-east, we arrived at a town called Na-pi-ka. This is the birthplace of Krakuchchhanda[44] Buddha. There are towers erected on the spots where the interview between the father and son took place, and also where he

[41] This is an important notice, as it indicates the character of Devadatta's position with reference to Buddha.

[42] See vol. ii. p. 11.

[43] Tadwa, see vol. ii. p. 13.

[44] See vol. ii. p. 18.

entered *Nirvâna.* Going north from this place less than one *yôjana*, we arrive at a town where Kanakamuni Buddha was born;[45] there are towers also erected here over similar places as the last.

XXII. Going eastward from this less than a *yôjana*, we arrive at the city of Kapilavastu. In this city there is neither king nor people; it is like a great desert.[46] There is simply a congregation of priests and about ten families of lay people. On the site of the ruined palace of Suddhôdana there is a picture of the prince's mother, whilst the prince, riding on a white elephant, is entering the womb. Towers have been erected on the following spots: where the royal prince left the city by the eastern gate; where he saw the sick man; and where he caused his chariot to turn and take him back to his palace. There are also towers erected on the following spots: at the place where Asita observed the marks of the royal prince; where Ânanda and the others struck the elephant, drew it out of the way, and hurled it; where the arrow, going south-east 30 li, entered the earth, from which bubbled up a fountain of water, which in after generations was used as a well for travellers to drink at; also on the spot where Buddha, after arriving at supreme wisdom, met his father; where the 500 Śâkyas, having embraced the faith, paid reverence to Upâli; at the place where the earth shook six times; at the place where Buddha expounded the law on behalf of all the Dêvas, whilst the four heavenly kings guarded the four gates of the hall, so that his father could not enter: at the place where Mahâprajâpatî presented Buddha with a *sanghâṭî* whilst he was sitting under a Nyagrôdha tree with his face to the east, which tree still exists; at the place where Virûdhaka-râja killed the offspring of the Śâkyas who had previously entered on the path *Srôtâpanna.* All these towers are still in existence.[47] A few li to the north-

45 Vol. ii. p. 19.

46 Vol. ii. p. 14; and conf. Fergusson's *Archæology in India*, p. 110.

47 Compare the accounts given by Hiuen Tsiang, Book vi.

east of the city is the royal field where the prince, sitting underneath a tree, watched a ploughing-match. Fifty li to the east of the city is the royal garden called Lumbinî; it was here the queen entered the bath to wash herself, and, having come out on the northern side, advanced twenty paces, and then holding a branch of the tree in her hand, as she looked to the east, brought forth the prince. When born he walked seven steps; two dragon-kings washed the prince's body,—the place where this occurred was afterwards converted into a well, and here, as likewise at the pool, the water of which came down from above for washing (the child), the priests draw their drinking water. All the Buddhas have four places universally determined for them:—(1.) The place for arriving at supreme wisdom; (2.) The place for turning the wheel of the law; (3.) The place for expounding the true principles of the law and refuting the heretics; (4.) The place for descending to earth after going into the Trayastriṁśas heaven to explain the law to their mothers. Other places are chosen according to existing circumstances. The country of Kapilavastu is now a great desert; you seldom meet any people on the roads for fear of the white elephants and the lions. It is impossible to travel negligently. Going east five *yôjanas* from the place where Buddha was born, there is a country called Lan-mo (Râmagrâma).[48]

XXIII. The king of this country obtained one share of the relics of Buddha's body. On his return home he built a tower, which is the same as the tower of Râmagrâma. By the side of it is a tank in which lives a dragon, who constantly guards and protects the tower and worships there morning and night. When King Aśôka was living he wished to destroy the eight towers and to build eighty-four thousand others. Having destroyed seven, he next proceeded to treat this one in the same way.[49] The dragon therefore assumed a body and conducted the king within

[48] Vol. ii. p. 26. Cf. Fah-hian, p. 89, n. 1.

[49] Cf. *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 2298; also *infra*, vol. ii. p. 27.

his abode, and having shown him all the vessels and appliances he used in his religious services, he addressed the king and said: "If you can worship better than this, then you may destroy the tower. Let me take you out; I will have no quarrel with you." King Aśôka, knowing that these vessels were of no human workmanship, immediately returned to his home. This place having become desert, there was no one either to water it or sweep, but ever and anon a herd of elephants carrying water in their trunks piously watered the ground, and also brought all sorts of flowers and perfumes to pay religious worship at the tower. Some pilgrims from different countries used to come here to worship at the tower. On one occasion some of these met the elephants, and being much frightened, concealed themselves amongst the trees. Seeing the elephants perform their service according to the law, they were greatly affected. They grieved to think that there was no temple here or priests to perform religious service, so that the very elephants had to water and sweep. On this they gave up the great precepts and took upon them the duties of Śrâmaṇêras. They began to pluck up the brushwood and level the ground, and arrange the place so that it became neat and clean. They urged the king of the country to help make residences for the priests. Moreover, they built a temple in which priests still reside. These things occurred recently, since which there has been a regular succession (of priests), only the superior of the temple has always been a Śrâmaṇêra.[50] Three *yôjanas* east of this place is the spot where the royal prince dismissed his charioteer Chaṇdaka and the royal horse, previous to their return. Here also is erected a tower.

XXIV. Going eastward from this place four *yôjanas*, we arrive at the Ashes-tower.[51] Here also is a *saṅghârâma.* Again going twelve *yôjanas* eastward, we arrive at the town of Kuśinagara. To the north of this town, where the Lord

[50] Vol. ii. p. 27. [51] Vol. ii. p. 31.

of the World, lying by the side of the Hiraṇyavatî river, with his head to the north and a *sal* tree on either side of him, entered *Nirvâṇa*; also in the place where Subhadra[52] was converted, the very last of all his disciples; also where for seven days they paid reverence to the Lord of the World lying in his golden coffin; also where Vajrapâṇi[53] threw down his golden mace, and where the eight kings divided the relics; in each of the above places towers have been raised and *sâṅghârâmâs* built, which still exist. In this city also there are but few inhabitants; such families as there are, are connected with the resident congregation of priests. Going south-east twelve *yôjanas*[54] from this place, we arrive at the spot where the Lichchhavis, desiring to follow Buddha to the scene of his *Nirvâṇa*, were forbidden to do so. On account of their affection for Buddha they were unwilling to go back, on which Buddha caused to appear between them and him a great and deeply-scarped river, which they could not cross. He then left with them his alms-bowl as a memorial, and exhorted them to return to their houses. On this they went back and erected a stone pillar, on which this account is engraved.

XXV. From this going five *yôjanas* eastward, we arrive at the country of Vaiśâlî.[55] To the north of the city of Vaiśâlî there is the *vihâra* of the great forest,[56] which has a two-storied tower. This chapel was once occupied by Buddha. Here also is the tower which was built over half the body of Ânanda. Within this city dwelt the lady Âmrapâlî,[57] (*who*

52 Cf. *Fo-sho.*, p. 290.

53 Or does this refer to the Mallas throwing down their maces (hammers)?

54 Laidlay has by mistake translated the French S.W. instead of S.E. But the French editors have also mistranslated the distance, which is twelve *yôjanas*, and not twenty. We have thus nineteen *yôjanas* between Kuśinagara (Kasia) and Vaiśâlî (Besarh), which is as nearly correct as possible.

55 Vaiśâlî, a very famous city in the Buddhist records. Cunningham identifies it with the present Besarh, twenty miles north of Hajipûr.

56 This chapel was situated in the neighbourhood of the present village of Bakhra, about two miles N.N.W. of Besarh. It is alluded to in the Singhalese records as the Mahâvano Vihâro. From Burnouf we find it was built by the side of a tank known as the Markaṭahrada, or Monkey tank (*Introd. Buddh. Indien*, p. 74), (*Man. Bud.*, p. 356).

57 Cf. *Fo-sho.*, p. 253.

built) a tower for Buddha; the ruins still exist. Three li to the south of the city, on the west side of the road, is the garden which the lady Âmrapâlî gave to Buddha as a resting-place. When Buddha was about to enter *Nirvâṇa*, accompanied by his disciples, he left Vaiśâlî by the western gate, and turning his body to the right,[58] he beheld the city and thus addressed his followers: "In this place I have performed the last religious act of my earthly career." Men afterwards raised a tower on this spot. Three li to the north-west of the city is a tower called "the tower of the deposited bows and clubs." The origin of this name was as follows:[59]—On one of the upper streams of the Ganges there was a certain country ruled by a king. One of his concubines gave birth to an unformed fœtus, whereupon the queen being jealous, said, "Your conception is one of bad omen." So they closed it up in a box of wood and cast it into the Ganges. Lower down the stream there was another king, who, taking a tour of observation, caught sight of the wooden box floating on the stream. On bringing it to shore and opening it, he found inside a thousand children very fair, well formed, and most unique. The king hereupon took them and brought them up. When they grew up they turned out to be very brave and warlike, and were victorious over all whom they went to attack. In process of time they marched against the kingdom of the monarch, their father, at which he was filled with consternation. On this his concubine asked the king why he was so terrified; to whom he replied, "The king of that country has a thousand sons, brave and warlike beyond compare, and they are coming to attack my country; this is why I am alarmed." To this the concubine replied, "Fear not! but erect on the east of the city a high tower, and when the rebels come, place me on it; I will restrain them." The king did so, and when the invaders arrived, the concubine addressed them

[58] Cf. *Fo-sho.*, v. 1930 and n. 3.
[59] For another account of this fable, cf. vol. ii. p. 71.

from the tower, saying, "You are my children. Then why are you rebellious?" They replied, "Who are you that say you are our mother?" The concubine replied, "If ye will not believe me, all of you look up and open your mouths." On this the concubine, with both her hands, pressed her breasts, and from each breast proceeded five hundred jets of milk, which fell into the mouths of her thousand sons. On this the rebels, perceiving that she was indeed their mother, immediately laid down their bows and clubs. The two royal fathers, by a consideration of these circumstances, were able to arrive at the condition of Pratyêka Buddhas, and the tower erected in their honour remains to this day. In after times, when the Lord of the World arrived at supreme reason, he addressed his disciples in these words, "This is the place where I formerly laid aside my bow and my club." Men in after times, coming to know this, founded a tower in this place, and hence the name. The thousand children are in truth the thousand Buddhas of this Bhadra-kalpa. Buddha, when standing beside this tower, addressed Ânanda thus, "After three months I must enter *Nirvâṇa*," on which occasion Mâra-râja so fascinated the mind of Ânanda that he did not request Buddha to remain in the world. Going east from this point three or four li there is a tower. One hundred years after the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha there were at Vaiśâlî certain Bhikshus who broke the rules of the *Vinaya* in ten particulars,[60] saying that Buddha had said it was so, at which time the Arhats and the orthodox Bhikshus, making an assembly of 700 ecclesiastics, compared and collated the *Vinaya Piṭaka* afresh. Afterwards men erected a tower on this spot, which still exists.

XXVI. Going four *yôjanas* east, we arrive at the confluence of the five rivers. When Ânanda was going from the country of Magadha towards Vaiśâlî, desiring to enter *Nir-*

[60] For an account of this council see *Abstract of Four Lectures*, Lect. ii. There is an expression *fan fu* after the words "orthodox Bhikshus" (rule-holding Bhikshus), which may either be enclitic, or mean "a mixed multitude."

vâṇa, the Dêvas acquainted King Ajâtaśatru of it. The king immediately set out after him at the head of his troops, and arrived at the banks of the river. The Lichchhavis of Vaiśâlî, hearing that Ânanda was coming, likewise set out to meet him and arrived at the side of the river. Ânanda then reflected that if he were to advance, King Ajâtaśatru would be much grieved, and if he should go back, then the Lichchhavis would be indignant. Being perplexed, he forthwith entered the *Samâdhi* called the "brilliancy of flame," consuming his body, and entered *Nirvâṇa* in the midst of the river. His body was divided into two parts; one part was found on either side of the river; so the two kings, taking the relics of half his body, returned and erected towers over them.[61]

XXVII. Crossing the river, and going south one *yôjana*, we arrive at Magadha and the town of Pâṭaliputra (Pa-lin-fu). This is the town in which King Aśôka reigned. In the city is the royal palace, the different parts of which he commissioned the genii (*demons*) to construct by piling up the stones. The walls, doorways, and the sculptured designs are no human work. The ruins still exist. The younger brother of King Aśôka having arrived at the dignity of an Arhat, was in the habit of residing in the hill Gṛîdhrakûṭa, finding his chief delight in silent contemplation. The king respectfully requested him to come to his house to receive his religious offerings. His brother, pleased with his tranquillity in the mountain, declined the invitation. The king then addressed his brother, saying, "If you will only accept my invitation, I will make for you a hill within the city." Then the king, providing all sorts of meat and drink, invited the genii, and addressed them thus, "I beg you to accept my invitation for to-morrow; but as there are no seats, I must request you each to bring his own." On the morrow the great genii came, each one bringing with him a great stone, four

[61] For this account and generally about Vaiśâlî, cf. vol. ii. book vii. p. 66.

or five paces square. After the feast (*the session*), he deputed the genii to pile up (their seats) and make a great stone mountain; and at the base of the mountain with five great square stones to make a rock chamber, in length about 35 feet and in breadth 22 feet and in height 11 feet or so.

"In this city (*i.e.*, of Pâṭaliputra or Patna) once lived a certain Brâhmaṇ called Râdha-Svâmi (?) (Lo-tai-sz-pi-mi), of large mind and extensive knowledge, and attached to the Great Vehicle. There was nothing with which he was unacquainted, and he lived apart occupied in silent meditation. The king of the country honoured and respected him as his religious superior. If he went to salute him, he did not dare to sit down in his presence. If the king, from a feeling of esteem, took him by the hand, the Brâhman thoroughly washed himself. For something like fifty years the whole country looked up to this man and placed its confidence on him alone. He mightily extended the influence of the law of Buddha, so that the heretics were unable to obtain any advantage at all over the priesthood.

By the side of the tower of King Aśôka is built a *saṅghârâma* belonging to the Great Vehicle, very imposing and elegant. There is also a temple belonging to the Little Vehicle. Together they contain about 600 or 700 priests; their behaviour is decorous and orderly. Here one may see eminent priests from every quarter of the world; Śramaṇas and scholars who seek for instruction all flock to this temple. The Brâhmaṇ teacher is called Mañjuśrî. The great Śramaṇas of the country, and all the Bhikshus attached to the Great Vehicle, esteem and reverence him; moreover he resides in this *saṅghârâma*. Of all the kingdoms of Mid-India, the towns of this country are especially large. The people are rich and prosperous; they practise virtue and justice. Every year on the eighth day of the second month there is a procession of images. On this occasion they construct a four-wheeled car, and erect upon it a tower of five stages, composed of bamboos lashed together, the whole being supported by a

centre-post resembling a large spear with three points, in height twenty-two feet and more. So it looks like a pagoda They then cover it over with fine white linen, which they afterwards paint with gaudy colours. Having made figures of the dêvas, and decorated them with gold, silver, and glass, they place them under canopies of embroidered silk. Then at the four corners (of the car) they construct niches (*shrines*), in which they place figures of Buddha in a sitting posture, with a Bôdhisattva standing in attendance. There are perhaps twenty cars thus prepared and differently decorated. During the day of the procession both priests and laymen assemble in great numbers. There are games and music, whilst they offer flowers and incense. The Brahmâchârîs come forth to offer their invitations. The Buddhas, then, one after the other, enter the city. After coming into the town again they halt. Then all night long they burn lamps, indulge in games and music, and make religious offerings. Such is the custom of all those who assemble on this occasion from the different countries round about. The nobles and householders of this country have founded hospitals within the city, to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, cripples, and the diseased, may repair. They receive every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases, and according to their cases order them food and drink, medicine or decoctions, everything in fact that may contribute to their ease. When cured they depart at their convenience. King Aśôka having destroyed seven (of the original) pagodas, constructed 84,000 others. The very first which he built is the great tower which stands about three li to the south of this city. In front of this pagoda is an impression of Buddha's foot, (*over which*) they have raised a chapel, the gate of which faces the north. To the south of the tower is a stone pillar, about a *chang* and a half in girth (18 *feet*), and three *chang* or so in height (35 *feet*). On the surface of this pillar is an inscription to the following effect: "King Aśôka

presented the whole of Jambudvîpa to the priests of the four quarters, and redeemed it again with money, and this he did three times." Three or four hundred paces to the north of the pagoda is the spot where Aśôka was born (*or resided*). On this spot he raised the city of Ni-li, and in the midst of it erected a stone pillar, also about 35 feet in height, on the top of which he placed the figure of a lion, and also engraved an historical record on the pillar giving an account of the successive events connected with Ni-li, with the corresponding year, day, and month.[62]

XXVIII. From this city proceeding in a south-easterly direction nine *yôjanas*, we arrive at a small solitary stone hill, on the top of which is a stone cell.[63] The stone cell faces the south. On one occasion, when Buddha was sitting in this cell, Śakra Dêva, taking the divine musician Pañchaśikha,[64] caused him to sound a strain in the place where Buddha was. Then Śakra Dêva proposed forty-two questions to Buddha, drawing some traces upon a stone with his finger. The remains of the structure and tracings yet exist. There is a *saṅghârâma* built here. Going south-west from this one *yôjana*, we arrive at the village of Na-lo.[65] This was the place of Śâriputra's birth. Śâriputra returned here to enter *Nirvâṇa*. A tower therefore was erected here, which is still in existence. Going west from this one *yôjana*, we arrive at the new Râjagṛiha. This was the town which King Ajâtaśatru built. There are two *saṅghârâmas* in it. Leaving this town by the west gate and proceeding 300 paces, (we arrive at) the tower which King Ajâtaśatru raised over the share of Buddha's relics which he obtained. Its height is very imposing. Leaving the south side of the city and proceeding southwards four li, we enter a valley.

[62] For an account of Magadha, cf. vol. ii. p. 82 ff.

[63] The Indra-śila-gṛihâ of Hiuen Tsiang, see vol. ii. p. 180.

[64] For an account of this event, see *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 289, 290; also Childers' *Pâli Dict.*, sub voc. *Pañcasikho*.

[65] The Kâlapinâka of Hiuen Tsiang, vol. ii. p. 177.

situated between five hills. These hills encircle it completely like the walls of a town. This is the site of the old town of King Bimbisâra. From east to west it is about five or six li, from north to south seven or eight li. Here Śâriputra and Mudgalyâyana first met Aśvajit.[66] Here also the Nirgrantha made a pit with fire in it, and poisoned the food which he invited Buddha to eat. Here also is the spot where King Ajâtaśatru, intoxicating a black elephant, desired to destroy Buddha.[67] To the north-east of the city, in a crooked defile, (*the physician*) Jivaka[68] erected a *vihâra* in the garden of Ambapâlî, and invited Buddha and his 1250 disciples to receive her religious offerings. The ruins still exist. Within the city all is desolate and without inhabitants.

XXIX. Entering the valley and striking the mountains towards the south-east, ascending 15 li we arrive at the hill called Gṛidhrakûṭa. Three li from the top is a stone cavern facing the south. Buddha used in this place to sit in meditation.[69] Thirty paces to the north-west is another stone cell in which Ânanda practised meditation. The Dêva Mâra Piśuna, having assumed the form of a vulture, took his place before the cavern and terrified Ânanda. Buddha by his spiritual power pierced the rock, and with his outstretched hand patted Ânanda's shoulder.[70] On this his fear was allayed. The traces of the bird and of the hand-hole are still quite plain; on this account the hill is called "The Hill of the Vulture Cave." In front of the cave is the place where the four Buddhas sat down. Each of the Arhats likewise has a cave where he sat in meditation. Altogether there are several hundreds of these. Here also, when Buddha was walking to and fro from east to west in front of his cell, Dêvadatta, from between the northern eminences of the

[66] For this incident see vol. ii. p. 178.

[67] For this incident see *Fo sho.*, pp. 246–247.

[68] See vol. ii. p. 152.

[69] For these places see vol. ii. p. 153 ff.

[70] Hiuen Tsiang says "*his head*," vol. ii. p. 154.

mountain, rolled down athwart his path a stone which wounded Buddha's toe. The stone is still there. The hall in which Buddha preached has been destroyed; the foundations of the brick walls[71] still exist, however. The peaks of this mountain are picturesque and imposing; it is the loftiest of the five mountains. Fa-Hian having bought flowers, incense, and oil and lamps in the new town, procured the assistance of two aged Bhikshus as guides. Fa-Hian, ascending the Gṛĭdhrakûṭa mountain, offered his flowers and incense and lit his lamps for the night. Being deeply moved, he could scarcely restrain his tears as he said, "Here it was in bygone days Buddha dwelt and delivered the *Śuraṅgama Sûtra.* Fa-Hian, not privileged to be born when Buddha lived, can but gaze on the traces of his presence and the place which he occupied." Then he recited the Śuraṅgama[72] in front of the cave, and remaining there all night, he returned to the new town.

XXX. Some 300 paces north of the old town, on the west side of the road, is the Kalaṇḍavêṇuvana *vihâra.* It still exists, and a congregation of priests sweep and water it. Two or three li to the north of the chapel is the Shi-mo-she-na (Śamaśâna), which signifies "the field of tombs for laying the dead." Striking the southern hill and proceeding westward 300 paces, there is a stone cell called the Pippala[73] cave, where Buddha was accustomed to sit in meditation after his mid-day meal. Still west five or six li there is a stone cave situated in the northern shade of the mountain and called Che-ti.[74] This is the place where 500 Arhats assembled after the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books. At the time when the books were recited three vacant seats

71 It was, therefore, a structural building, not a cave.

72 This *Sûtra* must not be confused with the expanded one of the same name. There is a full account of this perilous visit of Fa-hian to the top of the Gṛĭdhrakûṭa hill, and how he was attacked by tigers, in the "history of the high priests" (*Ko-sang-chuen*).

73 Vol. ii. p. 156.

74 Vol. ii. p. 161.

were specially prepared and adorned. The one on the left was for Śâriputra, the one on the right for Mudgalyâyana. The assembly was yet short of 500 by one Arhat; and already the great Kâśyapa was ascending the throne when Ânanda stood without the gate unable to find admission;[75] on this spot they have raised a tower which still exists. Still skirting the mountain, we find very many other stone cells used by the Arhats for the purpose of meditation. Leaving the old city and going north-east three li, we arrive at the stone cell of Dêvadatta, fifty paces from which there is a great square black stone. Some time ago there was a Bhikshu who walked forward and backward on this stone meditating on the impermanency, the sorrow, and vanity of his body (*life*). Thus realising the character of impurity, loathing himself, he drew his knife and would have killed himself. But then he reflected that the Lord of the World had forbidden self-murder. But then again he thought, "Although that is so, yet I am simply anxious to destroy the three poisonous thieves (*evil desire, hatred, ignorance*)." Then again he drew his knife and cut his throat. On the first gash he obtained the degree of Srôtâpanna; when he had half done the work he arrived at the condition of Anâgâmin, and after completing the deed he obtained the position of an Arhat and entered *Nirvâṇa*.

XXXI. Going west from this four *yôjanas*, we arrive at the town of Gayâ. All within this city likewise is desolate and desert. Going south 20 li, we arrive at the place where Bôdhisattva, when alive, passed six years in self-inflicted austerities. This place is well wooded. From this place westward three li, is the spot where Buddha entered the water to bathe and the dêva lowered the branch of a tree to help him out of the water. Again, going north two li, we arrive at the place where the village girls[76] gave the milk and rice to Buddha. From this going north

[75] Cf. *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 72.

[76] Mi-kia for Grâmika, or Grâmikî; as *Ni-kia*, for Ka-ni-kia.

two li is the spot where Buddha, seated on a stone under a great tree, and looking towards the east, ate the rice and milk. The tree and the stone still remain. The stone is about six feet square and two in height. In Mid-India the heat and cold are so equalised that trees will live for thousands of years, and even so many as ten thousand. Going north-east from this half a *yôjana*, we arrive at a stone cell, into which Bôdhisattva entering, sat down with his legs crossed, and as he faced the west he reflected with himself, "If I am to arrive at the condition of perfect wisdom, let there be some spiritual manifestation." Immediately on the stone wall there appeared the shadow of Buddha, in length somewhat about three feet. This shadow is still distinctly visible. Then the heavens and the earth were shaken, and all the dêvas in space cried out and said, "This is not the place appointed for the Buddhas (*past* or *those to come*) to arrive at perfect wisdom; at a distance less than half a *yôjaṇa* south-west from this, beneath the Pei-to tree, is the spot where all the Buddhas (*past* or *yet to come*) should arrive at that condition." The dêvas having thus spoken, immediately went before him, singing and leading the way with a view to induce him to follow. Then Bôdhisattva, rising up, followed them. When distant thirty paces from the tree, a dêva gave him some grass of good omen.[77] Bôdhisattva having accepted it, advanced fifteen paces. Then 500 blue birds[78] came flying towards him, and having encircled Bôdhisattva three times, departed. Bôdhisattva, then going forward, arrived under the Pei-to tree, and spreading out the grass of good omen, sat down with his face towards the east. Then it was that Mâra-râja dispatched three pleasure-girls from the northern quarter to come and tempt him, whilst Mâra himself coming from the south, assailed him likewise. Then Bôdhisattva letting the toe of his foot down to the earth, the whole army of Mâra was scat-

77 Kuśa grass.

78 For this and other incidents, see vol. ii. p. 124. Consult also the notes in Fah-hian (Beal's *Bud. Pilg.*, p. 123).

tered, and the three women were changed into hags. On the place above mentioned, where he inflicted on himself mortification for six years, and on each spot subsequently mentioned, men in after times raised towers and placed figures (*of Buddha*), which still remain. Buddha having arrived at supreme wisdom, for seven days sat contemplating the tree, experiencing the joys of emancipation. On this spot they have raised a tower, as well as on the following, viz., where he walked for seven days under the Pei-to tree, from east to west; where all the dêvas, having caused the appearance of a hall composed of the seven precious substances, for seven days paid religious worship to Buddha; where the blind dragon Muchilinda for seven days encircled Buddha in token of respect; also where Buddha, seated on a square stone beneath a Nyagrôdha tree, and with his face to the east, received the respectful salutation of Brahmâ; also where the four heavenly kings respectfully offered him his alms-bowl; also where the 500 merchants presented him with parched corn and honey; also where he converted the Kâśyapas, elder and younger brothers, and their thousand disciples. In the place where Buddha arrived at perfect reason there are three *saṅghârâmas*, in all of which priests are located. The dependants of the congregation of priests supply them with all necessaries, so that there is no lack of anything. They scrupulously observe the rules of the Vinaya with respect to decorum, which relate to sitting down, rising up, or entering the assembly; and the rules which the holy congregation observed during Buddha's lifetime are still observed by these priests. The sites of the four great pagodas have always been associated together from the time of the *Nirvâṇa*. The four great pagodas are those erected on the place where he was born, where he obtained emancipation, where he began to preach, and where he entered *Nirvâna.*

XXXII. Formerly, when King Aśôka was a lad,[79] playing

[79] That is, in a previous birth.

on the road, he met Śâkya Buddha going begging. The little boy, rejoiced at the chance, gave him a handful of earth as an offering. Buddha received it, and on his return sprinkled it on the ground where he took his exercise. In return for this act of charity the lad became an iron-wheel king and ruled over Jambudvîpa. On assuming the iron-wheel he was on a certain occasion going through Jambudvîpa on a tour of inspection, at which time he saw one of the places of torment for the punishment of wicked men situated between the two iron-circle mountains. He immediately asked his attendant ministers, "What is this place?" To this they replied and said, "This is the place where Yâma-râja, the infernal king, inflicts punishment on wicked men for their crimes." The king then began to reflect and said, "If the demon king, in the exercise of his function, requires to have a place of punishment for wicked men, why should not I, who rule men (*on earth*), have a place of punishment likewise for the guilty?" On this he asked his ministers, "Who is there that I can appoint to make for me a hell,[80] and to exercise authority therein for the punishment of wicked men?" In reply they said, "None but a very wicked man can fulfil such an office." The king forthwith dispatched his ministers in every direction to seek for such a man. In the course of their search they saw, by the side of a running stream, a lusty great fellow of a black colour, with red hair and light eyes; with the talons of his feet he caught the fish, and when he whistled to the birds and beasts, they came to him; and as they approached he mercilessly shot them through, so that none escaped. Having caught this man, he was brought before the king. The king then gave him these secret orders, "You must enclose a square space with high walls, and with this enclosure plant every kind of flower and fruit (*tree*), and make beautiful alcoves, and arrange everything with such taste as to make people anxious to look within.

[80] For this incident see vol. ii. p. 85.

Make a wide gate to it, and then when any one enters, seize him at once and subject him to every kind of torture. Let no one (*who has once entered*) ever go out again. And I strictly enjoin you, that if I even should enter, that you torture me also and spare not. Now, then, I appoint you lord of this place of torment!" It happened that a certain Bhikshu, as he was going his rounds begging for food, entered the gate. The infernal keeper seeing him, made preparations to put him to torture. The Bhikshu, being much frightened, suppliantly begged a moment's respite. "Permit me, at least, to partake of my mid-day meal," he said. It so happened that just then another man entered the place, on which the keeper directly seized him, and, putting him in a stone mortar, began to pound his body to atoms till a red froth formed. The Bhikshu having witnessed this spectacle, began to reflect on the impermanency, the sorrow, the vanity of bodily existence, that it is like a bubble and froth of the sea, and so he arrived at the condition of an Arhat. This having transpired, the infernal keeper laid hold of him and thrust him into a caldron of boiling water. The heart of the Bhikshu and his countenance were full of joy. The fire was extinguished and the water became cold, whilst in the middle of it there sprang up a lotus, on the top of which the Bhikshu took his seat. The keeper forthwith proceeded to the king and said, "A wonderful miracle has occurred in the place of torture; would that your majesty would come and see it." The king said, "I dare not come, in consideration of my former agreement with you." The keeper replied, "This matter is one of great moment: it is only right you should come; let us consider your former agreement changed." The king then directly followed him and entered the prison; on which the Bhikshu, for his sake, delivered a religious discourse, so that the king believed and was converted. Then he ordered the place of torture to be destroyed, and repented of all the evil he had formerly committed. From the

time of his conversion he exceedingly honoured the three precious ones (*i.e.*, Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha), and went continually to the spot underneath the Pei-to tree for the purpose of repentance, self-examination, and fasting. In consequence of this, the queen on one occasion asked, "Where does the king go so constantly?" The ministers replied, "He continually resides under the Pei-to tree." The queen hereupon, awaiting an opportunity when the king was not there, sent men to cut the tree down. The king repairing as usual to the spot, and seeing what had happened, was so overpowered with grief that he fell down senseless on the ground. The ministers, bathing his face with water, after a long time restored him to consciousness. Then the king piled up the earth on the four sides of the stump of the tree, and commanded the roots to be moistened with a hundred pitchers of milk. Then prostrating himself at full length on the ground, he made the following vow, "If the tree does not revive I will never rise up again." No sooner had he done this than the tree began to force up small branches from the root, and so it continued to grow until it arrived at its present height, which is somewhat less than 120 feet.

XXXIII. From this place going south three li, we arrive at a mountain called the Cock's-foot. The great Kâśyapa is at present within this mountain.[81] He divided the mountain at its base, so as to open a passage (*for himself*). This entrance is now closed up (*impassable*). At a considerable distance from this spot there is a side chasm; it is in this the entire body of Kâśyapa is now preserved. Outside this chasm is the place where Kâśyapa, when alive, washed his hands. The people of that region who are afflicted with headaches use the earth brought from the place as an ointment, and this immediately cures them. As soon as the sun begins to decline[82] the Arhats come and take

[81] For an account of this mountain see vol. ii. p. 144.

[82] Or, it may be translated, "Therefore, since then, there have been Arhats," &c.; but this is not so agreeable with the context as the translation I have given.

their abode in this hill. Buddhist pilgrims of that and other countries come year by year to pay religious worship to Kâśyapa; if any should happen to be distressed with doubts, directly the sun goes down the Arhats arrive and begin to discourse with (*the pilgrims*) and explain their doubts and difficulties; and, having done so, forthwith they disappear. The thickets about this hill are dense and tangled. There are, moreover, many lions, tigers, and wolves prowling about, so that it is not possible to travel without great care.

XXXIV. Fa-Hian returning towards Pâṭaliputra, kept along the course of the Ganges, and after going ten *yôjanas* in a westerly direction, arrived at a *vihâra* called "Desert" (Kwang-ye), in which Buddha resided. Priests still dwell in it. Still keeping along the course of the Ganges and going west twelve *yôjanas*, we arrive at the country of Kâśi and the city of Bânâras. About ten li or so to the north-east of this city is the chapel of the deer park of the Ṛishis. This garden was once occupied by a Pratyêka Buddha. There are always wild deer reposing in it for shelter. When the Lord of the World was about to arrive at supreme wisdom, all the dêvas in space began to chant a hymn and say, "The son of Suddhôdana-râja, who has left his home to acquire supreme wisdom, after seven days will arrive at the condition of Buddha." The Pratyêka Buddha hearing this, immediately entered *Nirvâṇa*. Therefore the name of this place is the deer park of the Ṛishi. The world-honoured Buddha having arrived at complete knowledge, men in after ages erected a *vihâra* on this spot. Buddha being desirous to convert Âjñâtâ Kauṇḍinya and his companions, known as the five men, they communed one with another and said, "This Śramaṇa Gautama having for six years practised mortifications, reducing himself to the daily use of but one grain of hemp and one of rice, and in spite of this having failed to obtain supreme wisdom, how much less shall he now obtain that condition by entering into men's society and removing the checks he placed

upon his words and thoughts and actions! To-day when he comes here, let us carefully avoid all conversation with him." On Buddha's arrival the five men rose and saluted him, and here they have erected a tower; also on the following spots, viz., on a site sixty paces to the north of the former place, where Buddha, seated with his face to the east, began to turn the wheel of the law (to preach) for the purpose of converting Kauṇḍinya and his companions (*known as*) "the five men;" also on a spot twenty paces to the north of this, where Buddha delivered his prediction concerning Maitrêya; also on a spot fifty paces to the south of this, where the dragon Êlâpatra asked Buddha at what time he should be delivered from his dragon-form; in all these places towers have been erected which still exist. In the midst (*of the park*) there are two *saṅghârâmas* which still have priests dwelling in them. Proceeding north-west thirteen *yôjanas* from the park of the deer, there is a country called Kauśâmbî. There is a *vihâra* there called Ghôshira-vana (*the garden of Ghôshira*), in which Buddha formerly dwelt; it is now in ruins. There are congregations here, principally belonging to the system known as the Little Vehicle. Eight *yôjanas* east of this place is a place where Buddha once took up his residence and converted an evil demon. They have also erected towers on various spots where he sat or walked for exercise when he was resident in this neighbourhood. There are *saṅghârâmas* still existing here, and perhaps a hundred priests.

XXXV. Going 200 *yôjanas* south from this, there is a country called Ta-Thsin (Dakshiṇa). Here is a *saṅghârâma* of the former Buddha Kâśyapa.[83] It is constructed out of a great mountain of rock, hollowed to the proper shape.

[83] This convent is described by Hiuen Tsiang in Book x. It was probably dedicated to Pârvatî (the Po-lo-yu of Fa-hian, which he translates "pigeon"—*pârâvata*) or Chandâ, and is situated in the Chanda district of the Dekhan. The King Sadvaha, a friend of Nâgârjuna, was probably the same as the Sindhuka of the *Vayu-Purâna*. He is called Shi-in-teh-kia by I-tsing.

This building has altogether five stages. The lowest is made with elephant figures, and has five hundred stone cells in it. The second is made with lion shapes, and has four hundred chambers. The third is made with horse shapes, and has three hundred chambers. The fourth is made with ox shapes, and has two hundred chambers. The fifth is made with dove shapes, and has one hundred chambers in it. At the very top of all is a spring of water, which, flowing in a stream before the rooms, encircles each tier, and so, running in a circuitous course, at last arrives at the very lowest stage of all, where, flowing past the chambers, it finally issues through the door. Throughout the consecutive tiers, in various parts of the building, windows have been pierced through the solid rock for the admission of light, so that every chamber is quite illuminated and there is no darkness. At the four corners of this edifice they have hewn out the rock into steps, as means for ascending. Men of the present time, being small of stature, ascend the ladder and thus reach the top in the usual way; but men of old reached it with one foot.[84] The reason why they name this building Po-lo-yu is from an Indian word signifying "pigeon." There are always Arhats abiding here. This land is barren and without inhabitants. At a considerable distance from the hill there are villages, but all of them are inhabited by heretics. They know nothing of the law of Buddha, or Śramaṇas, or Brâhmaṇas, or of any of the different schools of learning. The men of that country continually see persons come flying to the temple. On a certain occasion there were some Buddhist pilgrims from different countries who came here to pay religious worship. Then the men of the villages above alluded to asked them, saying, "Why do you not fly? All the religious persons hereabouts that we see (*are able to*) fly." These men then answered by way of excuse, "Because our wings are not yet perfectly formed." The country of Ta-Thsin (Dekhan) is precipitous and the roads

[84] Referring perhaps to the *one-footed men* of Ktesias. It may possibly be, "*at one bound.*"

dangerous. Those who wish to go there, even if they know the place, ought to give a present to the king of the country, either money or goods. The king then deputes certain men to accompany them as guides, and so they pass the travellers from one place to another, each party pointing out their own roads and intricate bypaths. Fa-Hian finding himself in the end unable to proceed to that country, reports in the above passages merely what he has heard.

XXXVI. From Bânâras going eastward we arrive at the town of Pâṭaliputra again. The purpose of Fa-Hian was to seek for copies of the *Vinaya Piṭaka;* but throughout the whole of Northern India the various masters trusted to tradition only for their knowledge of the precepts, and had no originals to copy from. Wherefore Fa-Hian had come even so far as Mid-India. But here in the *saṅghârâma* of the Great Vehicle he obtained one collection of the precepts, viz., the collection used by the Mahâsaṅghika assembly. This was that used by the first great assembly of priests during Buddha's lifetime. It is reported that this was the one used in the Jêtavana *vihâra.* Except that the eighteen sects have each their own private rules of conduct,[85] they are agreed in essentials. In some minor details they differ, as well as in a more or less exact attention to matters of practice. But the collection (*of this sect*) is regarded as the most correct and complete. Moreover, he obtained one copy of precepts from dictation, comprising about 7000 *gâthâs.* This version was that used by the assembly belonging to the school of the Sarvâstivâdas; the same, in fact, as is generally used in China. The masters of this school also hand down the precepts by word of mouth, and do not commit them to writing. Moreover, in this assembly he obtained a copy of the *Samyuktâbhidharma-hṛidaya Śâstra,* including altogether about 6000 *gâthâs.* Moreover, he obtained a copy of the *Nirvâṇa Sûtra,* consisting altogether of 2500 verses.

[85] *Vide* I-tsing, *Nan-hai,* § 25.

Moreover, he obtained in one volume the *Vâipulya-parinirvâṇa Sûtra*, containing about 5000 verses. Moreover, he procured a copy of the *Abhidharma* according to the school of the Mahâsaṅghikas. On this account Fa-Hian abode in this place for the space of three years engaged in learning to read the Saṅskṛit[86] books, and to converse in that language, and in copying the precepts. When To-ching arrived in Mid-India and saw the customary behaviour of the Śramaṇas, and the strict decorum observed by the assembly of priests, and their religious deportment, even to the smallest matters, then, sorrowfully reflecting on the meagre character of the precepts known to the different assemblies of priests in the border-land of China, he bound himself by a vow and said, "From the present time for ever till I obtain the condition of Buddha, may I never again be born in a frontier country." And in accordance with this expression of his wish, he took up his permanent abode in this place, and did not return. And so Fa-Hian, desiring, according to his original purpose, to spread the knowledge of the precepts throughout the land of Han (China), returned alone.

XXXVII. Following down the river Ganges in an easterly direction for eighteen *yôjanas,* we come to the great kingdom of Chen-po (Champâ) on its southern shore. In the place where Buddha once dwelt, and where he moved to and fro for exercise, also where the four previous Buddhas sat down, in all these places towers have been erected, and there are still resident priests. From this continuing to go eastward nearly fifty *yôjanas,* we arrive at the kingdom of Tâmralipti. This is at the sea-mouth. There are twenty-four *saṅghârâmas* in this country; all of them have resident priests, and the law of Buddha is generally respected. Fa-Hian remained here for two years, writing out copies of the sacred books (*sûtras*) and drawing image-pictures. He then shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel. Putting to sea, they pro-

[86] Fan.

ceeded in a south-westerly direction, catching the first fair wind of the winter season. They sailed for fourteen days and nights, and arrived at the country of the lions (Siṁhala, Ceylon). Men of that country (Tâmralipti) say that the distance between the two is about 700 *yôjanas*. This kingdom (*of lions*) is situated on a great island. From east to west it is fifty *yôjanas*, and from north to south thirty *yôjanas*. On every side of it are small islands, perhaps amounting to a hundred in number. They are distant from one another ten or twenty li and as much as 200 li. All of them depend on the great island. Most of them produce precious stones and pearls. The *mâni*-gem is also found in one district, embracing a surface perhaps of ten li. The king sends a guard to protect the place. If any gems are found, the king claims three out of every ten.

XXXVIII. This kingdom had originally no inhabitants, but only demons and dragons dwelt in it. Merchants of different countries (*however*) came here to trade. At the time of traffic, the demons did not appear in person, but only exposed their valuable commodities with the value affixed. Then the merchantmen, according to the prices marked, purchased the goods and took them away. But in consequence of these visits (*coming, going, and stopping*), men of other countries, hearing of the delightful character of the place, flocked there in great numbers, and so a great kingdom was formed. This country enjoys an agreeable climate, without any differences in winter or summer. The plants and trees are always verdant. The fields are sown just according to men's inclination; there are no fixed seasons. Buddha came to this country from a desire to convert a malevolent dragon. By his spiritual power he planted one foot to the north of the royal city, and one on the top of a mountain, the distance between the two being fifteen *yôjanas*. Over the foot-impression (*on the hill*) to the north of the royal city, is erected a great tower, in height 470 feet. It is adorned with gold and silver, and perfected

with every precious substance. By the side of this tower, moreover, is erected a *sanghârâma*, which is called Abhayagiri, containing 5000 priests. They have also built here a hall of Buddha, which is covered with gold and silver engraved work, conjoined with all precious substances. In the midst of this hall is a jasper figure (*of Buddha*), in height about 22 feet. The entire body glitters and sparkles with the seven precious substances, whilst the various characteristic marks are so gloriously portrayed that no words can describe the effect. In the right hand it holds a pearl of inestimable value. Fa-Hian had now been absent many years from the land of Han; the manners and customs of the people with whom he had intercourse were entirely strange to him. The towns, people, mountains, valleys, and plants and trees which met his eyes, were unlike those of old times. Moreover, his fellow-travellers were now separated from him—some had remained behind, and some were dead. To consider the shadow (*of the past*) was all that was left him; and so his heart was continually saddened. All at once, as he was standing by the side of this jasper figure, he beheld a merchant present to it as a religious offering a white taffeta fan of Chinese manufacture. Unwittingly (Fa-Hian) gave way to his sorrowful feelings, and the tears flowing down filled his eyes. A former king of this country sent an embassy to Mid-India to procure a slip of the Pei-to tree. This they planted by the side of the Hall of Buddha. When it was about 220 feet high, the tree began to lean towards the south-east. The king, fearing it would fall, placed eight or nine surrounding props to support the tree. Just in the place where the tree was thus supported it put forth a branch which pierced through the props, and, descending to the earth, took root. This branch is about twenty inches round. The props, although pierced through the centre, still surround (*the tree*), which stands now without their support, yet men have not removed them.

Under the tree is erected a chapel, in the middle of which

is a figure (*of Buddha*) in a sitting posture. Both the clergy and laity pay reverence to this figure with little intermission. Within the capital, moreover, is erected the chapel of the tooth of Buddha, in the construction of which all the seven-precious substances have been employed. The king purifies himself according to the strictest Brâhmaṇical rules, whilst those men within the city who reverence (*this relic*) from a principle of belief also compose their passions according to strict rule. This kingdom, from the time it has been so governed, has suffered neither from famine, calamity, nor revolution. The treasury of this congregation of priests contains numerous gems and a *mâni*-jewel of inestimable value. Their king once entered the treasury, and, going round it for the purpose of inspection, he saw there this *mâni*-gem. On beholding it, a covetous feeling sprung up in his heart, and he desired to take it away with him. For three days this thought afflicted him, but then he came to his right mind. He directly repaired to the assembly of the priests, and bowing down his head, he repented of his former wicked purpose, and addressing them, said, "Would that you would make a rule from this time forth and for ever, on no account to allow a king to enter your treasury, and no Bhikshu except he is of forty years' seniority—after that time he may be permitted to enter." There are many noblemen and rich householders within the city. The houses of the Sa-poh (Sabæan) merchants are very beautifully adorned. The streets and passages are smooth and level. At the head of the four principal streets there are preaching halls. On the 8th, 14th, and 15th day of the month they prepare a lofty throne within each of these buildings, and the religious members of the community of the four classes all congregate to hear the preaching of the law. The men of this country say that there are in the country altogether fifty or sixty thousand priests, all of whom live in community (*have their food* [commons] *provided*). Besides these, the king supplies five or six

thousand persons within the city with food in common (*or*, with common food (*commons*)). These persons, when they require, take their alms-bowls and go (*to the appointed place*), and, according to the measure of the bowls, fill them and return. They always bring out the tooth of Buddha in the middle of the third month. Ten days beforehand, the king magnificently caparisons a great elephant, and commissions a man of eloquence and ability to clothe himself in royal apparel, and, riding on the elephant, to sound a drum and proclaim as follows:— "Bôdhisattva during three *Asaṅkhyêya kalpas* underwent every kind of austerity; he spared himself no personal sufferings; he left his country, wife, and child; moreover, he tore out his eyes to bestow them on another, he mangled his flesh to deliver a dove (*from the hawk*), he sacrificed his head in alms, he gave his body to a famishing tiger, he grudged not his marrow or brain. Thus he endured every sort of agony for the sake of all flesh. Moreover, when he became perfect Buddha, he lived in the world forty-nine years preaching the law and teaching and converting men. He gave rest to the wretched, he saved the lost. Having passed through countless births, he then entered *Nirvâṇa*. Since that event is 1497 years. The eyes of the world were then put out, and all flesh deeply grieved. After ten days the tooth of (*this same*) Buddha will be brought forth and taken to the Abhayagiri *vihâra*. Let all ecclesiastical and lay persons within the kingdom, who wish to lay up a store of merit, prepare and smooth the roads, adorn the streets and highways; let them scatter every kind of flower, and offer incense in religious reverence to the relic." This proclamation being finished, the king next causes to be placed on both sides of the procession-road representations of the five hundred bodily forms which Bôdhisattva assumed during his successive births. For instance, his birth as Sudâna;[87] his appearance

[87] The *Sudâna Jâtaka*, the same as the *Vessantara Jâtaka*; both this and the *Sâma Jâtaka* are among the Sânchi sculptures.

as Sâma; his birth as the king of the elephants, and as an antelope. These figures are all beautifully painted in divers colours, and have a very life-like appearance. At length the tooth of Buddha is brought forth and conducted along the principal road. As they proceed on the way, religious offerings are made to it. When they arrive at the Abhaya *vihâra* they place it in the Hall of Buddha, where the clergy and laity all assemble in vast crowds and burn incense, and light lamps, and perform every kind of religious ceremony, both night and day, without ceasing. After ninety complete days they again return it to the *vihâra* within the city. This chapel is thrown open on fast days for the purpose of religious worship, as the law (of Buddha) directs. Forty li to the east of the Abhaya *vihâra* is a mountain, on which is built a chapel called Po-ti (*Bôdhi*); there are about 2000 priests in it. Amongst them is a very distinguished Shaman called Ta-mo-kiu-ti (Dharmakôti or Dharmagupta). The people of this country greatly respect and reverence him. He resides in a cell, where he has lived for about forty years. By the constant practice of benevolence he has been able to tame the serpents and mice, so that they stop together in one cell, and do not hurt one another.

XXXIX. Seven li to the south of the capital is a chapel called Mahâvihâra, in which there are 3000 priests. Amongst them was a very eminent Śramaṇa, whose life was so pure that the men of the country generally gave him credit for being an Arhat. At the time of his approaching death, the king, having come to inspect and inquire, according to the custom of the law, assembled the priests and asked the Bhikshu, "Hast thou attained reason?" On which he made reply in truth, "I am an Arhat." After his death, the king immediately examined the sacred books, with a view to perform the funeral obsequies according to the rules for such as are Arhats. Accordingly, about four or five li to the east of the *vihâra* they raised a very great pyre of wood, about 34 feet square

and of the same height. Near the top they placed tiers of sandal-wood, aloe, and all kinds of scented wood. On the four sides they constructed steps. Then, taking some clean and very white camlet cloth, they bound it around and above the pyre. They then constructed above a funeral carriage, like the hearses used in this country, except that there are no dragon-ear handles (cf. *ting urh*). Then, at the time of the cremation (*dāva*), the king, accompanied by the four classes of the people, assembled in great numbers, came to the spot provided with flowers and incense for religious offerings, and followed the hearse till it arrived at the place of the funeral ceremony. The king, then, in his own person, offered religious worship with flowers and incense. This being over, the hearse was placed on the pyre, and oil of cinnamon poured over it in all directions. Then they set light to the whole. At the time of kindling the fire, the whole assembly occupied their minds with solemn thoughts. Then removing their upper garments, and taking their wing-like fans, which they use as sun-shades, and approaching as near as possible to the pyre, they flung them into the midst of the fire in order to assist the cremation. When all was over, they diligently searched for the bones and collected them together, in order to raise a tower over them. Fa-Hian did not arrive in time to see this celebrated person alive, but only to witness his funeral obsequies. At this time, the king, being an earnest believer in the law of Buddha, desired to build a new *vihâra* for this congregation of priests. First of all he provided for them a great feast, after which he selected a pair of strong working oxen and ornamented their horns with gold, silver, and precious things. Then providing himself with a beautiful gilded plough, the king himself ploughed round the four sides of the allotted space;[83] after which, ceding all personal right over the land, houses, or people within the area thus enclosed, he presented (*the whole to the*

[83] A *king*, or $15\frac{13}{100}$ acres.

priests). Then he caused to be engraved on a metal plate (*the following inscription*):—"From this time and for all generations hereafter, let this property be handed down from one (*body of priests*) to the other, and let no one dare to alienate it, or change (*the character of*) the grant." When Fa-Hian was residing in this country, he heard a religious brother from India, seated on a high throne, reciting a sacred book and saying, "The Pâtra (*alms-bowl*) of Buddha originally was preserved in Vaiśâlî, but now it is in the borders of Gandhâra. After an uncertain period of years [Fa-Hian, at the time of the recital, heard the exact number of years, but he has now forgotten it], it will go on to the country of the western Yu-chi. After another period it will go to the country of Khotan. After a similar period it will be transported to Kouché. In about the same period it will come back to the land of Han; after the same period it will return to the land of lions (Simhala, Ceylon); after the same period it will return to Mid-India; after which it will be taken up into the Tushta heaven. Then Maitrêya Bôdhisattva will exclaim with a sigh, 'The alms-dish of Śâkyamuni Buddha has come.' Then all the Dêvas will pay religious worship to it with flowers and incense for seven days. After this it will return to Jambudvîpa, and a sea-dragon, taking it, will carry it within his palace, awaiting till Maitrêya is about to arrive at complete wisdom, at which time the bowl, again dividing itself into four as it was at first, will re-ascend the Pin-na[89] mountain. After Maitrêya has arrived at supreme wisdom, the four heavenly Kings will once more come and respectfully salute him as Buddha, after the same manner as they have done to the former Buddhas. The thousand Buddhas of this Bhadra-kalpa will all of them use this same alms-dish; when the bowl has disappeared, then the law of Buddha will gradually perish; after which the years of man's life will begin to contract until it be no more than five years in duration.

[89] In some places this is written An-na, as though for (Sum)ana.

At the time of its being ten years in length, rice and butter will disappear from the world, and men will become extremely wicked. The sticks they grasp will then transform themselves into knives and clubs, with which they will attack one another, and wound and kill each other. In the midst of this, men who have acquired religious merit will escape and seek refuge in the mountains; and when the wicked have finished the work of mutual destruction, they will come from their hiding-places, and will converse together and say, 'Men of old lived to a very advanced age, but now, because wicked men have indulged without restraint in every transgression of the law, our years have dwindled down to their present short span, even to the space of ten years. Now, therefore, let us practise every kind of good deed, encouraging within ourselves a kind and loving spirit; let us enter on a course of virtue and righteousness.' Thus, as each one practises faith and justice, their years will begin to increase in double ratio till they reach 80,000 years of life. At the time when Maitrêya is born, when he first begins to declare his doctrine (turn the wheel of the law), his earliest converts will be the followers of the bequeathed law of Śâkya Buddha, those who have forsaken their families, those who have sought refuge in the three sacred names, those who have kept the five great commandments, and attended to their religious duties in making continued offerings to the three precious objects of worship. His second and third body of converts shall be those who, by their previous conduct, have put themselves in a condition for salvation." Fa-Hian, on hearing this discourse, wished to copy it down, on which the man said, "This has no Scripture-original; I only repeat by word of mouth (*what I have learned*)."

XL. Fa-Hian resided in this country for two years. Continuing his search, he obtained a copy of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* according to the school of the Mahîśâsakas. He also obtained a copy of the Great *Âgama* (*Dîrghâgama*), and of the Miscellaneous *Âgama* (*Saṁyuktâgama*), and also a collec-

tion of the Miscellaneous *Piṭaka* (*Sannipâta*). All these were hitherto unknown in the land of Han. Having obtained these works in the original language (*Fan*), he forthwith shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel, which carried about two hundred men. Astern of the great ship was a smaller one, in case the larger vessel should be injured or wrecked. Having got a fair wind, they sailed eastward for two days, when suddenly a tempest (*typhoon*) arose, and the ship sprung a leak. The merchants then desired to haul up the smaller vessel, but the crew of that ship, fearing that a crowd of men would rush into her and sink her, cut the towing cable and she fell off. The merchantmen were greatly terrified, expecting their death momentarily. Then dreading lest the leak should gain upon them, they forthwith took their heavy goods and merchandise and cast them overboard. Fa-Hian also flung overboard his water-pitcher (*kuṇḍikâ*) and his washing-basin, and also other portions of his property. He was only afraid lest the merchants should fling into the sea his sacred books and images. And so with earnestness of heart he invoked Avalôkitêśvara, and paid reverence to the Buddhist saints (*the priesthood*) of the land of Han, speaking thus: "I indeed have wandered far and wide in search of the law. Oh, bring me back again, by your spiritual power, to reach some resting-place." And so the hurricane blew on for thirteen days and nights; they then arrived at the shore of a small island, and on the tide going out they found the place of the leak. Having forthwith stopped it up, they again put to sea on their onward voyage. In this ocean there are many pirates, who, coming on you suddenly, destroy everything. The sea itself is boundless in extent; it is impossible to know east or west except by observing the sun, moon, or stars, and so progress. If it is dark, rainy weather, the only plan is to steer by the wind without guide. During the darkness of night we only see the great waves beating one against the other and shining like fire, whilst shoals of

sea-monsters of every description (*surround the ship*). The merchants, perplexed, knew not towards what land they were steering. The sea was bottomless and no soundings could be found, so that there was no chance of anchoring. At length, the weather clearing up, they got their right bearings, and once more shaped a correct course and proceeded onwards; but if (*during the bad weather*) they had happened to have struck on a hidden rock, there could have been no escape. Thus they voyaged for ninety days and more, when they arrived at a country called Ye-po-ti (Java, *or, perhaps,* Sumatra). In this country heretics and Brâhmaṇs flourish, but the law of Buddha is not much known. Stopping here the best portion of five months, Fa-Hian again embarked on board another merchant vessel, having also a crew of two hundred men or so. They took with them fifty days' provisions, and set sail on the 16th day of the fourth month. Fa-Hian kept his "rest" on board this ship. They shaped a course north-east for Kwang-chow. After a month and some days, when sounding the middle watch of the night, a black squall suddenly came on, accompanied with pelting rain. The merchantmen and passengers were all terrified. Fa-Hian at this time also, with great earnestness of mind, again entreated Avalôkitêśvara and all the priesthood of China to exert their divine power in their favour, and protect them till daylight.[90] When the day broke, all the Brâhmaṇs, consulting together, said, "It is because we have got this Śramaṇa on board we have no luck, and have incurred this great mischief. Come, let us land this Bhikshu on any island we meet, and let us not all perish for the sake of one man." The religious patron (*Dânapati*) of Fa-Hian then said, "If you land this Bhikshu, you shall also land me with him; and if not, you had better kill me: for if you put this Śramaṇa on shore, then, when I arrive in China, I will go straight to the king and report you; and the king of that country

[90] Cf. ηὔχοντο ἡμέραν γενέσθαι, Acts xxiii. 29.

is a firm believer in the law of Buddha, and greatly honours the Bhikshus and priests." The merchantmen on this hesitated, and (*in the end*) did not dare to land him. The weather continuing very dark, the pilot's observations were perversely wrong.[91] Nearly seventy days had now elapsed. The rice for food and the water for congee were nearly all done. They had to use salt water for cooking, whilst they gave out to every man about two pints of fresh water. And now, when this was just exhausted, the merchants held a conversation and said, "The proper time for the voyage to Kwang-Chow is about fifty days, but now we have exceeded that time these many days—shall we be perverse?" On this they put the ship on a north-west course to look for land. After twelve days' continuous sailing, they arrived at the southern coast of Lau-Shan which borders on the prefecture of Chang-Kwang. They then obtained good fresh water and vegetables; and so, after passing through so many dangers and difficulties and such a succession of anxious days, (*the pilgrim*) suddenly arrived at this shore. On seeing the Lí-ho vegetable (*a sort of reed*), he was confident that this was indeed the land of Han. But not seeing any men or traces of life, they knew not what place it was. Some said they had not yet arrived at Kwang-chow, others maintained they had passed it. In their uncertainty, therefore, they put off in a little boat, and entered a creek to look for some one to ask where they were. Meeting with two hunters, they got them to go back with them, making Fa-Hian interpret their words and question them. Fa-Hian having first tried to inspire them with confidence, then leisurely asked them, "What men are you?" They replied, "We are disciples of Buddha." Then he asked, "What do you look for in these mountains here?" They prevaricated, and said, "To-morrow is the 15th day of the seventh month, and we were anxious to catch some-

[91] That is, he was perverse in following his wrong observations, or calculations.

thing to sacrifice to Buddha." Again he asked, "What country is this?" They replied, "This is Tsing-Chow, on the borders of the prefecture of Chang-Kwang, dependent on the house of Lin." Having heard this, the merchants were very glad, and immediately begging that their goods might be landed, they deputed men to go with them to Chang-Kwang. The prefect, Li-I, who was a faithful follower of the law of Buddha, hearing that there was a Sramana arrived with sacred books and images in a ship from beyond the seas, immediately proceeded to the shore with his followers to escort the books and sacred figures to the seat of his government. After this the merchants returned towards Yang-Chow. Meanwhile Liu arriving at Tsing-Chow,[92] entertained Fa-Hian for the whole winter and summer. The summer period of rest being over, Fa-Hian, removed from the society of his fellow-priests for so long, was anxious to get back to Chang'an. But as his plans were important, he directed his course first towards the southern capital. Having met the priests, he exhibited the sacred books he had brought back.

Fa-Hian, leaving Chang'an, was five years in arriving at Mid-India. He resided there during six years, and was three years more before he arrived at Tsing-Chow. He had successively passed through nearly thirty different countries. In all the countries of India, after passing the sandy desert, the dignified carriage of the priesthood and the surprising influence of religion cannot be adequately described. But because our learned doctors had not heard of these things, he was induced, regardless of personal risk, to cross the seas, and to encounter every kind of danger in returning home. Having been preserved by divine power (*by the three honourable ones*), and brought through all dangers safely, he was further induced to commit to writing these records of his travels, desiring that honourable readers might be informed of them as well as himself.

92 *Fā* for *chi* (?).

THE MISSION

OF

SUNG-YUN[1] AND HWEI SĂNG

TO OBTAIN

BUDDHIST BOOKS IN THE WEST.[2] (518 A.D.)

[*Translated from the 5th Section of the History of the Temples of Lo-Yang (Honan Fu).*]

IN the suburb Wen-I, to the north-east of the city of Lo-Yang, was the dwelling of Sung-Yun of Tun-hwang,[3] who, in company with the Bhikshu Hwei Săng, was sent on an embassy to the western countries by the Empress Dowager (Tai-Hau) of the Great Wei dynasty[4] to obtain Buddhist books. This occurred in the eleventh month of the first year of the period *Shên kwei* (517–518 A.D.) They procured altogether 170 volumes, all standard works, belonging to the Great Vehicle.

First of all, having repaired to the capital, they proceeded in a westerly direction forty days, and arrived at the Chîh-Ling (Barren Ridge), which is the western frontier of the country. On this ridge is the fortified outpost of the Wei territory. The Chîh-Ling produces no trees or shrubs, and hence its name (*Barren*). Here is the common resort (*cave*) of the rat-bird. These two animals being of different species (*chung*), but the same genus (*lui*), live and breed together. The bird is the male, the rat the

[1] Called by Rémusat Sung-Yun tse (*Fa-hian*, cap. viii. n. 1); but the word "tse" is no component part of the name. The passage in the original is this: "In the Wan-I suburb (*li*) is the house (*tse*) of Sun Yun of Tun-hwang."

[2] Western countries (*si yu*).

[3] Tun-hwang, situated on a branch of the Bulunghir river, vide *ante*, p. xxiv. n.

[4] At the fall of the Tsin dynasty (420 A.D.), the northern provinces of China became the possession of a powerful Tartar tribe known as the Wei. A native dynasty (the South-

female. From their cohabiting in this manner, the name rat-bird cave is derived.

Ascending the Chîh-Ling and proceeding westward twenty-three days, having crossed the Drifting Sands, they arrived at the country of the Tuh-kiueh-'hun.[5] Along the road the cold was very severe, whilst the high winds, and the driving snow, and the pelting sand and gravel were so bad, that it was impossible to raise one's eyes without getting them filled. The chief city of the Tuh-kiueh-'hun and the neighbourhood is agreeably warm. The written character of this country is nearly the same as that of the Wei. The customs and regulations observed by these people are mostly barbarous in character (after the rules of the outside barbarians or foreigners). From this country going west 3500 li, we arrive at the city of Shen-Shen.[6] This city, from the time it set up a king, was seized by the Tuh-kiueh-'hun, and at present there resides in it a military officer (the second general) for subjugating (pacifying) the west. The entire cantonment[7] amounts to 3000 men, who are employed in withstanding the western Hu.

From Shen-Shen going west 1640 li, we arrive at the city of Tso-moh.[8] In this town there are, perhaps, a hundred families resident. The country is not visited with rain, but they irrigate their crops from the streams of water. They know not the use of oxen or ploughs in their husbandry.

In the town is a representation of Buddha with a Bôdhisattva, but certainly not in face like a Tartar. On questioning an old man about it, he said, "This was done by Lu-Kwong, who subdued the Tartars." From

ern Sung) ruled in the southern provinces, and has been regarded by subsequent writers as the legitimate one (Edkins).

[5] The Eastern Turks. The 'Hun were a southern horde of the 'Tieh lêi Turks. *Vide* Doolittle's *Vocab. and Handbook*, vol. ii. p. 206.

[6] Shen-shen or Leu-lan (Beal's *Bud. Pilg.*, p. 4, n.), probably the Charchan of Marco Polo; Mayers (*Manual*, 536) places it near Pidjan; but for remarks on its situation *vide* Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 179, n. 1; vol. ii. p. 475; *vide* also Prejevalsky's *Kulja*, Remarks by Baron Richtopen, p. 144, &c.

[7] *P'u lo* [bulak ?].

[8] Probably the Ni-mo of Hiuen Tsiang.

this city going westward 1275 li, we arrive at the city of Moh. The flowers and fruits here are just like those of Lo-Yang, but the native buildings and the foreign officials are different in appearance.

From the city Moh going west 22 li, we arrive at the city of Han-Mo.[9] Fifteen li to the south of this city is a large temple, with about 300 priests in it. These priests possess a golden full-length figure of Buddha, in height a *chang* and $\frac{8}{10}$ths (about 18 feet). Its appearance is very imposing, and all the characteristic marks of the body are bright and distinct. Its face was placed repeatedly looking eastward; but the figure, not approving of that, turned about and looked to the west. The old men have the following tradition respecting this figure:—They say that originally it came from the south, transporting itself through the air. The king of Khotan himself seeing it, paid it worship, and attempted to convey it to his city, but in the middle of the route, when they halted at night the figure suddenly disappeared. On dispatching men to look after it, they found it had returned to its old place. Immediately, therefore, (the king) raised a tower, and appointed 400 attendants to sweep and water (the tower). If any of these servitors receive a hurt of any kind, they place some gold leaf on this figure according to the injured part, and so are directly cured. Men in after ages built towers around this image of 18 feet, and the other image-towers, all of which are ornamented with many thousand flags and streamers of variegated silk. There are perhaps as many as 10,000 of these, and more than half of them belonging to the Wei country.[10] Over the flags are inscriptions in the square character, recording the several dates when they were presented; the greater number are of the nineteenth year of *T'ai Ho*, the second year of King

[9] This is probably the Pi-mo of Hiuen Tsiang (Pein, iii. 243), the Pein of Marco Polo. The figure described in the text is also alluded to by Hiuen Tsiang, and is identified with the sandal-wood image of Udyâna, king of Kauśâmbi.

[10] That is, were presented by sovereigns of the Wei dynasty, or during their reign.

Ming, and the second year of Yen Chang.[11] There was only one flag with the name of the reigning monarch on it, and this was a flag of the period *Yaou Tsin* (A.D. 406).

From the town of Han-Mo going west 878 li, we arrive at the country of Khotan. The king of this country wears a golden cap on his head, in shape like the comb of a cock; the appendages of the head-dress hang down behind him two feet, and they are made of taffeta (*kün*), about five inches wide. On state occasions, for the purpose of imposing effect, there is music performed, consisting of drums, horns, and golden cymbals. The king is also attended by one chief bowman, two spearmen, five halberdiers, and, on his right and left, swordsmen, not exceeding a hundred men. The poorer sort of women here wear trousers, and ride on horseback just as well as their husbands. They burn their dead, and, collecting the ashes, erect towers (*fau t'u*) over them. In token of mourning they cut their hair and disfigure their faces, as though with grief. Their hair is cut to a length of four inches, and kept so all round. When the king dies, they do not burn his body, but enclose it in a coffin and carry it far off and bury it in the desert. They found a temple to his memory, and, at proper times, pay religious service to his manes.

The king of Khotan[12] was no believer in the law of Buddha. A certain foreign merchantman on a time brought a Bhikshu called Pi-lu-shan (Vairôchana) to this neighbourhood, and located him under a plum-tree to the south of this city. On this an informer approached the king and said, "A strange Śramaṇa has come (*to your majesty's dominions*) without permission, and is now

[11] The period *T'ai-Ho* began 477 A.D. and ended 500 A.D., so that there could be no nineteenth year of this period: either the text is faulty or it may possibly refer to the nineteenth year of the reign of Hiao Wên Ti, which would be 490 A.D. The other dates named correspond to 502 A.D. and 514 A.D.

[12] One hundred and sixty-five years after the establishment of the kingdom of Li-yul (Khotan), the King Vijayasambhava, son of Yeula, ascended the throne, and in the fifth year of his reign the dharma was first introduced into Li-yul (Rockhill).

residing to the south of the city under the plum-tree." The king, hearing this, was angry, and forthwith went to see Vairôchana. The Bhikshu then addressed the king as follows: "Ju-lai (Tathâgata) has commissioned me to come here to request your majesty to build for him a perfectly finished pagoda (lit. *a pagoda with a surmounting spire or dish*), and thus secure to yourself perpetual felicity." The king said, "Let me see Buddha, and then I will obey him." Vairôchana then sounded a gong;[13] on which Buddha commissioned Râhula to assume his appearance, and manifest himself in his true likeness in the air. The king prostrated himself on the ground in adoration, and at once made arrangements for founding a temple and *vihâra* under the tree. Then he caused to be carved a figure of Râhula; and, lest suddenly it should perish, the king afterwards constructed a chapel for its special preservation. At present it is carefully protected by a sort of shade (*jar*) that covers it; but, notwithstanding this, the shadow of the figure constantly removes itself outside the building, so that those who behold it cannot help paying it religious service (*by circumambulating it*). In this place (*or* chapel) are the shoes of a Pratyêka Buddha, which have up to the present time resisted decay. They are made neither of leather or silk,—in fact, it is impossible to determine what the material is. The extreme limits of the kingdom of Khotan reach about 3000 li or so from east to west.

In the second year of Shan Kwai (519 A.D.) and the 7th month, 29th day, we entered the kingdom of Chü-ku-po (Chakuka—Yerkiang). The people of that country are mountain-dwellers. The five kinds of cereals grow in abundance. In eating these, they make them into cakes. They do not permit the slaughter of animals, and such of them as eat flesh only use that which dies of itself. The customs and spoken language are like those of the people of

13 The expression in the original implies the use of some magical influence to constrain Buddha to send Râhula.

Khotan, but the written character in use is that of the Brâhmaṇs. The limits of this country can be traversed in about five days.

During the first decade of the 8th month we entered the limits of the country of Han-Pan-to (Kabhanda),[14] and going west six days, we ascended the Tsung-ling mountains; advancing yet three days to the west, we arrived at the city of Kiueh-Yu;[15] and after three days more, to the Puh-ho-i mountains.[16] This spot is extremely cold. The snow accumulates both by winter and summer. In the midst of the mountain is a lake in which dwells a mischievous dragon. Formerly there was a merchant who halted at night by the side of the lake. The dragon just then happened to be very cross, and forthwith pronounced a spell and killed the merchant. The king of Pan-to,[17] hearing of it, gave up the succession to his son, and went to the kingdom of U-chang[18] to acquire knowledge of the spells used by the Brâhmaṇs. After four years, having procured these secrets, he came back to his throne, and, ensconced by the lake, he enchanted the dragon, and, lo! the dragon was changed into a man, who, deeply sensible of his wickedness, approached the king. The king immediately banished him from the Tsung-ling mountains more than 1000 li from the lake. The king of the present time is of the thirteenth generation (*from these events*). From this spot westward the road is one continuous ascent of the most precipitous character; for a thousand li there are overhanging crags, 10,000 fathoms high, towering up to the very heavens. Compared with this road, the ruggedness of the great pass known as the Mang-men is as nothing, and the eminences of the celebrated Hian mountains (*in Honan*) are like level country. After entering the Tsung-ling mountains, step by step, we crept upwards for four days,

[14] Kabhanda is identified by Yule with Sarikkul and Tash Kurghan. *Vide* infra, vol. ii. p. 298, n. 40.

[15] Or, Kong-yu.

[16] This phrase Puh-ho-i may also be translated the "Untrustworthy Mountains."

[17] That is, Kavandha or, Kabhanda or, Sarikkul.

[18] Udyâna in Northern India.

and then reached the highest part of the range. From this point as a centre, looking downwards, it seems just as though one was poised in mid-air. The kingdom of Han-pan-to stretches as far as the crest of these mountains.[19] Men say that this is the middle point of heaven and earth. The people of this region use the water of the rivers for irrigating their lands; and when they were told that in the middle country (*China*) the fields were watered by the rain, they laughed and said, "How could heaven provide enough for all?" To the eastward of the capital of this country there is a rapid river[20] (or a river, Mang-tsin) flowing to the north-east towards Sha-leh[21] (Kashgâr). The high lands of the Tsung-ling mountains do not produce trees or shrubs. At this time, viz., the 8th month, the air is icy cold, and the north wind carries along with it the drifting snow for a thousand li. At last, in the middle decade of the 9th month, we entered the kingdom of Poh-ho (Bolor?). The mountains here are as lofty and the gorges deep as ever. The king of the country has built a town, where he resides, for the sake of being in the mountains. The people of the country dress handsomely, only they use some leathern garments. The land is extremely cold—so much so, that the people occupy the caves of the mountains as dwelling-places, and the driving wind and snow often compel both men and beasts to herd together. To the south of this country are the great Snowy Mountains, which, in the morning and evening vapours, rise up like gem-spires.

In the first decade of the 10th month we arrived at the country of the Ye-tha (Ephthalites). The lands of this country are abundantly watered by the mountain streams, which fertilise them, and flow in front of all the dwellings. They have no walled towns, but they keep order by means

[19] To the west of the Tsung-ling mountains all the rivers flow to the westward, and enter the sea (*Ch. Ed.*)

[20] That is, perhaps, the Karâ-Sou of Klaproth, which flows into the Tiz-âb, an affluent of the Yerkiang river; or it may be the Si-to river, on which Yarkand stands, and which empties itself into Lake Lob, in the Sandy Desert.

[21] Sha-leh, perhaps for Su-leh. *i.e.*, Kashgâr.

of a standing army that constantly moves here and there. These people also use felt garments. The course of the rivers is marked by the verdant shrubs. In the summer the people seek the cool of the mountains; in the winter they disperse themselves through the villages. They have no written character. Their rules of politeness are very defective. They have no knowledge at all of the movements of the heavenly bodies; and, in measuring the year, they have no intercalary month, or any long and short months; but they merely divide the year into twelve parts, and that is all. They receive tribute from all surrounding nations: on the south as far as Tieh-lo;[22] on the north, the entire country of Lae-leh,[23] eastward to Khotan, and west to Persia—more than forty countries in all. When they come to the court with their presents for the king, there is spread out a large carpet about forty paces square, which they surround with a sort of rug hung up as a screen. The king puts on his robes of state and takes his seat upon a gilt couch, which is supported by four golden phœnix birds. When the ambassadors of the Great Wei dynasty were presented, (*the king*), after repeated prostrations, received their letters of instruction. On entering the assembly, one man announces your name and title; then each stranger advances and retires. After the several announcements are over, they break up the assembly. This is the only rule they have; there are no instruments of music visible at all. The royal ladies of the Ye-tha[24] country also wear state robes, which trail on the ground three feet and more; they have special train-bearers for carrying these lengthy robes. They also wear on their heads a horn, in length eight feet[25] and more, three feet of its length being red

22 This may possibly be Tirabhukti, the present Tirhut. But see *ante*, p. xvi.

23 The Lâ-la or Lâra people occupied Mâlava or Valabhî; vide *infra*, vol. ii. p. 266, n. 71. See also note at the end of this Introduction.

24 The Ye-tha were probably the White Huns, or Ephthalites.

25 I see no other way of translating this passage, although it seems puzzling to know how these royal ladies could carry such an ornament as this upon their heads.

coral. This they ornamented with all sorts of gay colours, and such is their head-dress. When the royal ladies go abroad, then they are carried; when at home, then they seat themselves on a gilded couch, which is made (*from the ivory of?*) a six-tusked white elephant, with four lions (*for supporters*).[26] Except in this particular, the wives of the great ministers are like the royal ladies; they in like manner cover their heads, using horns, from which hang down veils all round, like precious canopies. Both the rich and poor have their distinctive modes of dress. These people are of all the four tribes of barbarians the most powerful. The majority of them do not believe in Buddha. Most of them worship false gods. They kill living creatures and eat their flesh. They use the seven precious substances, which all the neighbouring countries bring as tribute, and gems in great abundance. It is reckoned that the distance of the country of the Ye-tha from our capital is upwards of 20,000 li.

On the first decade of the 11th month we entered the confines of the country of Po-sse[27] (Persia). This territory (*ground*) is very contracted. Seven days farther on we come to a people who dwell in the mountains and are exceedingly impoverished. Their manners are rough and ill-favoured. On seeing their king, they pay him no honour; and when the king goes out or comes in, his attendants are few. This country has a river which formerly was very shallow; but afterwards, the mountains having subsided, the course of the stream was altered and two lakes were formed. A mischievous dragon took up his residence here and caused many calamities. In the summer he rejoiced to dry up the rain, and in the winter

[26] Literally the passage is, "They make the seat from a six-tusked white elephant and four lions."

[27] The name of Persia or Eastern Persia extended at this time even to the base of the Tsung-ling mountains (*vide* Elphinstone's *India*). The Parthians assumed the Persian name and affected Persian manners, "διασώζουσι καὶ ἀπομιμοῦνται τὰ Περσικὰ ὀυκ ἀξιοῦντες, ἐμοὶ δοκει, Παρθυαῖοι νομίζεσθαι, Πέρσαι δὲ εἶναι προσποιόυμενοι," says the Emperor Julian (*Or. de Constantin.*, gest. ii. p. 63; Rawlinson's *Herod.*, i. 534, n.)

to pile up the snow. Travellers by his influence are subjected to all sorts of inconveniences. The snow is so brilliant that it dazzles the sight; men have to cover their eyes, or they would be blinded by it; but if they pay some religious service to the dragon, they find less difficulty afterwards.

In the middle decade of the 11th month we entered the country of Shie-Mi (Śâmbi ?). This country is just beyond the Tsung-ling mountains. The aspect of the land is still rugged; the people are very poor; the rugged narrow road is dangerous—a traveller and his horse can hardly pass along it one at a time. From the country of Po-lu-lai (Bolor) to the country of U-chang (Udyâna) they use iron chains for bridges. These are suspended in the air for the purpose of crossing (over the mountain chasms). On looking downwards no bottom can be perceived; there is nothing on the side to grasp at in case of a slip, but in a moment the body is hurled down 10,000 fathoms. On this account travellers will not cross over in case of high winds.

On the first decade of the 12th month we entered the U-chang country (Udyâna). On the north this country borders on the Tsung-ling mountains; on the south it joins India. The climate is agreeably warm. The territory contains several thousand li.[28] The people and productions are very abundant. The fertility of the soil is equal to that of the plateau of Lin-tsze[29] in China and the climate more equable. This is the place where Pe-lo[30] (Vessantara) gave his child as alms, and where Bôdhisattva gave his body (*to the tigress*). Though these old stories relate to things so distant, yet they are preserved among the local legends (?). The king of the country religiously observes a vegetable diet; on the great fast-days[31] he pays adoration to Buddha, both morning and evening, with sound of drum, conch, *vîṇâ* (*a sort of lute*), flute, and

[28] There is no word for *li* in the text.

[29] In Shan-tung.

[30] Pe-lo, the first and last syllable in Vessantara.

[31] *Vide* Jul. ii. 6, n.

all kinds of wind instruments. After mid-day he devotes himself to the affairs of government. Supposing a man has committed murder, they do not suffer him to be killed; they only banish him to the desert mountains, affording him just food enough to keep him alive (lit. a bit and a sup). In investigating doubtful cases,[32] they rely on the pure or foul effect of drastic medicines; then, after examination, the punishment is adjusted according to the circumstances. At the proper time they let the streams overflow the land, by which the soil is rendered loamy and fertile. All provisions necessary for man are very abundant, cereals of every kind (lit. of a hundred sorts) flourish, and the different fruits (lit. the five fruits) ripen in great numbers. In the evening the sound of the (convent) bells may be heard on every side, filling the air (world); the earth is covered with flowers of different hues, which succeed each other winter and summer, and are gathered by clergy and laity alike as offerings for Buddha.

The king of the country seeing Sung-Yun (*inquired respecting him, and*) on their saying that the ambassadors of the Great Wei (*dynasty*) had come, he courteously received their letters of introduction. On understanding that the Empress Dowager was devotedly attached to the law of Buddha, he immediately turned his face to the east, and, with closed hands and meditative heart, bowed his head; then, sending for a man who could interpret the Wei language, he questioned Sung Yun and said, "Are my honourable visitors men from the region of sunrising?" Sung-Yun answered and said, "Our country is bounded on the east by the great sea; from this the sun rises according to the divine will (*the command of Tathâgata*)." The king again asked, "Does that country produce holy men?" Sung-Yun then proceeded to enlarge upon the virtues of Confucius, of the Chow and Laou

[32] This passage is translated by (R.) thus: "When any matter is involved in doubt, they appeal to drugs, and decide upon the evidence of these" (*Foh-hian*, c. viii. n. 1).

(Tseu), of the Chwang (*period*), and then of the silver walls and golden palaces of Fairy Land (P'eng lai Shan),[33] and then of the spirits, genii, and sages who dwell there; he further dilated on the divination of Kwan-lo, the medicinal art of Hwa-to, and the magical power of Tso-ts'ze;[34] descanting on these various subjects, and properly distinguishing their several properties, he finished his address. Then the king said, "If these things are really as your worship says, then truly yours is the land of Buddha, and I ought to pray at the end of my life that I may be born in that country."

After this, Sung-Yun with Hwei Săng left the city for the purpose of inspecting the traces which exist of the teaching (or religion) of Tathâgata. To the east of the river is the place where Buddha dried his clothes. When first Tathâgata came to the country of U-chang, he went to convert a dragon-king. He, being angry with Buddha, raised a violent storm with rain. The *sanghâṭi* of Buddha was soaked through and through with the wet. After the rain was over, Buddha stopped on a rock, and, with his face to the east, sat down whilst he dried his robe (*kashâya*). Although many years have elapsed since then, the traces of the stripes of the garment are as visible as if newly done, and not merely the seams and bare outline, but one can see the marks of the very tissue itself, so that in looking at it, it appears as if the garment had not been removed, and, if one were asked to do it, as if the traces might be lifted up (*as the garment itself*). There are memorial towers erected on the spot where Buddha sat, and also where he dried his robe. To the west of the river is a tank occupied by a nâga-râja. By the side of the tank is a temple served by fifty priests and more. The Nâga-râja ever and anon assumes supernatural appearances. The king of the country propitiates

[33] One of the three isles of the genii, believed to be in the Eastern Sea opposite the coast of China.

[34] For these names see Mayers' *Reader's Manual*, s. vv.

him with gold and jewels, and other precious offerings, which he casts into the middle of the tank; such of these as find their way out through a back exit, the priests are permitted to retain. Because the dragon thus provides for the necessary expenses of this temple (clothes and food), therefore men call it the Nâga-râja Temple.

Eighty li to the north of the royal city there is the trace of the shoe of Buddha on a rock. They have raised a tower to cover it. The place where the print of the shoe is left on the rock is as if the foot had trodden on soft mud. Its length is undetermined, as at one time it is long, and at another time short. They have now founded a temple on the spot, capable of accommodating seventy priests and more. Twenty paces to the south of the tower is a spring of water issuing from a rock. Buddha once purifying (*his mouth*), planted a piece of his chewing-stick [35] in the ground; it immediately took root, and is at present a great tree, which the Tartars call Po-lu.[36] To the north of the city is the To-lo [37] temple, in which there are very numerous appliances for the worship of Buddha. The pagoda is high and large. The priests' chambers are ranged in order round the temple (*or* tower). There are sixty full-length golden figures (*herein*). The king, whenever he convenes (*or* convening yearly) a great assembly, collects the priests in this temple. On these occasions the Śramaṇas within the country flock together in great crowds (*like clouds*). Sung-Yun and Hwei Săng, remarking the strict rules and eminent piety (*extreme austerities*) of those Bhikshus, and from a sense that the example of these priests singularly conduced to increase (their own) religious feelings, remitted two servants for the use of the convent to present the offerings and to water and sweep. From the royal city going south-east over a mountainous district eight days' journey, we come to the place where Tathâgata, practising austerities, gave up his body to feed

[35] Dantakâshṭa. [36] The Pilu tree—*Salvadora Persica*. [37] Târa (?).

a starving tiger. It is a high mountain, with scarped precipices and towering peaks that pierce the clouds. The fortunate tree[38] and the Ling-chi grow here, whilst the groves and fountains (*or* the forest rivulets), the docile stags, and the variegated hues of the flowers, all delight the eye. Sung-Yun and Hwei Săng devoted a portion of their travelling funds to erect a pagoda on the crest of the hill, and they inscribed on a stone, in the square character, an account of the great merits of the Wei dynasty. This mountain possesses a temple called "Collected Bones,"[39] with 300 priests and more. One hundred and odd li to the south of the royal city is the place where Buddha (Julai), formerly residing in the Mo-hiu country, peeled off his skin for the purpose of writing upon it, and extracted (*broke off*) a bone of his body for the purpose of writing with it.[40] Aśôka-râja raised a pagoda on this spot for the purpose of enclosing these sacred relics. It is about ten *chang* high (120 *feet*). On the spot where he broke off his bone, the marrow ran out and covered the surface of a rock, which yet retains the colour of it, and is unctuous as though it had only recently been done.

To the south-west of the royal city 500 li is the Shen-shi[41] hill (*or* the hill of (*the Prince*) Sudâna). The sweet waters and delicious fruits (*of this place*) are spoken of in the sacred books.[42] The mountain dells are agreeably warm; the trees and shrubs retain a perpetual verdure. At the time when the pilgrims arrived (*ta'i tsuh*), the gentle breeze which fanned the air, the songs of the birds, the trees in their spring-tide beauty, the butterflies that fluttered over the numerous flowers, all this caused Sung-Yun, as he gazed on this lovely scenery in a distant

[38] Remusat translates it the tree *kalpa daru*.

[39] Remusat gives "collected gold."

[40] The text is corrupt. I have substituted *chu* for *tso*. Mo-hiu is the *Margus*; the country would therefore be Margiana. But probably it refers to the Oxus country.

[41] *Shen-shi*, "illustrious resolution:" evidently a mistake for *shen-shi*, "illustrious charity" (Sudâna).

[42] That is, in the *Jâtaka* book, where the history of Vessantara is recorded.

land, to revert to home thoughts; and so melancholy were his reflections, that he brought on a severe attack of illness; after a month, however, he obtained some charms of the Brâhmaṇs, which gave him ease.

To the south-east of the crest of the hill Shen-shi is a rock-cave of the prince,[43] with two chambers to it. Ten paces in front of this cave is a great square stone on which it is said the prince was accustomed to sit; above this Aśôka raised a memorial tower.

One li to the south of the tower is the place of the Paññasâlâ (*leafy hut*) of the prince. One li north-east of the tower, fifty paces down the mountain, is the place where the son and daughter of the prince persisted in going round a tree, and would not depart (*with the Brâhmaṇ*). On this the Brâhmaṇ beat them with rods till the blood flowed down and moistened the earth. This tree still exists, and the ground, stained with blood, now produces a sweet fountain of water. Three li to the west of the cave is the place where the heavenly king Śakra, assuming the appearance of a lion sitting coiled up in the road, intercepted Man-këa.[44] On the stone are yet traces of his hair and claws: the spot also where Ajitakûṭa[45] (O-chou-to-kiu) and his disciples nourished the father and mother (*i.e.*, the prince and princess). All these have memorial towers. In this mountain formerly were the beds of 500

[43] That is, of the Prince Sudatta or the Bountiful Prince. The whole of the history alluded to in the text may be found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* under the Wessantara Játaka, p. 116. The account states that Wessantara (the prince alluded to in the text, called "the Bountiful," because of his extreme charity) gave to the king of Kâliṅga a white elephant that had the power to compel rain to fall. On this the subjects of the prince's father (who was called Sanda) forced him to banish the prince, with his wife (Madri-dêwi) and his two children, to the rock Wankagiri, where the events alluded to in the text occurred. See *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxv. fig. 1.

[44] This may possibly allude to Madri-dêwi; the symbol *kea* denotes "a lady." We read that Śakra caused some wild beasts to appear to keep Madri-dêwi from coming back. See Spence Hardy, *loc. cit.*; and also the lions in the Sânchi sculpture, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xxxii. fig. 2.

[45] Called Achchhuta in the Singhalese accounts. He was an ascetic who resided in the neighbourhood of the hill.

Arhats, ranged north and south in a double row; their seats also were placed opposite one to another. There is now a great temple here with about 200 priests. To the north of the fountain which supplied the prince with water is a temple. A herd of wild asses frequent this spot for grazing. No one drives them here, but they resort here of their own accord. Daily at early morn they arrive; they take their food at noon, and so they protect the temple. These are spirits who protect the tower (protecting-tower-spirits), commissioned for this purpose by the Rishi Uh-po.[46] In this temple there formerly dwelt a Shami (Śrâmaṇêra), who, being constantly occupied in sifting ashes (*belonging to the convent*), fell into a state of spiritual ecstasy (*Samâdhi*). The Karmadâna[47] of the convent had his funeral obsequies performed, and drew him about, without his perceiving it, whilst his skin hung on his shrunken bones. The Rishi Uh-po continued to take the office of the Śrâmaṇêra in the sifting of the ashes. On this the king of the country founded a chapel to the Rishi, and placed in it a figure of him as he appeared, and ornamented it with much gold leaf.

Close to the peak of this hill is a temple of Po-keen, built by the Yakshas. There are about eighty priests in it. They say that the Arhats and Yakshas continually come to offer religious services, to water and sweep the temple, and to gather wood for it. Ordinary priests are not allowed to occupy this temple. The Shaman To-Ying, of the Great Wei dynasty, came to this temple to pay religious worship; but having done so, he departed, without daring to take up his quarters there. During the middle decade of the 4th month of the first year of Ching-Kwong (520 A.D.), we entered the kingdom of Gandhâra. This country closely resembles the territory of U-chang. It was formerly called the country of Ye-po-lo.[48] This is the country which

46 The symbol for "*Uh*" is doubtful.
47 The steward.
48 Referring, in all probability, to the dragon Apalâla, whose fountain to the N.E. of Mungali (the capital of U-chang) gave rise to the river Subhavastu or Swêti, that flows through this territory.

the Ye-thas[49] destroyed, and afterwards set up Lae-lih to be king[50] over the country; since which events two generations have passed. The disposition of this king (*or* dynasty) was cruel and vindictive, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons. The people of the country belonged entirely to the Brâhmaṇ caste; they had a great respect for the law of Buddha, and loved to read the sacred books, when suddenly this king came into power, who was strongly opposed to anything of the sort. Entirely self-reliant on his own strength, he had entered on a war with the country of Ki-pin (Cophene),[51] disputing the boundaries of their kingdom, and his troops had been already engaged in it for three years.

The king has 700 war-elephants, each of which carries ten men armed with sword and spear, while the elephants are armed with swords attached to their trunks, with which to fight when at close quarters. The king continually abode with his troops on the frontier, and never returned to his kingdom, in consequence of which the old men had to labour and the common people were oppressed. Sung-Yun repaired to the royal camp to deliver his credentials. The king[52] was very rough with him, and failed to salute him. He sat still whilst receiving the letters. Sung-Yun perceived that these remote barbarians were unfit for exercising public duties, and that their arrogancy refused to be checked. The king now sent for interpreters, and addressed Sung-Yun as follows: "Has your worship not suffered much inconvenience in traversing all these countries and encountering so many dangers

49 Alluding perhaps to the conquest of Kitolo, at the beginning of the fifth century. The king conquered Gandhâra, and made Peshâwar his capital.

50 Or, set up a Lâra dynasty, but the whole of the context is obscure.

51 Then in the possession of the Great Yuchi, whose capital was Kâbul.

52 This king was probably the one called Onowei, who reigned under the title "So-lin-teu-pim-teu-fa Khan," or, "the prince who seizes and holds firmly." We are told that he refused homage to the Wei Tartars, alluding probably to the circumstance recorded in this account of Sung-Yun (C.)

on the road?" Sung-Yun replied, "We have been sent by our royal mistress to search for works of the great translation through distant regions. It is true the difficulties of the road are great, yet we cannot (*dare not*) say we are fatigued; but your majesty and your forces (*three armies*), as you sojourn here on the frontier of your kingdom, enduring all the changes of heat and cold, are not you also nearly worn out?" The king, replying, said, "It is impossible to submit to such a little country as this, and I am sorry that you should ask such a question." Sung-Yun, on first speaking with the king, (*thought*), "This barbarian is unable to discharge with courtesy his official duties; he sits still whilst receiving diplomatic papers;" and now being about to reply to him again, he determined to reprove him as a fellow-man (*or* having the feelings of a man); and so he said, "Mountains are high and low—rivers are great and small—amongst men also there are distinctions, some being noble and others ignoble. The sovereign of the Ye-tha, and also of U-chang, when they received our credentials, did so respectfully; but your majesty alone has paid us no respect." The king, replying, said, "When I see the king of the Wei, then I will pay my respects; but to receive and read his letters whilst seated, what fault can be found with this? When men receive a letter from father or mother, they don't rise from their seats to read it. The Great Wei sovereign is to me (for the nonce) both father and mother, and so, without being unreasonable, I will read the letters you bring me still sitting down." Sung-Yun then took his departure without any official salutation. He took up his quarters in a temple, in which his entertainment was very poor. At this time the country of Po-tai[53] sent two young lions to the king of Gandhâra as a present. Sung-Yun had an opportunity

[53] Perhaps the same as the Fa-ti (Betik) of Hiuen Tsiang, 400 li to the west of Bokhara (Jul. tome iii. p. 282). But the character of the text is so unfinished, that Po-tai may stand for Badakshân.

of seeing them; he noticed their fiery temper and courageous mien. The pictures of these animals common in China are not at all good resemblances of them.

After this, going west five days, they arrived at the place where Tathâgata made an offering of his head for the sake of a man, where there is both a tower and temple, with about twenty priests. Going west three days, we arrive at the great river Sin-tu. On the west bank of this river is the place where Tathâgata took the form of (*or* became) a great fish called Ma-kie (*Makara*), and came out of the river, and for twelve years supported the people with his flesh. On this spot is raised a memorial tower. On the rock are still to be seen the traces of the scales of the fish.

Again going west thirteen days' journey, we arrived at the city of Fo-sha-fu.[54] The river valley (*in which this city is built*) is a rich loamy soil. The city walls have gate-defences. The houses are thick, and there are very many groves (*around the city*), whilst fountains of water enrich the soil; and as for the rest, there are costly jewels and gems in abundance. The customs of the people are honest and virtuous. Within this city there is an heretical temple[55] of ancient date called "Sang-teh" (Sânti ?). All religious persons frequent it and highly venerate it. To the north of the city one li is the temple of the White Elephant Palace.[56] Within the temple all is devoted to the service of Buddha. There are here stone images highly adorned and very beautiful; very many in number, and covered with gold sufficient to dazzle the eyes. Before the temple and belonging to it is a tree called the White Elephant Tree, from which, in fact, this temple took its origin and name.

[54] The Varusha (Po-lou-sha) of Hiuen Tsiang.

[55] In this passage I take the word *fan* (all) to be a misprint for *Fan* (Brâhmaṇ), in which case the expression *Wei fan* would mean "heretical Brâhmaṇs." If this be not the correct translation of the passage, then it may perhaps be rendered thus: "Within and without this city there are very many old temples, which are named 'Sang-teh' (*saṇḍi*, union or assembly ?)."

[56] This is probably the Pilusâra *stûpa* of Hiuen Tsiang (Jul. tome ii. p. 54).

Its leaves and flowers are like those of the Chinese date-tree, and its fruit begins to ripen in the winter quarter. The tradition common amongst the old people is this: "That when this tree is destroyed, then the old law of Buddha will also perish." Within the temple is a picture of the prince [57] and his wife, and the figure of the Brâhmaṇ begging the boy and the girl. The Tartars, seeing this picture, could not refrain from tears.

Again going west one day's journey, we arrive at the place where Tathâgata plucked out his eyes to give in charity. Here also is a tower and a temple. On a stone of the temple is the impress of the foot of Kâśyapa Buddha. Again going west one day, we crossed a deep river,[58] more than 300 paces broad. Sixty li south-west of this we arrive at the capital of the country of Gandhâra.[59] Seven li to the south-east of this city there is a Tsioh-li Feou-thou[60] (*a pagoda with a surmounting pole*). [The record of Tao-Yung says, "Four li to the east of the city."] Investigating the origin of this tower, we find that when Tathâgata was in the world he was passing once through this country with his disciples on his mission of instruction; on which occasion, when delivering a discourse on the east side of the city, he said, "Three hundred years after my *Nirvâṇa*, there will be a king of this country called Ka-ni-si-ka (Kanishka). On this spot he will raise a pagoda (*Feou-thou*). Accordingly, 300 years after that event, there was a king of this country so called. On one occasion, when going out to the east of the city, he saw four children engaged in making a Buddhist tower out of cows' dung. They had raised it about three feet high, when suddenly they disappeared (*or*, it fell). [The record states, "One of the children, raising himself in the air and turning towards the king, repeated a verse (*gâthâ*).] The king, surprised at this miraculous event,

[57] That is, of the Bountiful Prince (Wessantara) referred to before.

[58] The Indus.

[59] That is, Peshâwar.

[60] *Tsioh-li* means "a sparrow," but it is phonetic for *śûla*, a surmounting spear or trident.

immediately erected a tower for the purpose of enclosing (*the small pagoda*), but gradually the small tower grew higher and higher, and at last went outside and removed itself 400 feet off, and there stationed itself. Then the king proceeded to widen the foundation of the great tower 300 paces and more.[61] [The record of Tao-Yung says 390 paces.] To crown all, he placed a roof-pole upright and even. [The record of Tao-Yung says it was 35 feet high.] Throughout the building he used carved wood; he constructed stairs to lead to the top. The roof consisted of every kind of wood. Altogether there were thirteen storeys; above which there was an iron pillar, three feet high,[62] with thirteen gilded circlets. Altogether the height from the ground was 700 feet. [Tao-Yung says the iron pillar was $88\frac{8}{10}$ feet (*high*), with fifteen encircling discs, and $63\frac{2}{10}$ *changs* from the ground (*743 feet*).] This meritorious work being finished, the dung pagoda, as at first, remained three paces south of the great tower. The Brâhmans, not believing that it was really made of dung, dug a hole in it to see. Although years have elapsed since these events, this tower has not corrupted; and although they have tried to fill up the hole with scented earth, they have not been able to do so. It is now enclosed with a protecting canopy. The Tsioh-li pagoda, since its erection, has been three times destroyed by lightning, but the kings of the country have each time restored it. The old men say, "When this pagoda is finally destroyed by lightning, then the law of Buddha also will perish."

The record of Tao-Yung says, "When the king had finished all the work except getting the iron pillar up to the top, he found that he could not raise this heavy weight. He proceeded, therefore, to erect at the four corners a lofty stage; he expended in the work large trea-

61 Hiuen Tsiang says it was a li and a half in circumference.

62 Most likely there is a mistake in the text; the height of the iron pillar should be 30 feet.

sures, and then he with his queen and princes ascending on to it, burnt incense and scattered flowers, with all their hearts and power of soul; then, with one turn of the windlass, they raised the weight, and so succeeded in elevating it to its place. The Tartars say, therefore, that the four heavenly kings lent their aid in this work, and that, if they had not done so, no human strength would have been of any avail. Within the pagoda there is contained every sort of Buddhist utensil; here are gold and jewelled (vessels) of a thousand forms and vast variety, to name which even would be no easy task. At sunrise the gilded discs of the vane are lit up with dazzling glory, whilst the gentle breeze of morning causes the precious bells (that are suspended from the roof) to tinkle with a pleasing sound. Of all the pagodas of the western world, this one is by far the first (in size and importance). At the first completion of this tower they used true pearls in making the network covering over the top; but after some years, the king, reflecting on the enormous value of this ornamental work, thought thus with himself: "After my decease (*funeral*) I fear some invader may carry it off"—or "supposing the pagoda should fall, there will be no one with means sufficient to re-build it;" on which he removed the pearl work and placed it in a copper vase, which he removed to the north-west of the pagoda 100 paces, and buried it in the earth. Above the spot he planted a tree, which is called Po-tai (*Bôdhi*), the branches of which, spreading out on each side, with their thick foliage, completely shade the spot from the sun. Underneath the tree on each side there are sitting figures (*of Buddha*) of the same height, viz., a *chang* and a half (17 *feet*). There are always four dragons in attendance to protect these jewels; if a man (*only in his heart*) covets them, calamities immediately befall him. There is also a stone tablet erected on the spot, and engraved on it are these words of direction: "Hereafter, if this tower is destroyed, after long search, the virtuous man may find

here pearls (*of value sufficient*) to help him restore it."

Fifty paces to the south of the Tsioh-li pagoda there is a stone tower, in shape perfectly round, and two *chang* high (27 *feet*). There are many spiritual indications (*shown by it*); so that men, by touching it, can find out if they are lucky or unlucky. If they are lucky, then by touching it the golden bells will tinkle; but if unlucky, then, though a man should violently push the tower, no sound would be given out. Hwei Săng, having travelled from his country, and fearing that he might not have a fortunate return, paid worship to this sacred tower, and sought a sign from it. On this, he did but touch it with his finger, and immediately the bells rang out. Obtaining this omen, he comforted his heart. And the result proved[63] the truth of the augury. When Hwei Săng first went up to the capital, the Empress had conferred upon him a thousand streamers of a hundred feet in length and of the five colours, and five hundred variegated silk (*mats?*) of scented grass. The princes, dukes, and nobility had given him two thousand flags. Hwei Săng, in his journey from Khotan to Gandhâra,—wherever there was a disposition to Buddhism—had freely distributed these in charity; so that when he arrived here, he had only left one flag of 100 feet in length, given him by the Empress. This he decided to offer as a present to the tower of Śivika-râja, whilst Sung-Yun gave two servants to the Tsioh-li pagoda in perpetuity, to sweep it and water it. Hwei Săng, out of the little travelling funds he had left, employed a skilful artist to depict on copper the Tsioh-li pagoda and also the four principal pagodas of Śâkyamuni.

After this, going north-west seven days' journey, they crossed a great river (Indus), and arrived at the place where Tathâgata, when he was Śivika-râja,[64] delivered the

[63] Or, he consoled himself by the thought that after his undertaking he would have a safe return.

[64] *Vide* Jul., tome ii. p. 137 (*infra*, p. 125, n. 20), and *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 31.

dove; here there is a temple and a tower also. There was formerly here a large storehouse of Śivika-râja, which was burnt down. The grain which was in it was parched with the heat, and is still to be found in the neighbourhood (*of the ruins*). If a man take but a single grain of this, he never suffers from fever; the people of the country also take it to prevent the power of[65] the sun hurting them.

[The records of Tao-Yung say, "At Na-ka-lo-ho[66] there is a skull-bone of Buddha, four inches round, of a yellowish-white colour, hollow underneath, (*sufficient*) to receive a man's finger, shining, and in appearance like a wasp-nest.]

We then visited the Ki-ka-lam[67] temple. This contains the robe (*kashâya*) of Buddha in thirteen pieces. In measurement this garment is as long as it is broad (or, when measured, it is sometimes long and sometimes broad). Here also is the staff of Buddha, in length a *chang* and seven-tenths (*about* 18 *feet*), in a wooden case, which is covered with gold leaf. The weight of this staff is very uncertain; sometimes it is so heavy that a hundred men cannot raise it, and at other times it is so light that one man can lift it. In the city of Na-kie (Nagarahâra) is a tooth of Buddha and also some of his hair, both of which are contained in precious caskets; morning and evening religious offerings are made to them.

We next arrive at the cave of Gôpâla,[68] where is the shadow of Buddha. Entering the mountain cavern fifteen feet, and looking for a long time (*or*, at a long distance) at the western[69] side of it opposite the door, then at length the figure, with its characteristic marks, appears; on going nearer to look at it, it gradually grows fainter

65 Or, to enable them to bear the power of the sun.

66 Nagarahâra.

67 The Khakkharam Temple, or the Temple of the Religious Staff (vide *Fa-hian*, cap. xiii.)

68 The text is here, as in various other parts, corrupt. I have substituted *po* for *lo* in Gôpâla; and *kuh* for *luh*, *i.e.*, "cave" for "deer."

69 The text has *sz'* (four) for *si* (west).

and then disappears. On touching the place where it was with the hand, there is nothing but the bare wall. Gradually retreating, the figure begins to come in view again, and foremost is conspicuous that peculiar mark between the eyebrows[70] (*ûrṇa*), which is so rare among men. Before the cave is a square stone, on which is a trace of Buddha's foot.

One hundred paces south-west of the cave is the place where Buddha washed his robe. One li to the north of the cave is the stone cell of Mudgalyâyana; to the north of which is a mountain, at the foot of which the great Buddha with his own hand made a pagoda ten *chang* high (115 *feet*). They say that when this tower sinks down and enters the earth, then the law of Buddha will perish. There are, moreover, seven towers here, to the south of which is a stone with an inscription on it; they say Buddha himself wrote it. The foreign letters are distinctly legible even to the present time.

Hwei Săng abode in the country of U-chang two years. The customs of the western foreigners (Tartars) are, to a great extent, similar (*with ours*); the minor differences we cannot fully detail. When it came to the second month of the second year of Ching-un (521 A.D.) he began to return.

The foregoing account is principally drawn from the private records of Tao-Yung and Sung-Yun. The details given by Hwei Săng were never wholly recorded.

[70] I think this is the meaning of the passage, "We begin to see the mark, face-distinguishing, so rare among men."

NOTE, p. xci.—With reference to Lâla or Lâra, it seems from Cunningham's remark (*Arch. Survey*, vol. ii. p. 31) that this term is equivalent to "lord." The Lâras, according to Hiuen Tsiang, dwelt in Mâlava and Valabhî. It was from this region that the ancestors of Vijaya came (*Ind. Antiq.*), vol. xiii. p. 35, n. 25; see also *Journ. of Pâli Text Soc.*, 1883, p. 59). It is worth consideration whether these Lâras or Lords were akin to the Vṛîjjis of Vaiśalî, who were also "lords" (Gothic, *Fraujas*) (?), and whether they were not both Northern invaders allied to the Yue-chi. The fable of the daughter of the king of Vaṅga cohabiting with a wild lion (*Dîpavaṁsa*, chap. ix.) may simply mean that one of these Northerners (who were called *Lions*) carried off a native girl and cohabited with her. From this union sprang the thirty-two brothers, of whom the eldest were Vijaya and Sumeta (*vide Dîpavaṁsa, loc. cit.*)

BUDDHIST RECORDS OF THE WESTERN WORLD.

TA-T'ANG-SI-YU-KI.

Records of the Western World[1] (*compiled during*) *the Great T'ang*[2] *dynasty* (A.D. 618–907); *translated by Imperial command by Hiuen Tsiang,*[3] *a Doctor of the three Piṭakas, and edited by Pien Ki, a Shaman of the Ta-tsung-chi Temple.*

PREFACE.[4]

WHEN of yore *the precious hair-circle*[5] shed forth its flood of light, the sweet dew was poured upon the great thousand (*worlds*),[6] the *golden mirror*[7] displayed its brightness, and a fragrant wind was spread over the earth; then it was known that he had appeared in the three worlds[8]

[1] The "Western World." This expression denotes generally the countries west of China. Mr. Mayers, in his note on Chang K'ien (*Reader's Manual*, No. 18), confines the meaning to Turkistân.

[2] That is, during the reign of T'ai Tsung (Chêng Kwan) of the Great T'ang dynasty, A.D. 646.

[3] Hiuen Tsiang: in spelling Chinese names, the method of Dr. Wells Williams in his *Tonic Dictionary* has been generally followed. See note 10.

[4] This preface was written by Chang Yueh, who flourished as minister of state under T'ang Hüan Tsung (A.D. 713-756). He is called Tchang-choue by Stan. Julien. It is written in the usual ornate style of such compositions. I have mostly followed Julien's rendering and refer the reader to his explanatory notes for fuller information.

[5] This phrase designates one of the thirty-two marks (viz. the *ûrṇa*) which characterise a great man, and which were recognised on the Buddha. See Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 30, 543, 553, and 616; *Introd. Buddh.* (2d ed.), p. 308; Foucaux, *Lalita Vistara*, p. 286; Beal, *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, I. i. 83, 84, 114, &c.; Hodgson, *Essays* (Serampore edit.), p. 129, or (Lond. 1874) pt. i. p. 90; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism* (2d ed.), p. 150, &c.

[6] Julien explains this as "the great chiliocosm," and refers to Remusat, *Melang. Post.*, p. 94.

[7] The moon.

[8] Buddha had appeared in the world of desires (*Kâmadhâtu*), the

who is rightly named the lord of the earth. His brightness, indeed, dwells in the four limits (*of the universe*), but his sublime model was fixed in the middle of the world. Whereupon, as the sun of wisdom declined, the shadow of his doctrine spread to the East, the grand rules of the emperor[9] diffused themselves afar, and his imposing laws reached to the extremities of the West.

There was in the temple of "great benevolence" a doctor of the three *Piṭakas* called Hiuen Tsiang.[10] His common name was Chin-shi. His ancestors came from Ing-chuen;[11] the emperor Hien[12] held the sceptre; reigning at Hwa-chau,[13] he opened the source. The great Shun entertained the messengers as he laid on Li-shan[14] the foundation of his renown. The three venerable ones distinguished themselves during the years of *Ki*.[15] The six extraordinary (*events*) shone during the Han period. In penning odes there was one who equalled the clear moon; in wandering by the way there was one who resembled the brilliant stars—(*his illustrious ancestors*) like fishes in the lake, or as birds assembled before the wind, by their choice services in the world served to produce as their result an illustrious descendant.

The master of the law under these fortunate influences came into the world. In him were joined sweetness and virtue. These roots, combined and deeply planted, produced their fruits rapidly. The source of his wisdom (*reason*) was deep, and wonderfully it increased. At his opening life he was rosy as the evening vapours and

world of forms (*Rûpadhâtu*), the world without forms (*Arûpadhâtu*).—Julien. But here it simply means "in the world."

9 The emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'âng dynasty (A.D. 627–649).

10 I adopt this mode of spelling for reasons stated in the introduction. He is generally known from Julien's French version as "Hiouen Thsang." Mr. Mayers (*Reader's Manual*, p. 290) calls him Huan Chwan; Mr. Wylie, Yuén-Chwàng; and the name is also represented by Hhüen-Chwâng.

11 Yu-cheu, in the province of Honan.—Jul.

12 That is, Hwang Ti (B.C. 2697), otherwise called Hien-yuen-shi.

13 Hwa-chau was an island of the kingdom of Hwa-siu, where Fo-hi fixed his court.—Jul.

14 For Shun and Li-shan consult Mayers under *Shun* (*op. cit.* No. 617).

15 *I.c.*, under the reign of the Chau, whose family name was K'i.—Jul.

(*round*) as the rising moon. As a boy (*collecting-sand age*) he was sweet as the odour of cinnamon or the vanilla tree. When he grew up he thoroughly mastered the *Fan* and *Su*;[16] the nine borders[17] were filled with (*bore*) his renown, the five prefectures (*or* palaces) together resounded his praise.

At early dawn he studied the true and the false, and through the night shone forth his goodness; the mirror of his wisdom, fixed on the true receptacle, remained stationary. He considered the limits of life, and was permanently at rest (*in the persuasion that*) the vermilion ribbon and the violet silken tassels are the pleasing bonds that keep one attached to the world; but the precious car and the red pillow, these are the means of crossing the ford and escaping the world. Wherefore he put away from him the pleasures of sense, and spoke of finding refuge in some hermit retreat. His noble brother Chang-tsi was a master of the law, a pillar and support of the school of Buddha. He was as a dragon or an elephant (*or* a dragon-elephant) in his own generation, and, as a falcon or a crane, he mounted above those to come. In the court and the wilderness was his fame exalted; within and without was his renown spread. Being deeply affectionate, they loved one another, and so fulfilled the harmony of mutual relationship (*parentage*). The master of the law was diligent in his labour as a student; he lost not a moment of time, and by his studies he rendered his teachers illustrious, and was an ornament to his place of study. His virtuous qualities were rightly balanced, and he caused the perfume of his fame to extend through the home of his adoption. Whip raised, he travelled on his even way; he mastered the nine divisions of the books, and swallowed (*the lake*) Mong;[18] he worked his paddles across the dark ford; he gave his attention to

16 That is, the books of the legendary period of Chinese history, from 2852 B.C. to 2697 B.C.

17 Or *the nine islands* (*Khiu-kao-tsai-in*), concerning which there is a passage in the *Shi King*.—Jul. p. lii.

18 To swallow the lake Mong is a metaphorical way of saying he had acquired a vast erudition.—Jul.

(*looked down upon*) the four *Vêdas*, whilst finding *Lu* small.[19]

From this time he travelled forth and frequented places of discussion, and so passed many years, his merit completed, even as his ability was perfected. Reaching back to the beginning, when the sun and moon first lit up with their brightness the spiritually (*created*) world, or, as Tseu-yun, with his kerchief suspended at his girdle, startled into life (*developed*) his spiritual powers, so in his case the golden writing gradually unfolded itself. He waited for the autumn car, yet hastened as the clouds; he moved the handle of jade[20] for a moment, and the mist-crowds were dispersed as the heaped-up waves. As the occasion required, he could use the force of the flying discus or understand the delicate sounds of the lute used in worship.[21]

With all the fame of these acquirements, he yet embarked in the boat of humility and departed alone. In the land of Hwan-yuen he first broke down the boasting of the iron-clad stomach;[22] in the village of Ping-lo in a moment he exhibited the wonder of the floating wood.[23] Men near and afar beheld him with admiration as they said one to another, "Long ago we heard of the eight dragons of the family of Sun, but now we see the double wonder (*ke*) of the gate of Chin. Wonderful are the men of Ju and Ing."[24] This is true indeed! The master

[19] To find "Lu small" is an allusion to a passage in Mencius: "Confucius mounted on the mountain of the East, and found that the king of Lu (*i.e.*, his own country) was small." (Jul.) The meaning of the expression in the text seems to be that Hiuen Tsiang found his own studies contracted and small, so he bent down his head to examine the *Vêdas*.

[20] The fly-flap of the orator has a jade handle.

[21] So I have ventured to translate the word *pai*, although in the addenda at the end of Book I. the word is considered corrupt.

[22] This probably refers to some minor encounter or discussion which Hiuen Tsiang had in his own country. The expression "iron-clad stomach" refers to the story told of one he met with in his travels in India who wore an iron corslet lest his learning should burst open his body.—*Si-yu-ki*, book x. fol. 9.

[23] I cannot but think this refers to the ability of Hiuen Tsiang in hitting on the solution of a difficult question, as the blind tortoise with difficulty finds the hole in a floating piece of wood.

[24] The rivers Ju and Ing are in the province of Honan. The saying in the text is quoted from a letter addressed

of the law, from his early days till he grew up, pondered in heart the mysterious principles (*of religion*). His fame spread wide among eminent men.

At this time the schools were mutually contentious; they hastened to grasp the end without regarding the beginning; they seized the flower and rejected the reality; so there followed the contradictory teaching of the North and South, and the confused sounds of "Yes" and "No," perpetual words! On this he was afflicted at heart, and fearing lest he should be unable to find out completely the errors of translations, he purposed to examine thoroughly the literature of the *perfume elephant*,[25] and to copy throughout the list of the dragon palace.[26]

With a virtue of unequalled character, and at a time favourable in its indications, he took his staff, dusted his clothes, and set off for distant regions. On this he left behind him the dark waters of the Pa river;[27] he bent his gaze forwards; he then advanced right on to the T'sung-ling mountains. In following the courses of rivers and crossing the plains he encountered constant dangers. Compared with him Po-wang[28] went but a little way, and the journey of Fa-hien[29] was short indeed. In all the districts through which he journeyed he learnt thoroughly the dialects; he investigated throughout the deep secrets (*of religion*) and penetrated to the very source of the stream. Thus he was able to correct the books and trans-

by Siun-yu to the emperor during the eastern Han dynasty.—Jul.

25 If we may venture to give a meaning to this expression, the "perfume elephant" (*Gandhahastî*), which so frequently occurs in Buddhist books, it may refer to the solitary elephant (bull elephant) when in rut. A perfume then flows from his ears. The word is also applied to an elephant of the very best class.

26 The books carried (as the fable says) to the palace of the Nâgas to be kept in safety.

27 It rises in the Lan-thien district of the department of Si-'gan-fu in the province of Shen-si.—Jul.

28 The celebrated general Chang K'ien, who lived in the second century B.C., was the first Chinese who penetrated to the extreme regions of the west. "In B.C. 122 he was sent to negotiate treaties with the kingdom of Si-yu, the present Turkistân" (Mayers). He was ennobled as the Marquis Po-Wang. Beal, *Travels of Fah-hian*, &c., pp. xvii, xviii; Pauthier, *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. iii. 1839, p. 260; Julien, *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. iv. tom. x. (1847), or *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix. pp. 14, 15.

29 The well-known Chinese Buddhist traveller, A.D. 399-414.

cend (*the writers of*) India. The texts being transcribed on palm leaves, he then returned to China.

The Emperor T'ai Tsung, surnamed Wen-wang-ti, who held the golden wheel and was seated royally on the throne, waited with impatience for that eminent man. He summoned him therefore to the green enclosure,[30] and, impressed by his past acquirements, he knelt before him in the yellow palace. With his hand he wrote proclamations full of affectionate sentiments; the officers of the interior attended him constantly; condescending to exhibit his illustrious thoughts, he wrote a preface to the sacred doctrine of the *Tripiṭaka*, consisting of 780 words. The present emperor (Kao Tsung) had composed in the spring pavilion a sacred record consisting of 579 words, in which he sounded to the bottom the stream of deep mystery and expressed himself in lofty utterances. But now, if he (*Hiuen Tsiang*) had not displayed his wisdom in the wood of the cock,[31] nor scattered his brightness on the peak of the vulture,[32] how could he (*the emperor*) have been able to abase his sacred composition in the praise of the ornament of his time?

In virtue of a royal mandate, he (*Hiuen Tsiang*) translated 657 works from the original Sanskrit (*Fan*). Having thoroughly examined the different manners of distant countries, the diverse customs of separate people, the various products of the soil and the class divisions of the people, the regions where the royal calendar is received[33] and where the sounds of moral instruction have come, he has composed in twelve books the *Ta-t'ang-si-yu-ki*. Herein he has collected and written down the most secret principles of the religion of Buddha, couched in language plain and precise. It may be said, indeed, of him, that his works perish not.

30 The green enclosure surrounding the imperial seat or throne.

31 The *Kukkuṭa saṅghârâma* near Pâtna.

32 The Vulture Peak (*Gṛidhrakûṭa parvata*), near Râjagriha.

33 The royal calendar is the work distributed annually throughout the empire, containing all information as to the seasons, &c.—Jul.

BOOK I.

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THIRTY-FOUR COUNTRIES.

(1) *O-ki-ni*; (2) *K'iu-chi*; (3) *Poh-luh-kia*; (4) *Nu-chih-kien*; (5) *Che-shi*; (6) *Fei-han*; (7) *Su-tu-li-sse-na*; (8) *Să-mo-kien*; (9) *Mi-mo-kia*; (10) *K'ie-po-ta-na*; (11) *K'iuh-shwang-ni-kia*; (12) *Ta-mi*; (13) *Ho-han*; (14) *Pu-ho*; (15) *Fa-ti*; (16) *Ho-li-sih-mi-kia*; (17) *Ki-shwang-na*; (18) *Ch'i-ngoh-yen-na*; (19) *Hwŭh-lo-mo*; (20) *Su-man*; (21) *Kio-ho-yen-na*; (22) *Hu-sha*; (23) *Kho-to-lo*; (24) *Kiu-mi-to*; (25) *Po-kia-lang*; (26) *Hi-lu-sih-min-kien*; (27) *Ho-lin*; (28) *Po-ho*; (29) *Jui-mo-to*; (30) *Hu-shi-kien*; (31) *Ta-la-kien*; (32) *Kie-chi*; (33) *Fan-yen-na*; (34) *Kia-pi-shi*.

INTRODUCTION.[1]

IF we examine in succession the rules of the emperors,[2] or look into the records of the monarchs,[3] when P'au I[4] began to adjust matters[5] and Hien-yuen[6] began to let

[1] The beginning of this Book consists of an introduction, written by Chang Yueh, the author of the preface.—Jul.

[2] That is, of the "three sovereigns" called (by some) Fuh-hi, Shên-nung, and Hwang-ti; others substitute Chuh Yung for Hwang-ti.—Mayers, *op. cit.*, p. 367 n.

[3] That is, the five kings (*Ti*) who followed Hwang-ti. The records of these kings and monarchs are, of course, mostly apocryphal.

[4] P'au I is the same as Fuh-hi or T'ai Hao; the name is interpreted as "the slaughterer of beasts."—Mayers.

[5] To "adjust matters," so it seems the expression *chuh chan* must be interpreted. The symbol *chan* occupies the place of the East in Wan's arrangement of the Tri-grams, and symbolises "movement." It is also used for "wood," because, as some say, "the East symbolises spring, when the growth of vegetation begins." Others say that the symbol "wood" as the analogue of *chan* is a misprint for *yĭ*, signifying increase (vid. Legge, *Yĭ King*, p. 248). But in any case, in the text the idea is of "movement towards order." Fuh-hi, like his sister Nu-kwa, is said to have reigned "under wood."

[6] Hien Yuen is the same as Hwang-ti; it is the name of the hill near which the emperor dwelt.

fall his robes,[7] we see how they administered the affairs, and first divided the limits of the empire.[8]

When T'ang(-ti) Yao[9] received the call of heaven (*to rule*), his glory reached to the four quarters; when Yu(-ti) Shun[10] had received his map of the earth, his virtue flowed throughout the nine provinces. From that time there have come down clear[11] records, annals of events; though distant, we may hear the previous doings (*of eminent men*), or gather their words from the records of their disciples. How much rather when we live under a renowned government, and depend on those without partial aims.[12] Now then our great T'ang emperor (*or* dynasty), conformed in the highest degree to the heavenly pattern,[13] now holds the reins of government, and unites in one the six parts of the world, and is gloriously established. Like a fourth august monarch, he illustriously administers the empire. His mysterious controlling power flows afar; his auspicious influence (*fame* or *instruction*) widely extends: like the heaven and the earth, he covers and sustains (*his subjects*), or like the resounding wind or the fertilising rain. The eastern barbarians bring him tribute;[14] the western frontiers are brought to submission. He has secured and hands down the succession, appeasing tumult, restoring order.[15] He certainly surpasses the previous kings; he

[7] Hwang-ti, among other things, "regulated costume." It is probably to this the text refers.

[8] Hwang-ti "mapped out his empire in provinces, and divided the land into regular portions."—Mayers.

[9] The great emperor Yao, with his successor Shun, stand at the dawn of Chinese history. His date is 2356 B.C. He was called the Marquis or Lord (*hau*) of T'ang, because he moved from the principality of T'ao to the region of T'ang.

[10] That is, Shun, of the family of Yeou-yu: he succeeded Yao, by whom he was adopted after he had disinherited his son Tan Chu, B.C. 2258. He is said to have received the "map of the earth," an expression derived from "the map of the empire into provinces," by Hwang-ti.

[11] I have so translated this passage, although Julien takes the opposite sense. I suppose *hung* to mean "clear" or "plain."

[12] "Without partial aims," rendered by Julien "qui pratique le *non-agir*." The expression *wou-wei* generally means "absence of self" or "selfish aims."

[13] Julien renders this "*gouverne à l'instar du ciel*," which no doubt is the meaning of the text.

[14] Are enrolled as tribute-bearers.

[15] Referring to the troubles of the last years of the Sui dynasty, which was followed by the T'ang.—Jul.

embraces in himself the virtues of former generations. Using the same currency[16] (*or* literature), all acknowledge his supreme rule. If his sacred merit be not recorded in history, then it is vain to exalt the great (*or* his greatness); if it be not to illumine the world, why then shine so brilliantly his mighty deeds?[17]

Hiuen Tsiang, wherever he bent his steps, has described the character of each country. Although he has not examined the country or distinguished the customs (*in every case*), he has shown himself trustworthy.[18] With respect to the emperor who transcends the five and surpasses the three, we read how all creatures enjoy his benefits, and all who can declare it utter his praises. From the royal city throughout the (*five*) Indies, men who inhabit the savage wilds, those whose customs are diverse from ours, through the most remote lands, all have received the royal calendar, all have accepted the imperial instructions; alike they praise his warlike merit and sing of his exalted virtues and his true grace of utterance. This is the first thing to be declared. In searching through previous annals no such thing has been seen or heard of. In all the records of biography no such an account has been found. It was necessary first to declare the benefits arising from the imperial rule: now we proceed to narrate facts, which have been gathered either by report or sight, as follows:—

This Sahalôka[19] (Soh-ho) world is the three-thousand-

[16] The symbol *wan* probably refers to the literature used alike by all the subjects of the Great T'ang. It can hardly mean that they all spoke the same language.

[17] This at least appears to be the meaning of the passage. Julien translates as follows: "Si les effets merveilleux de cette administration sublime n'étaient point consignés dans l'histoire, comment pourrait-on célébrer dignement les grandes vues (de l'empereur)? Si on ne les publiait par avec éclat, comment pourrait-on mettre en lumière un règne aussi florissant?"

[18] I do not like this translation; I should prefer to suppose Chang Yueh's meaning to be that Hiuen Tsiang wherever he went exalted the name of China (*Fung t'u; Fung* being the name of Fuh-hi), and that he left this impression respecting the emperor who transcends the five and excels the three, &c.

[19] The Soh-ho (*or* So-ho) world is thus defined by Jin-Ch'au (*Fă-kiai-lih-t'u*, part i. fol. 2): "The region

great-thousand system of worlds (*chiliocosm*), over which one Buddha exercises spiritual authority (*converts and controls*). In the middle of the great chiliocosm, illuminated by one sun and moon, are the four continents,[20] in which all the Buddhas, lords of the world,[21] appear by apparitional birth,[22] and here also die, for the purpose of guiding holy men and worldly men.

The mountain called Sumêru stands up in the midst of the great sea firmly fixed on a circle of gold, around which mountain the sun and moon revolve; this mountain is perfected by (*composed of*) four precious substances, and is the abode of the Dêvas.[23] Around this are seven mountain-ranges and seven seas; between each range a flowing sea of the eight peculiar qualities.[24] Outside the seven

(*t'u*) over which Buddha reigns is called Soh-ho-shi-kiai; the old *Sûtras* change it into Sha-po, *i.e.*, *sarva*. It is called in the *Sûtras* 'the patient land;' it is surrounded by an iron wall, within which are a thousand myriad worlds (*four empires*)." It seems from this that (*in later times at least*) the Soh-ho world is the same as the "great chiliocosm of worlds." The subject of the expansion of the Buddhist universe from one world (*four empires*) to an infinite number of worlds is fully treated by Jin-ch'au in the work above named and in the first part of my *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*. There is an expression, "tolerant like the earth," in the *Dhammapada*, vii. 95; from this idea of "patience" attributed to the earth was probably first derived the idea of the "patient people or beings" inhabiting the earth; and hence the lord of the world is called Sahâmpati, referred first to Mahâbrahma, afterwards to Buddha. Childers says (*Pâli Dict.* sub voc.): "I have never met with Sahaloka or Sahalokadhâtu in Pâli." Dr. Eitel in his *Handbook* translates a passage quoted as if the Saha world were the *capital* of the great chiliocosm (sub voc. *Saha*). I should take the passage to mean that the Saha world is the *collection* of all the worlds of the great chiliocosm.

20 The four continents or empires are the four divisions or quarters of the world. — *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 35.

21 Lords of the world, or honourable of the age, a title corresponding to *lôkanâtha*, or (in Pâli) *lôkanâtho*, "protector or saviour of the world."—Childers, *sub voc.*

22 I cannot think Julien is right in translating this passage by "y répandent l'influence de leurs vertus." The expression "*fa-in-săng*" must refer to the apparitional mode of birth known as *anupapâdaka*; and the body assumed by the Buddhas when thus born is called *Nirmâṇakâya*.

23 The abode of the Dêvas, or rather, "where the Dêvas wander to and fro and live." The idea of Sumêru corresponds with Olympus. On the top of each is placed the "abodes of the gods." In the case of Sumêru, there are thirty-three gods or palaces. Buddhist books frequently explain this number *thirty-three* as referring to the year, the four seasons or quarters, and the twenty-eight days of the month.

24 For the *eight* distinctive qualities, see *Catena*, p. 379.

golden mountain-ranges is the salt sea. There are four lands (countries or islands, *dvîpas*) in the salt sea, which are inhabited. On the east, (Pûrva)vidêha; on the south, Jambudvîpa; on the west, Gôdhanya; on the north, Kurudvîpa.

A golden-wheel monarch rules righteously the four; a silver-wheel monarch rules the three (excepting Kuru); a copper-wheel monarch rules over two (excepting Kuru and Gôdhanya); and an iron-wheel monarch rules over Jambudvîpa only. When first a wheel-king[25] is established in power a great wheel-gem appears floating in space, and coming towards him; its character—whether gold, silver, copper, or iron—determines the king's destiny[26] and his name.[27]

In the middle of Jambudvîpa there is a lake called Anavatapṭa,[28] to the south of the Fragrant Mountains and to the north of the great Snowy Mountains; it is 800 li and more in circuit; its sides are composed of gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, and crystal; golden sands lie at the bottom, and its waters are clear as a mirror. The great earth Bôdhisattva,[29] by the power of his vow, transforms himself into a Nâga-râja and dwells therein; from his dwelling the cool waters proceed forth and enrich Jambudvîpa (Shen-pu-chau).[30]

From the eastern side of the lake, through the mouth of a silver ox, flows the Ganges (King-kia)[31] river; encircling the lake once, it enters the south-eastern sea.

25 A *wheel-king* is a king who holds the wheel or discus of authority or power—*Chakravarttî Râja*.

26 That is, as the text says, whether he is to rule over four, three, two, or one of the divisions of the earth.

27 His name (*i.e.*, gold-wheel-king, silver-wheel-king, &c.) is derived from this first sign or miraculous event.

28 Defined in a note as "without the annoyance of heat," *i.e.*, cool; *an + avatapta*. *As. Res.*, vol. vi. p. 488.

29 I have translated *tai-ti-p'u-sa* as "the great earth Bôdhisattva," although Julien renders it "the Bôdhisattva of the great universe," because there is such a Bôdhisattva, viz., Kshitigarbha, who was invoked by Buddha at the time of his temptation by Mâra; and because I do not think that *tai ti* can be rendered *universe*. The reference appears to be to one Nâga, viz., Anavatapta Nâga-râja.

30 In the Chinese Jambudvîpa is represented by three symbols, *Shen-pu-chau;* the last symbol means an "isle" or "islet," and therefore the compound is equivalent to Jambudvîpa.

31 The *King-kia* or Ganges river was anciently written *Hang-ho* or

From the south of the lake, through a golden elephant's mouth, proceeds the Sindhu (Sin-to)[32] river; encircling the lake once, it flows into the south-western sea.

From the western side of the lake, from the mouth of a horse of lapis-lazuli, proceeds the river Vakshu (Po-tsu),[33] and encircling the lake once, it falls into the north-western sea. From the north side of the lake, through the mouth of a crystal lion, proceeds the river Sîtâ (Si-to),[34] and encircling the lake once, it falls into the north-eastern sea.

River Hang. It was also written *Hang-kia* (Ch. Ed.)

[32] Sin-to, the Sindhu or Indus; formerly written *Sin-t'au* (Ch. Ed.)

[33] The Vakshu (*Po-tsu*, formerly written *Poh-ch'a*) is the Oxus or Amu-Daria (Idrisi calls it the Wakhsh-ab), which flows from the Sarik-kul lake in the Pamir plateau, lat. 37° 27' N., long. 73° 40' E., at an elevation of about 13,950 feet. It is supplied by the melting snows of the mountains, which rise some 3500 feet higher along its southern shores. It is well called, therefore, "the cool lake" (Anavatapta). The Oxus issues from the western end of the lake, and after "a course of upwards of a thousand miles, in a direction generally north-west, it falls into the southern end of the lake Aral" (Wood). This lake Lieut. Wood intended to call Lake Victoria. Its name, Sarik-kul,—"the yellow valley"—is not recognised by later travellers, some of whom call it Kul-i-Pâmir-kulân, "the lake of the Great Pamir." Wood's *Oxus*, pp. 232, 233, note 1; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl. (1870), pp. 122, 123, 449, 450, vol. xlii. p. 507, vol. xlvi. pp. 390ff., vol. xlvii. p. 34, vol. xlviii. p. 221; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, pp. 166 n, 167.

[34] The Sîtâ (*Si-to*, formerly written *Si-t'o*) is probably the Yarkand river (the Zarafshan). This river rises (according to Prejevalsky) in the Karakorum mountains, at an elevation of 18,850 feet (lat. 35°30' N. long. 77°45' E.) It takes a north and then a westerly course, and passing to the eastward of Lake Sarik-kul, bends to the north and finally to the east. It unites with the Kashgar and Khotan rivers, and they conjointly form the Tarim, which flows on to Lake Lob, and is there lost. The Sîtâ is sometimes referred to the Jaxartes or the Sarik-kul river (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 120). In this case it is identified with the Silis of the ancients (Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Romer*, vol. iii. 2, p. 238). It is probably the Side named by Ktesias,—"stagnum in India in quo nihil innatet, omnia mergantur" (Pliny, *H. N.*, lib. xxxi. 2, 18). This agrees with the Chinese account that the Yellow River flows from the "weak water" (*Joshwai*), which is a river "fabled to issue from the foot of the Kwên-lun mountain." "It owes its name to the peculiar nature of the water, which is incapable of supporting even the weight of a feather" (Mayers, *sub voc.*) This last remark agrees curiously with the comment on *Jâtaka* xxi., referred to by Minayef in his *Pâli Grammar* (p. ix. Guyard's translation), which derives the name of Sîdâ from *sad* + *ava*, adding that "the water is so subtle that the feather of a peacock cannot be supported by it, but is *swallowed up*" (Pâli, *sîditi*, from root *sad*, "to sink") A river Silâ is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* (vi. 6, sl. 219), north of Mêru. Megasthenês mentions both a fountain and river Silas which had the same peculiarity.

They also say that the streams of this river Sîtâ, entering the earth, flow out beneath the Tsih[35] rock mountain, and give rise to the river of the middle country (China).[36]

At the time when there is no paramount wheel-monarch, then the land of Jambudvîpa has four rulers.[37]

On the south "the lord of elephants;"[38] the land here is warm and humid, suitable for elephants.

On the west "the lord of treasures;"[39] the land borders on the sea, and abounds in gems.

On the north "the lord of horses;"[40] the country is cold and hard, suitable for horses.

On the east "the lord of men;"[41] the climate is soft and

Conf. Schwanbeck, *Megasthenês*, pp. 37, 88, 109; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi. pp. 121, 130, vol. v. pp. 88, 334, vol. x. pp. 313, 319; Diodorus, lib. ii. 37; Arrian, *Indika*, c. vi., 2; Strabo. lib. xv. c. i. 38; Boissonade, *Anecd. Græc.*, vol. i. p. 419; Antigonus, *Mirab.*, c. 161; Isidorus Hisp., *Origg.*, xiii. 13; Lassen, *Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenl.*, vol. ii. p. 63, and *Ind. Alterth.* (2d edit.), vol. i. p. 1017, vol. ii. p. 657; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. viii. pp. 313, 322, 327; Humboldt, *Asie Cent.*, tom. ii. pp. 404–412; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxviii. p. 435, vol. xlii. pp. 490, 503 n.

35 The Tsih rock, or the mountain of "piled up stones" (*tsih-shih-shan*). This mountain is placed in my native map close to the "blue sea," in the "blue sea" district (the region of Koko-nor). It may probably correspond with the Khadatu-bulak (*rock fountain*) or the Tsaghan Ashi-bantu (*white rock*) in Prejevalsky's map. Both of these are spurs of the Altyn-Tâgh range of mountains. Dr. Eitel, in his *Handbook* (sub voc. *Sîtâ*), says that "the eastern outflux of the Anavatapta lake . . . loses itself in the earth, but reappears again on the Âśmakûṭâ mountains, as the source of the river Hoangho." Here, I assume, the Âśmakûṭa mountains correspond with the *Tsih-shih-shan* of the text.

36 The "River of China" is the Yellow River. Concerning its source consult Baron Richthofen's remarks on Prejevalsky's Lob Nor (p. 137, seq.) The old Chinese opinion was that the source of the river was from the Milky Way—*Tin-ho*) Mayers, p. 311). It was found afterwards that the source was in the *Sing-suh-hai*, *i.e.*, the "starry sea," which is marked on the Chinese map, and is probably the same as the Oring-nor.

37 This clause might also be rendered "when there is no wheel-king allotted to rule over Jambudvîpa, then the earth (*is divided between*) four lords."

38 Gajapati, a name given to kings; also the name of an old king of the south of Jambudvîpa (Monier Williams, *Sansk. Dict.* sub voc.) Abu Zaid al Hassan says this was the title given by the Chinese to the "king of the Indies" (Renaudot, *Mohamm. Trav.* (Eng. edit., 1733), p. 53.

39 Chattrapati or Chattrapa, "lord of the umbrella," a title of an ancient king in Jambudvîpa (hence *Satrap*). Julien, p. lxxv. n.; Monier Williams, *sub voc.*

40 Aśvapati (Jul.) I have translated *king* by "hard." Julien has omitted it.

41 Narapati, one of the four mythical kings of Jambudvîpa (Mon. Williams, *sub voc.*) It was assumed

agreeable (*exhilarating*), and therefore[42] there are many men.

In the country of "the lord of elephants" the people are quick and enthusiastic, and entirely given to learning. They cultivate especially magical arts. They wear a robe[43] thrown across them, with their right shoulder bare; their hair is done up in a ball on the top, and left undressed on the four sides. Their various tribes occupy different towns; their houses are built stage over stage.

In the country of "the lord of treasures" the people have no politeness or justice. They accumulate wealth. Their dress is short, with a left skirt.[44] They cut their hair and cultivate their moustache. They dwell in walled towns and are eager in profiting by trade.

The people of the country of "the lord of horses" are naturally (*t'ien tsz'*) wild and fierce. They are cruel in disposition; they slaughter (*animals*)[45] and live under large felt tents; they divide like birds (*going here and there*) attending their flocks.

The land of "the lord of men" is distinguished for the wisdom and virtue and justice of the people. They wear a head-covering and a girdle; the end of their dress

the dynasty ruling at Vijayanagara by in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Arab travellers of the ninth century say the Chinese gave this title to the emperor of China, and also to "the king of Greece" (Renaudot, *u. s.*, p. 53). Compare the Homeric epithet, Ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν.

[42] I have taken the "therefore" to be part of this sentence, not of the next.

[43] This seems to me to be the meaning—"they wear a cross-scarf." Julien translates, they wear a bonnet, "posé en travers."

[44] This passage seems to mean that their clothes, which are cut short, overlap to the left—literally, "short, fashion, left, overlapping" (*jin*, the place where garments overlap.—Medhurst, *Ch. Dict.*, sub voc.)

[45] So I take it. The expression *shă lŭh* means "to slaughter." I do not understand Julien's "et tuent leurs semblables." There is a passage, however, quoted by Dr. Bretschneider (*Notices of the Mediæval Geography, &c., of Western Asia*, p. 114), from Rubruquis, which alludes to a custom among the Tibetans corresponding to that in Julien's translation—"post hos sunt Tebet, homines solentes comedere parentes suos defunctus." But, which is not the case in the text, the barbarians are made to slay their kin in order to eat them. *Conf.* Reinaud, *Relat.*, tom. i. p. 52; Renaudot, *Moham. Trav.* (Eng. ed., 1733), pp. 33, 46, and Remarks, p. 53; Rennie, *Peking*, vol. ii. p. 244; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. pp. 292, 302.

(*girdle*) hangs to the right. They have carriages and robes according to rank;[46] they cling to the soil and hardly ever change their abode; they are very earnest in work, and divided into classes.

With respect to the people belonging to these three rulers, the eastern region is considered the best; the doors of their dwellings open towards the east, and when the sun rises in the morning they turn towards it and salute it. In this country the south side is considered the most honourable. Such are the leading characteristics in respect of manners and customs relating to these regions.

But with regard to the rules of politeness observed between the prince and his subjects, between superiors and inferiors, and with respect to laws and literature, the land of "the lord of men" is greatly in advance. The country of "the lord of elephants" is distinguished for rules which relate to purifying the heart and release from the ties of life and death; this is its leading excellency. With these things the sacred books and the royal decrees are occupied. Hearing the reports of the native races and diligently searching out things old and new, and examining those things which came before his eyes and ears, it is thus he (*i.e.*, Hiuen Tsiang) obtained information.

Now Buddha having been born in the western region and his religion having spread eastwards, the sounds of the words translated have been often mistaken, the phrases of the different regions have been misunderstood on account of the wrong sounds, and thus the sense has been lost. The words being wrong, the idea has been perverted. Therefore, as it is said, "it is indispensable to have the right names, in order that there be no mistakes."

Now, men differ according to the firmness or weakness of their nature, and so the words and the sounds (*of their languages*) are unlike. This may be the result either of

[46] Literally, carriages and robes have order or rank. It might also, without violence, be translated "(they possess) carriages and robes, and schools."

climate or usage. The produce of the soil differs in the same way, according to the mountains and valleys. With respect to the difference in manners and customs, and also as to the character of the people in the country of "the lord of men," the annals sufficiently explain this. In the country of "the lord of horses" and of "the lord of treasures" the (*local*) records and the proclamations explain the customs faithfully, so that a brief account can be given of them.

In the country of "the lord of elephants" the previous history of the people is little known. The country is said to be in general wet and warm, and it is also said that the people are virtuous and benevolent. With respect to the history of the country, so far as it has been preserved, we cannot cite it in detail; whether it be that the roads are difficult of access, or on account of the revolutions which have occurred, such is the case. In this way we see at least that the people only await instruction to be brought to submission, and when they have received benefit they will enjoy the blessing of civilization (*pay homage*). How difficult to recount the list of those who, coming from far, after encountering the greatest perils (*difficulties*), knock at the gem-gate[47] with the choice tribute of their country and pay their reverence to the emperor Wherefore, after he (*Hiuen Tsiang*) had travelled afar in search of the law, in his moments of leisure he has preserved these records of the character of the lands (*visited*). After leaving the black ridge, the manners of the people are savage (*barbarous*). Although the barbarous tribes are intermixed one with the other, yet the different races are distinguishable, and their territories have well-defined boundaries. Generally speaking, as the land suits,[48] they build walled towns and devote themselves to agriculture and raising cattle. They

[47] The *gem-gate*, I should think, is the *Yuh-mun*, the western frontier of the empire, not the gate of the emperor's palace.

[48] Julien translates this "generally speaking they are sedentary."

naturally hoard wealth and hold virtue and justice in light esteem. They have no marriage decorum, and no distinction of high or low. The women say, "I consent to use you as a husband and live in submission, (*and that is all*)."[49] When dead, they burn the body, and there is no determined period for mourning. They scar their faces and cut their ears. They crop their hair and tear their clothes.[50] They slay their herds and offer them in sacrifice to the manes of the dead. When rejoicing, they wear white garments; when in mourning, they clothe themselves in black. Thus we have described briefly points of agreement in the manners and customs of these people. The differences of administration depend on the different countries. With respect to the customs of India, they are contained in the following records.

Leaving the old country of Kau-chang,[51] from this neighbourhood there begins what is called the 'O-ki-ni country.

'O-KI-NI.

(*Anciently called Wu-ki.*)[52]

The kingdom of 'O-ki-ni (Akni or Agni) is about 500 li from east to west, and about 400 li from north to south.

[49] This sentence appears to allude to the custom of polyandry, or rather to the custom of the province of Kamul (Yule's *Marco Polo*, bk. i. ch. xli. vol. i. pp. 212, 214). It amounts to this: the woman says, "I consent whilst using you as a husband to submit," or "I consent to use you as a husband whilst dwelling under the roof." Julien translates it: "Ce sont les paroles des femmes qu'on suit; les hommes sont placès au-dessus d'elles."

[50] They do all this when bereaved, that is, of their relatives, and when they mourn.

[51] Leaving the ancient land of Kau-chang, *i.e.*, the land which had long been occupied by the Uïgurs or Turks. The route of Hiuen Tsiang up to this point is detailed in his life. Leaving Liang-chau (a prefecture in Kansuh), he proceeded to Kwa-chau; he then crossed the Hulu river (Bulunghir) and advanced northward and westward through the desert. Having passed Hami and Pidshan, keeping westward, he comes to Turfan, the capital of the Uïgur country. He then advances to 'O-ki-ni.

[52] 'O-ki-ni. This may otherwise be written *Wu-ki*. Julien writes *Yen-ki*. The symbol *wu* is said sometimes to have the sound *yen*. This country corresponds to Karshar, or Kara-shahr, near the lake Tengh[illegible] (Bagarach).

The chief town of the realm is in circuit 6 or 7 li. On all sides it is girt with hills. The roads are precipitous and easy of defence. Numerous streams unite, and are led[53] in channels to irrigate the fields. The soil is suitable for red millet, winter wheat, scented dates, grapes, pears, and plums, and other fruits. The air is soft and agreeable; the manners of the people are sincere and upright. The written character is, with few differences, like that of India. The clothing (*of the people*) is of cotton or wool. They go with shorn locks and without head-dress. In commerce they use gold coins, silver coins, and little copper coins. The king is a native of the country; he is brave, but little attentive to (*military*) plans, yet he loves to speak of his own conquests. This country has no annals. The laws are not settled. There are some ten or more *Saṅghârâmas* with two thousand priests or so, belonging to the Little Vehicle, of the school of the Sarvâstivâdas (Shwo-yih-tsai-yu-po). The doctrine of the *Sûtras* and the requirements of the *Vinaya* are in agreement with those of India, and the books from which they study are the same. The professors of religion read their books and observe the rules and regulations with purity and strictness. They only eat the three pure aliments, and observe the method known as the "gradual" one.[54]

Going south-west from this country 200 li or so, surmounting a small mountain range and crossing two large rivers, passing westwards through a level valley some 700 li or so, we come to the country of K'iu-chi[55] [*anciently written* Kuei-tzŭ].

[53] *Tai yin*, to carry off or lead here and there. The text means they lead the water in channels from reservoirs.

[54] The transition doctrine between the Little and Great Vehicle.

[55] The route here described to Kuchê would agree tolerably well with that laid down on Prejevalsky's map, viz., 200 li south-west to Korla, passing two rivers (for the Balgaktai-gol and the Kaidu-gol, after uniting, appear to bifurcate before reaching Karashahr), crossing a spur of the Kurugh-tagh range, and then keeping westward for about 150 miles across a level valley-plain to Ku-châ. See Bretschneider, *Not. Med. Geog.*, p. 149. I may observe that the pronunciation of *k'iu* in *K'iu-chi* is determined in a note, as equal to *k*(*u*) and (*w*)*uh*, that is *kuh*.

KINGDOM OF K'IU-CHI (KUCHÊ).

The country of K'iu-chi is from east to west some thousand li or so; from north to south about 600 li. The capital of the realm is from 17 to 18 li in circuit. The soil is suitable for rice and corn, also (*a kind of rice called*) *keng-t'ao*;[56] it produces grapes,[57] pomegranates, and numerous species of plums, pears, peaches, and almonds, also grow here. The ground is rich in minerals—gold, copper, iron, and lead, and tin.[58] The air is soft, and the manners of the people honest. The style of writing (*literature*) is Indian, with some differences. They excel other countries in their skill in playing on the lute and pipe. They clothe themselves with ornamental garments of silk and embroidery.[59] They cut their hair and wear a flowing covering (*over their heads*). In commerce they use gold, silver, and copper coins. The king is of the K'iu-chi race; his wisdom being small, he is ruled by a powerful minister. The children born of common parents have their heads flattened by the pressure of a wooden board.[60]

There are about one hundred convents (*saṅghârâmas*) in this country, with five thousand and more disciples. These belong to the Little Vehicle of the school of the Sarvâstivâdas (Shwo-yih-tsai-yu-po). Their doctrine (*teaching of Sûtras*) and their rules of discipline (*principles of the Vinaya*) are like those of India, and those who read them use the same (*originals*). They especially hold to the

[56] A rice which is not glutinous (Jul.), *i.e.*, common rice.

[57] The grape in Chinese is *pu-ta'u*; this is one of the products which the earth is said to have produced naturally, and on which men (*all flesh*) fed for a period; those who took little retaining their whiteness of colour, those who ate greedily turning dark-coloured. (See in the *Chung-hu-mo-ho-ti-king*, k. i. fol. 3). The similarity between this word *pu-ta'u* and the Greek *βότρυς* has been pointed out by Mr. Kingsmill.

[58] The mistake in the text of *ming* for *yuen* is pointed out by M. Julien.

[59] The symbol *hŏ* sometimes means "embroidered work done by puncturing leather"—Medhurst. This seems more applicable to the passage than the other meaning of *felt* or *coarse-wool*.

[60] This is a well-known custom among some tribes of North American Indians.

customs of the "gradual doctrine," and partake only of the three pure kinds of food. They live purely, and provoke others (*by their conduct*) to a religious life.

To the north of a city on the eastern borders of the country, in front of a Dêva ṭemple, there is a great dragon-lake. The dragons, changing their form, couple with mares. The offspring is a wild species of horse (*dragon-horse*), difficult to tame and of a fierce nature. The breed of these dragon-horses became docile. This country consequently became famous for its many excellent[61] horses. Former records (*of this country*) say: "In late times there was a king called 'Gold Flower,' who exhibited rare intelligence in the doctrines (*of religion*). He was able to yoke the dragons to his chariot. When the king wished to disappear, he touched the ears of the dragons with his whip, and forthwith he became invisible."

From very early time till now there have been no wells in the town, so that the inhabitants have been accustomed to get water from the dragon lake. On these occasions the dragons, changing themselves into the likeness of men, had intercourse with the women. Their children, when born, were powerful and courageous, and swift of foot as the horse. Thus gradually corrupting themselves, the men all became of the dragon breed, and relying on their strength, they became rebellious and disobedient to the royal authority. Then the king, forming an alliance with the Tuh-kiueh (Turks),[62] massacred the men of the city; young and old, all were

[61] The word for "excellent" in the original is *shen*. There is a good deal said about these horses (called *shen*) in the account of the early intercourse of China with Turkestan (*circ.* 105 B.C.) See a paper by Mr. Kingsmill in the *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xiv. p. 99 n. Compare Marco Polo, bk. i. cap. 2, "*excellent* horses known as Turquans," &c.; also Yule's note 2, and what is said about the *white* mares.—Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. chap. 61, pp. 45, 46, 291.

[62] The Tuh-kiueh, or Turks, are the same as the Hiung-nû or Kara-nirûs, who drove the Yueh-chi or Yueh-ti (Viddhals) from the neighbourhood of the Chinese frontier (*J. R. A. S.* loc. cit. p. 77); they are to be distinguished from the Tokhâri, who overran the Græco-Baktrian kingdom and were driven thence by the Viddhals, who had fled before the Hiung-nû, and attacked the Tokhâri from the *west* (p. 81). See note 121 *infra*.

destroyed, so that there was no remnant left; the city is now a waste and uninhabited.

About 40 li to the north of this desert city there are two convents close together on the slope of a mountain, but separated by a stream of water,[63] both named Chau-hu-li, being situated east and west of one another, and accordingly so called.[64] (*Here there is*) a statue of Buddha,[65] richly adorned and carved with skill surpassing that of men. The occupants of the convents are pure and truthful, and diligent in the discharge of their duties. In (*the hall of*) the eastern convent, called the Buddha pavilion, there is a jade stone, with a surface of about two feet in width, and of a yellowish white colour; in shape it is like a sea-shell; on its surface is a foot trace of Buddha, 1 foot 8 inches long, and eight inches or so in breadth; at the expiration of every fast-day it emits a bright and sparkling light.

Outside the western gate of the chief city, on the right and left side of the road, there are (*two*) erect figures of Buddha, about 90 feet high. In the space in front of these statues there is a place erected for the quinquennial[66] assembly. Every year at the autumnal equinox, during ten several days, the priests assemble from all the country in this place. The king and all his people, from the highest to the lowest, on this occasion abstain from public business, and observe a religious fast; they listen to the

63 So I think the passage must be translated. It is not the mountain that is divided by a stream, but the convents which stand on the slope of the mountain. The mountain, therefore, would slope to the north or south, and the convents stand east and west of one another, with a stream between them.

64 That is, called the Eastern "Chau-hu-li" and the Western "Chau-hu-li." The expression *chau-hu-li*, although perfectly intelligible, is difficult to translate. The symbol *li* probably means a "pair" or "couple;" *chau-hu* means "supported, or dependent on, the brightness of the sun." The title, therefore, would be "bright-supported pair," referring, of course, to their receiving the eastern and western light of the sun respectively.

65 I do not think there are two images; the text says, "the image of Buddha exquisitely adorned," &c.

66 Called Pañchavarsha or Pañchavarshika, and instituted by Aśóka.—Jul. See note 178 *inf.*

sacred teachings of the law, and pass the days without weariness.

In all the convents there are highly adorned images of Buddha, decorated with precious substances and covered with silken stuffs. These they carry (*on stated occasions*) in idol-cars, which they call the "procession of images." On these occasions the people flock by thousands to the place of assembly.

On the fifteenth and last day of the month the king of the country and his ministers always consult together respecting affairs of state, and after taking counsel of the chief priests, they publish their decrees.

To the north-west of the meeting-place we cross a river and arrive at a convent called 'O-she-li-ni.[67] The hall of this temple is open and spacious. The image of Buddha is beautifully carved. The disciples (*religious*) are grave and decorous and very diligent in their duties; rude and rough (*men*)[68] come here together; the aged priests are learned and of great talent, and so from distant spots the most eminent men who desire to acquire just principles come here and fix their abode. The king and his ministers and the great men of the realm offer to these priests the four sorts of provision, and their celebrity spreads farther and farther.

The old records say: "A former[69] king of this country worshipped the 'three precious' ones.[70] Wishing to pay homage to the sacred relics of the outer world, he intrusted the affairs of the empire to his younger brother on the mother's side. The younger brother having received such orders, mutilated himself in order to prevent any evil risings[71] (*of passion*). He enclosed the mutilated

[67] *'O-she-li-ni*, according to the Ch. text, means "extraordinary" or "unique;" it may possibly be intended for Asâdhârana.

[68] So it seems to mean, *fei tae ping shi*, "criminals and rude (*men*) come together here."

[69] I translate the symbol *sien* by "former" or "previous;" not by "first" or "the first." It appears to refer to a past king, indefinite as to time.

[70] Buddha, the law, the community.

[71] Or, "evil suspicions."

parts in a golden casket, and laid it before the king. 'What is this?' inquired the king. In reply he said, 'On the day of your majesty's return home, I pray you open it and see.' The king gave it to the manager of his affairs, who intrusted the casket to a portion of the king's bodyguard to keep. And now, in the end, there were certain mischief-making people who said, 'The king's deputy, in his absence, has been debauching himself in the inner rooms of the women.' The king hearing this, was very angry, and would have subjected his brother to cruel punishment. The brother said, 'I dare not flee from punishment, but I pray you open the golden casket.' The king accordingly opened it, and saw that it contained a mutilated member. Seeing it, he said, 'What strange thing is this, and what does it signify?' Replying, the brother said, 'Formerly, when the king proposed to go abroad, he ordered me to undertake the affairs of the government. Fearing the slanderous reports that might arise, I mutilated myself. You now have the proof of my foresight. Let the king look benignantly on me.' The king was filled with the deepest reverence and strangely moved with affection; in consequence, he permitted him free ingress and egress throughout his palace.[72]

"After this it happened that the younger brother, going abroad, met by the way a herdsman who was arranging to geld five hundred oxen. On seeing this, he gave himself to reflection, and taking himself as an example of what they were to suffer, he was moved with increased compassion, (*and said*), 'Are not my present sufferings[73] the consequence of my conduct in some former condition of life?' He forthwith desired with money and precious jewels to redeem this herd of oxen. In consequence of this act of love, he recovered by degrees from mutilation, and on this account he ceased to enter the apartments of the women. The king, filled with wonder, asked him the

[72] Inner palace, palace of the women, "the harem."

[73] My present mutilated form.

reason of this, and having heard the matter from beginning to end, looked on him as a 'prodigy' (*khi-teh*), and from this circumstance the convent took its name, which he built to honour the conduct of his brother and perpetuate his name."

After quitting this country and going about 600 li to the west, traversing a small sandy desert, we come to the country of Poh-luh-kia.

POH-LUH-KIA [BÂLUKÂ OR AKSU].

(*Formerly called Che-meh or Kih-meh.*)[74]

The kingdom of Poh-luh-kia is about 600 li from east to west, and 300 li or so from north to south. The chief town is 5 or 6 li in circuit. With regard to the soil, climate, character of the people, the customs, and literature (laws of composition), these are the same as in the country of K'iu-chi. The language (*spoken language*) differs however a little. It produces a fine sort of cotton and hair-cloth, which are highly valued by neighbouring (frontier) countries.

There are some ten *saṅghârâmas* here; the number of priests (priests and followers) is about one thousand. These follow the teaching of the "Little Vehicle," and belong to the school of the Sarvâstivâdas (Shwo-yih-tsai-yu-po).[75]

[74] *Kih-meh* doubtless represents the *Kou-mé* of Julien (see the *Mémoire Analytique* by V. St. Martin, *Mem. s. l. Contr. Occid*, tom. ii. p. 265); it was formerly the eastern portion of the kingdom of Aksu. The name Poh-lu-kia or Bâlukâ is said to be derived from a Turkish tribe which "in the fourth century of our era occupied the north-western parts of Kansu."—*Ibid.* p. 266. The modern town of Aksu is 56 geog. miles E. from Ush-turfan, in lat. 41° 12′ N., long. 79° 30′ E. Aksu is 156 Eng. miles in a direct line W.S.W. from Kuchâ, which is in lat. 41° 38′ N., long. 83° 25′ E. on Col. Walker's map.

[75] The school of the Sarvâstivâdas; one of the early schools of Buddhism, belonging to the Little Vehicle, *i.e.*, the Hînayâna, or the imperfect mode of conveyance. This early form of Buddhism, according to Chinese accounts, contemplated only the deliverance of a portion of the world, viz., the Saṅgha or society; the Mahâyâna or complete (*great*) mode of conveyance, on the other hand, taught a universal deliverance. The Sarvâstivâdas believed in "the existence of things," opposed to idealism. Burnouf, *Introd.* (2d. edit.), p. 397; Vassilief, *Bouddh.*, pp. 57, 78, 113, 243, 245.

Going 300 li or so to the north-west of this country, crossing a stony desert, we come to Ling-shan[76] (*ice-mountain*). This is, in fact, the northern plateau of the T'sung-ling range,[77] and from this point the waters mostly have an eastern flow. Both hills and valleys are filled with snowpiles, and it freezes both in spring and summer; if it should thaw for a time, the ice soon forms again. The roads are steep and dangerous, the cold wind is extremely biting, and frequently fierce dragons impede and molest travellers with their inflictions.[78] Those who travel this road should not wear red garments nor carry loud-sounding[79] calabashes. The least forgetfulness of these precautions entails certain misfortune. A violent wind suddenly rises with storms of flying sand and gravel; those who encounter them, sinking through exhaustion, are almost sure to die.

Going 400 li or so, we come to the great Tsing lake.[80]

[76] Ling-shan, called by the Mongols "Musur-aola," with the same meaning.—V. de St. Martin, p. 266.

[77] I translate it thus, because it agrees with Hwui-lih's account in the Life of Hiuen Tsiang, although it may also be rendered "this is (*or*, these mountains are) to the north of the T'sung-ling. The waters of the plateau," &c. The T'sung-ling mountains are referred to in the Twelfth Book; they are called T'sung, either because the land produces a great quantity of onions (*t'sung*), or because of the blue (*green?*) colour of the mountain sides. On the south they join the great Snowy Mountains; on the north they reach to the "hot-sea," *i.e.*, the Tsing lake, of which he next speaks. So that the Icy Mountains form the northern plateau of the range. The rivers which feed the Tarim do, in fact, take their rise here. Conf. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl. p. 344; Wood's *Oxus*, p. xl.

[78] The inflictions or calamities alluded to are the sand and gravel storms, referred to below.

[79] Or, it may be 'ought not to carry calabashes nor shout loudly." Perhaps the reason why calabashes are forbidden is that the water freezing in them might cause them to burst with a loud sound, which would cause the "snow piles" to fall. Why "red garments" should be interdicted is not so plain, unless dragons are enraged by that colour.

[80] The Tsing (limpid) lake is the same as Issyk-kul, or Temurtu. It is 5200 feet above the sea-level. It is called *Jo-hai*, "the hot sea," not because its waters are warm, but because when viewed from the Ice Mountain, it appears hot by comparison (note in the *Life* of Hiuen Tsiang). The direction is not given here; but from Aksu to Issyk-kul is about 110 English miles to the north-east. Conf. Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, note 57, p. 37; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxix. pp. 318 ff., vol. xl. pp. 250, 344, 375-399, 449.

This lake is about 1000 li in circuit, extended from east to west, and narrow from north to south. On all sides it is enclosed by mountains, and various streams empty themselves into it and are lost. The colour of the water is a bluish-black, its taste is bitter and salt. The waves of this lake roll along tumultuously as they expend themselves (*on the shores*). Dragons and fishes inhabit it together. At certain (*portentous*) occasions scaly monsters rise to the surface, on which travellers passing by put up their prayers for good fortune. Although the water animals are numerous, no one dares (*or ventures*) to catch them by fishing.

Going 500 li or so to the north-west of the Tsing lake, we arrive at the town of the Su-yeh river.[81] This town is about 6 or 7 li in circuit; here the merchants from surrounding countries congregate and dwell.

The soil is favourable for red millet and for grapes; the woods are not thick, the climate is windy and cold; the people wear garments of twilled wool.

Passing on from Su-yeh westward, there are a great number[82] of deserted towns; in each there is a chieftain (*or* over each there is established a chief); these are not dependent on one another, but all are in submission to the Tuh-kiueh.

From the town of the Su-yeh river as far as the Ki-shwang-na[83] country the land is called Su-li, and the people are called by the same name. The literature (*written characters*) and the spoken language are likewise so called. The primary characters are few; in the begin-

[81] That is, the town of Su-yeh, situated on the river Chu or Chui. Hwui-lih also calls it the town of Su-yeh (k. ii. fol. 4 a). The same symbol (*yeh*) is used both in the *Si-yu-ki*, and the *Life* of Hiuen Tsiang. The site of this town is not now known (vid. V. de St. Martin, *ut sup.*, p. 271). It may be the present *Constantinovosk*, or perhaps Belasagun, the capital of the Kara-khitai, on the river Chu. Conf. Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, note 37, p. 36; *Chin. Med. Trav.*, p. 50, 114; *Trans. Russ. Geog. Soc.*, 1871, vol. ii. p. 365.

[82] Several tens.

[83] Kaśanna (Jul.) It is the modern Kesh, in lat. 39° 4′ N., long. 66° 50′ E. In Eitel's *Handbook* (sub *Kachania*) it is said to be the region near Kermina. See note 116 *infra*.

ning they were thirty[84] or so in number: the words are composed by the combination of these; these combinations have produced a large and varied vocabulary.[85] They have some literature,[86] which the common sort read together; their mode of writing is handed down from one master to another without interruption, and is thus preserved. Their inner clothing is made of a fine hair-cloth (linen); their outer garments are of skin, their lower garments of linen, short and tight.[87] They adjust their hair so as to leave the top of the head exposed (*that is*, they shave the top of their heads). Sometimes they shave their hair completely. They wear a silken band round their foreheads. They are tall of stature, but their wills are weak and pusillanimous. They are as a rule crafty and deceitful in their conduct and extremely covetous. Both parent and child plan how to get wealth; and the more they get the more they esteem each other; but the well-to-do and the poor are not distinguished; even when immensely rich, they feed and clothe themselves meanly. The strong bodied cultivate the land; the rest (*half*) engage in money-getting (*business*).

Going west from the town Su-yeh 400 li or so, we come to the "Thousand springs."[88] This territory is about 200 li square. On the south are the Snowy Mountains, on the other sides (*three boundaries*) is level tableland. The soil is well watered; the trees afford a grateful shade, and the flowers in the spring months are varied and like

[84] So my copy has it: Julien translates it *thirty-two.*

[85] Literally, "the flowing forth from these has gradually become large and varied."

[86] "Some historical records" (*Shu-ki*); or, it may be, "they have books and records."

[87] This difficult passage seems to mean that they use linen as an article of clothing; that their upper garments (jackets or jerkins) are of leather; their breeches are of linen, made short and tight.

[88] That is, Myn-bulak (Bingheul), a country with innumerable lakes —Eitel. Myn-bulak lies to the north of the road from Auliê-ata to Tersa; the high mountains to which it clings are the Urtak-taù. "The Kirghizes, even now, consider Myn-bulak to be the best place for summer encampment between the Chu and the Syr-Daria." "Here there is good pasturage, with a dense and succulent herbage, and there are numerous clear springs."—Severtsof, *J. R. G. Soc.*, vol. xl. pp. 367–369.

tapestry. There are a thousand springs of water and lakes here, and hence the name. The Khân of the Tuh-kiueh comes to this place every (*year*) to avoid the heat. There are a number of deer here, many of which are ornamented with bells and rings;[89] they are tame and not afraid of the people, nor do they run away. The Khân is very fond of them, and has forbidden them to be killed on pain of death without remission; hence they are preserved and live out their days.

Going from the Thousand springs westward 140 or 150 li, we come to the town of Ta-lo-sse (Taras).[90] This town is 8 or 9 li in circuit; merchants from all parts assemble and live here with the natives (Tartars). The products and the climate are about the same as Su-yeh.

Going 10 li or so to the south, there is a little deserted town. It had once about 300 houses, occupied by people of China. Some time ago the inhabitants were violently carried off by the Tuh-kiueh, but afterwards assembling a number of their countrymen, they occupied this place in common.[91] Their clothes being worn out, they adopted the Turkish mode of dress, but they have preserved their own native language and customs.

[89] Probably the "rings" (*hwan*) refer to neck-collars.

[90] M. Viv. de St. Martin has remarked, in his *Mémoire Analytique* (Jul., *Mém.*, tom. ii. pp. 267–273), that the distance from Lake Issyk-kul to Taras or Talas (which he places at the town of Turkistân, by the Jaxartes river), is too short by 1000 li; or, in other words, that from Su-yeh to the "Thousand springs" (Bingheul or Myn-bulak), instead of 400 li, should be 1400 li. The same writer explains that in Kiepert's map of Turkistân there is a locality called Myn-bulak in the heights above the town of Turkistân, about a dozen leagues east from it. This would agree with the 140 or 150 li of Hiuen Tsiang. But see notes 93 and 95 below, and conf. Bretschneider's valuable note, *Med. Geog.*, p. 37, and *Notes on Chin. Med. Trav.*, pp. 34, 75, 114; Klaproth, *Nouv. Jour. Asiat.*, tom. xii. p. 283; Deguignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 500, tom. iii. pp. 219, 229; Yule's *Cathay*, p. clxv.; Wood's *Oxus*, p. xlii.; Rubruquis, in *Rec. de Voy. et de Mém.*, tom iv. pp. 279, 280.

[91] The little deserted town alluded to in the text is named elsewhere (St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, tom. ii. p. 118). We gather from Hiuen Tsiang that the inhabitants were originally captives, carried off from China by the Turks, who assembled and formed a community in this place.

Going 200 li or so south-west from this, we come to the town called Peh-shwui ("White Water.")[92] This town is 6 or 7 li in circuit. The products of the earth and the climate are very superior to those of Ta-lo-sse.

Going 200 li or so to the south-west, we arrive at the town of Kong-yu,[93] which is about 5 or 6 li in circuit. The plain on which it stands is well watered and fertile, and the verdure of the trees grateful and pleasing. From this going south 40 or 50 li, we come to the country of Nu-chih-kien.

NU-CHIH-KIEN [NUJKEND].

The country of Nu-chih-kien[94] is about 1000 li in circuit; the land is fertile, the harvests are abundant, the plants and trees are rich in vegetation, the flowers and

[92] The town called "White Water" is the Isfijab of Persian writers according to V. de St. Martin, p. 274.

[93] The bearing *south-west* in this and the preceding case from Turkistân (if, with Julien, we identified that town with Taras) would take us over the Jaxartes and away from Tâshkand (Che-shi). In the tabular statement given by St. Martin (p. 274) the bearings and distances are as follows:—From Ta-lo-sse to Peh-shwui, 200 li to the south; Peh-shwui to Kong-yu, 200 li southerly; Kong-yu to Nu-chih-kien, 50 li south; Nu-chih-kien to Chê-shi, 200 li west. But the bearing from Taras to the "White Water" (Peh-shwui) is south-west, and from the "White Water" to Kong-yu is again south-west. We have then a short distance of 50 li to the south to Nu-chih-kien, after which there are 200 li west to Tâshkand. Working back from Tâshkand, which appears to be a *certain* point according to the distances and bearings given, we reach to about the River Talas, far to the eastward of Turkistân. If Auliê-ata on the Talas (lat. 43° 55′ N., long. 71° 24′ E., and 110 geog. miles from the river Chu) be his Ta-lo-sse, then his route would lie across the head waters of the Karagati—a feeder of the Chu, and of the Jar-su—an affluent of the Talas, where we should place the Thousand Springs. But Myn-bulak is to the west of the Talas on the way to Tersa (35 miles west of Auliê-ata), which *may* be Ta-lo-sse. From Tersa, on a river of the same name which flows between Myn-bulak and the Urtak-taü hills, his route must have been to the south-west, either by Chemkent to Tâshkand—the same route as was afterwards followed by Chenghiz Khân; or he must have gone over the Aksai hills, on the road to Namangan, into the valley of the Chatkal or Upper Chirchik, and so south-west and then west to Tâshkand. Myn-bulak, however, is north-east of Tersa, not east. See Severtsof's account of the country from Lake Issyk-kul to Tâshkand in *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl. pp. 353–358, 363–370, &c., also p. 410. The site of Kong-yu has not been ascertained.

[94] Called Nejkath by Edrisi.—V. St. Martin, p. 276. Conf. Quatremère, *Not. et Extr. des MSS.*, tom. xiii. p. 259. But the identification

fruit plentiful and agreeable in character. This country is famous for its grapes. There are some hundred towns which are governed by their own separate rulers. They are independent in all their movements. But though they are so distinctly divided one from the other, they are all called by the general name of Nu-chih-kien.

Going hence about 200 li west, we come to the country of Che-shi (*stony country*).

CHE-SHI [CHÂJ].

The country of Che-shi[95] is 1000 or so li in circuit. On the west it borders on the river Yeh.[96] It is contracted towards the east and west, and extended towards the north and south. The products and climate are like those of Nu-chih-kien.

There are some ten towns in the country, each governed by its own chief; as there is no common sovereign over them, they are all under the yoke of the Tuh-kiueh. From this in a south-easterly direction some 1000 li or so, there is a country called Fei-han.

FEI-HAN [FERGHÂNAH].[97]

This kingdom is about 4000 li in circuit. It is enclosed by mountains on every side. The soil is rich and fertile,

of Taras in note 93 leads us to seek Nu-chih-kien on the Chatkal, to the east of Tâshkand.

[95] That is, Tâshkand, which means in Turkish the "tower" or "residence of (*tash*) stone" (V. St. Martin, p. 276 n.), corresponding with the explanation in the text. Compare Λίθινος πύργος of Ptolemy, *Geog.*, I. xi. 4, 6, xii. 1, 3, 9, 10; VI. xiii. 2; Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, p. 269; Leyden and Erskine's *Memoirs of Baber* (edit. 1826), pp. xl. 99, 102; Deguignes, *Hist. G. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 497, tom. v. pp. 26, 31; Ritter, *Asien*, vol. v. p. 570; Klaproth, *Magaz. Asiat.*, tom. i. p. 31; and Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, pp. 159, 160. It is in lat. 41° 19′ N., long. 69° 15′ E., and in H. Moll's map (1702) is called Al-Chach, and placed 155 miles south-west from "Taras or Dahalan." Rawlinson identifies Λίθινος πύργος with Tâsh-kurghân and with Kie-cha of Fahien.—*Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. p. 503. Yule, however, doubts this: Wood's *Oxus*, int. pp. xxxix., xl.

[96] The River Yeh, *i.e.*, the Sihun, Syr-daria, or Jaxartes.

[97] The distance, about 200 miles south-east of Tâshkand, takes us to the upper waters of the Jaxartes, the actual Khanate of Khokand. The pilgrim did not himself go there, but writes from report.

it produces many harvests, and abundance of flowers and fruits. It is favourable for breeding sheep and horses. The climate is windy and cold. The character of the people is one of firmness and courage. Their language differs from that of the neighbouring countries. Their form is rather poor and mean. For ten years or so the country has had no supreme ruler. The strongest rule by force, and are independent one of another. They divide their separate possessions according to the run of the valleys and mountain barriers. Going from this country [98] westward for 1000 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Su-tu-li-sse-na.

SU-TU-LI-SSE-NA [SUTRISHṆA].

The country of Su-tu-li-sse-na [99] is some 1400 or 1500 li in circuit. On the east it borders on the Yeh river (Jaxartes). This river has its source in the northern plateau of the Tsung-ling range, and flows to the north-west; sometimes it rolls its muddy waters along in quiet, at other times with turbulence. The products and cus-

[98] Hiuen Tsiang did not go to Ferghânah. The symbol used is *chi*, not *hing*. This will explain why the writer of the *Life* of Hiuen Tsiang (Hwui-lih) omits all mention of Ferghânah, and takes the pilgrim west from Tâshkand to Su-tu-li-sse-na, 1000 li. So that in the text we are to reckon 1000 li (200 miles approximately) not from Khokand, but from Tâshkand. It must be remembered that the kingdom or country of Su-tu-li-sse-na is spoken of, not a town.

[99] Sutrishṇa (Śatrughna), also called Ustrûsh, Ustrûshṭa, Setrûshṭa, and Isterûshân) or Usrûshna is a country "well known to Arabian geographers, situated between Ferghânah and Samarkand."—V. St. Martin, p. 278. It is described in the text as bordering on the Jaxartes on the east; we may suppose, therefore, that this river was its eastern boundary. It is said to be 1500 li in circuit; we may place the western boundary, therefore, some 500 li to the west of Khojend. This limit would meet the requirements of the text, where the country is described as reaching 1000 li west from Tâshkand. Of course west means to the west of south-west. The town of Sutrishṇa is now represented by Ura-Tape, Uratippa or Ura-tiubê, which is some 40 miles south-west from Khojend and 100 miles south-south-west from Tâshkand (lat. 39.57 N., long. 69.57 E.) The Syr-daria, Sihun or Jaxartes, however, is to the north of Uratiubê. Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, p. 261; *Ariana Antiq.*, p. 162; Edrisi (Joubert's *transl.*), tom. ii. pp. 203, 206; Baber's *Memoirs*, pp. xli, 9.

toms of the people are like those of Che-shi. Since it has had a king, it has been under the rule of the Turks.

North-west[100] from this we enter on a great sandy desert, where there is neither water nor grass. The road is lost in the waste, which appears boundless, and only by looking in the direction of some great mountain, and following the guidance of the bones which lie scattered about, can we know the way in which we ought to go

SĂ-MO-KIEN (SAMARKAND).

The country of Să-mo-kien[101] is about 1600 or 1700 li in circuit. From east to west it is extended, from north to south it is contracted. The capital of the country is 20 li or so in circuit. It is completely enclosed by rugged land and very populous. The precious merchandise of many foreign countries is stored up here. The soil is rich and productive, and yields abundant harvests. The forest trees afford a thick vegetation, and flowers and fruits are plentiful. The *Shen* horses are bred here. The inhabitants are skilful in the arts and trades beyond those of other countries. The climate is agreeable and temperate. The people are brave and energetic. This country is in the middle of the Hu people (*or* this is the middle

[100] Here again there is no intimation that Hiuen Tsiang traversed this desert. It is merely stated that there is such a desert on the north-west of the kingdom of Sutrishna. It is the desert of Kizil-kûm. There is no occasion, therefore, to change the direction given in the text. (See Julien's note *in loco*). Conf. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxviii. pp. 435, 438, 445.

[101] Called in Chinese the Kang country, *i.e.*, the peaceful or blessed country. Samarkand (lat. 39° 49′ N., long. 67° 18′ E.) is probably the Μαράκανδα of Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, lib. iii. c. 30, and iv. c. 5; Q. Curtius, lib. viii. c. 1, 20; Ptol. *Geog.* lib. vi. c. 11, 9; viii. 23, 10; Strabo, lib. xi. c. 11, 4; conf. Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, pp. 27, 60, 162–165; *Chin. Med. Trav.*, pp. 23, 38, 48, 76, 116; Palladius, *Chinese Recorder*, vol. vi. p. 108; D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 738; Wilson's *Ariana Antiq.*, p. 165; Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i. pp. 191 f., ii. pp. 456, 460; *Cathay*, pp. cxxx, ccxliv, and 192; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 93; *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. vi. tom. ix. pp. 47, 70; Deguignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. iv. p. 49; Gaubil, *H. de Gentchiscan*, p. 37; Sprenger, *Post und Reise Routen*, p. 20; Baber's *Mem.*, p. xxxvi.; Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, pp. 232–238, 248–278; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl. pp. 453–462. Conf. the "Kang-dez" of the *Vendidad* and *Bundahiś*.

of the Hu).[102] They are copied by all surrounding people in point of politeness and propriety. The king is full of courage, and the neighbouring countries obey his commands. The soldiers and the horses (*cavalry*) are strong and numerous, and principally men of Chih-kia.[103] These men of Chih-kia are naturally brave and fierce, and meet death as a refuge (*escape* or *salvation*). When they attack, no enemy can stand before them. From this going south-east, there is a country called Mi-mo-ho.[104]

Mi-mo-ho [Maghiân].

The country Mi-mo-ho[105] is about 400 or 500 li in circuit. It lies in the midst of a valley. From east to west it is narrow, and broad from north to south. It is like Sa-mo-kien in point of the customs of the people and products. From this going north, we arrive at the country K'ie-po-ta-na.[106]

K'ie-po-ta-na [Kebûd].

The country of K'ie-po-ta-na[107] is about 1400 or 1500 li in circuit. It is broad from east to west, and narrow

102 A term applied to the foreign-speaking (Tartar) people by some Chinese authors.

103 These Chakas would seem to be the people of Chaghâniân, who were evidently a warlike people.—*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 102.

104 The rice country.—Ch. Ed.

105 Here we observe again that Hiuen Tsiang did not visit Mi-mo-ho, but simply gives a report of it. This place probably corresponds with the district of Maghiân (lat. 39° 16′ N., long. 67° 42′ E.), 50 miles south-east of Samarkand. — Meyendorf, *Voyage à Boukhara*, pp. 161, 493; *Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl. pp. 449–451, 460, 461; and vol. xliii. pp. 263 ff., with Fedchenko's map of the district.

106 The country of people in numbers.—Ch. Ed.

107 This district of Kêbûd-Mêhêkêt, Kêbûd, or Kêshbûd, is named by the Arabian geographers (*vid.* V. de St. Martin, *Mémoire Analytique*, p. 281), but its situation is not given. M. V. de St. Martin places it in a north-westerly direction from Samarkand (*vid.* Jul. note *in loco*), but his calculation is founded on a misconception. Hiuen Tsiang does not reckon from this place to K'iuh-shwang-ni-kia, but from Samarkand. This is plain from the use of the word *hing*, and also from Hwui-lih (p. 60).—Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, p. 279; Baber's *Memoirs*, p. 85.

from north to south. It is like Sa-mo-kien in point of customs and products. Going about 300 li to the west (*of Samarkand*), we arrive at K'iuh-shwang-ni-kia.

K'IUH-SHWANG-NI-KIA [KASHANIA].

The kingdom of K'iuh-shwang-ni-kia[108] is 1400 or 1500 li in circuit; narrow from east to west, broad from north to south. It resembles Sa-mo-kien in point of customs and products. Going 200 li or so west from this country, we arrive at the Ho-han country.[109]

HO-HAN [KUAN].[110]

This country is about 1000 li in circuit; in point of customs and products it resembles Sa-mo-kien. Going west from here, we come, after 400 li or so, to the country of Pu-ho.[111]

PU-HO [BOKHÂRA].

The Pu-ho[112] country is 1600 or 1700 li in circuit; it is broad from east to west, and narrow from north to south. In point of climate and products it is like Sa-mo-kien. Going west from this 400 li or so, we come to the country Fa-ti.[113]

108 In Chinese "What country?" Kashania, described as a beautiful and important town of Sogdh, half way between Samarkand and Bokhâra. This exactly suits the text, which places it 300 li (60 miles) west of Samarkand.—Istakhri, Mordtmann's *Transl.*, p. 131; Edrisi, tom. ii. pp. 199, 201; Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, p. 258; Abu'lfeda, *Choras. et Marar. Desc.*, p. 48.

109 Eastern repose.—*Ch. Ed.*

110 The part of the river of Sogdh (Zarafshân) which waters the territory round Bokhâra is called Kuan (V. de St. Martin, p. 282. We observe that Hiuen Tsiang went to Kashania, and there we leave him; the accounts now given are hearsay. Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, int. pp. ccxx–ccxxiv.; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. p. 502 n.; Darmesteter's *Zend-Avesta*, vol. ii. p. 67 n.

111 Middle repose country.—*Ch. Ed.*

112 Pu-ho is probably Bokhâra; the distance of course is too great, unless we consider the reference to be to the limits of the country. The symbols used by Hwui-lih are the same as in the *Si-yu-ki*; Julien has misled V. St. Martin by writing "*Pou-kho.*" Conf. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxviii. p. 432; Baber's *Mem.*, p. 38; Moorcroft and Trebeck's *Travels*; Wolff's *Mission*; &c.

113 Western repose country.—*Ch. Ed.*

FA-TI [BETIK].[114]

This country is 400 li or so in circuit. In point of customs and produce it resembles Sa-mo-kien. From this going south-west 500 li or so, we come to the country Ho-li-sih-mi-kia.

HO-LI-SIH-MI-KIA [KHWÂRAZM].

This country lies parallel with[115] the banks of the river Po-tsu (Oxus). From east to west it is 20 or 30 li, from north to south 500 li or so. In point of customs and produce it resembles the country of Fa-ti; the language, however, is a little different.

From the country of Sa-mo-kien[116] going south-west 300 li or so, we come to Ki-shwang-na.[117]

[114] Fa-ti is no doubt Bêtik. The distance from Pu-ho in the text differs from that given by Hwui-lih; the latter gives 100 li, which is doubtless correct. The whole distance from Samarkand west to the Oxus would thus be 1000 li, which corresponds to 200 miles, the actual measurement. The importance of Bêtik is derived from its being the most usual place of passage over the river by those going from Bokhâra to Khorasân.

[115] Ho-li-sih-mi-ka corresponds with Khwârazm. It is the Khorasmia of Strabo, lib. xi. c. 8 (p. 513), Pliny, vi. 16. Pharasmanes, king of the Khorasmii, came to Alexander with 1500 horsemen and said that his kingdom was "next to the nation of the Kolkhi and the Amazon women."—Arrian, *Anab.*, lib. iv. 15; conf. Herodotus, lib. iii. 93, 117; Ptolemy, *Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 12, 4; Q. Curt., vii. 4, viii. 1; Dionys. Per., 746; Steph. Byz. *sub voc.*; Baber, *Mem.*, p. xxxi. The bearing *south-west* in the text is *west* in Hwui-lih. The distance 500 li is the same in both. M. Viv. de St. Martin suggests north-west as the bearing, and adds that Hwui-lih makes the distance 100 li (*Mémoire*, p. 283, n. 1). This is a mistake. For notices respecting the power of the Khwârizmian empire and the proceedings of Chenghiz Khân in destroying it;—vid. R. K. Douglas, *Life of Jenghiz Khan*, pp. xv. seq. It is true that Hiuen Tsiang says that Khwârazm runs parallel to both banks of the Oxus. But as Hwui-lih says it is bounded on the east by the Oxus, I think the symbol *liang* (two) is a mistake for *si* (west), in which case the text would make the country parallel to the west bank of the Oxus.

[116] The pilgrim now takes us back to the *country* of Samarkand; he reckons 300 li in a south-west direction to Kesh. The reckoning, I think, is from Kashania, where we left him; this was probably the western limit of the kingdom of Samarkand. Kesh or Shahr-sabz (39° 2′ N., 66° 53′ E.) lies due south-west from this point about 70 miles. Baber's *Memoirs*, pp. 36 and 54; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl p. 460; D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or.*, p. 238; and see note 83 *supra*.

[117] Country of historians.—*Ch. Ed.*

KI-SHWANG-NA [KESH].[113]

This kingdom is about 1400 or 1500 li in circuit; in customs and produce it resembles the kingdom of Sa-mo-kien.

From this place going south-west 200 li or so, we enter the mountains; the mountain road is steep and precipitous, and the passage along the defiles dangerous and difficult. There are no people or villages, and little water or vegetation. Going along the mountains 300 li or so south-east, we enter the Iron Gates.[119] The pass so called is bordered on the right and left by mountains. These mountains are of prodigious height. The road is narrow, which adds to the difficulty and danger. On both sides there is a rocky wall of an iron colour. Here there are set up double wooden doors, strengthened with iron and furnished with many bells hung up. Because of the protection afforded to the pass by these doors, when closed, the name of *iron gates* is given.

Passing through the Iron Gates we arrive at the country

[113] Hwui-lih also gives Ki-shwang-na as the name of this country (conf. V. St. Martin, *Mémoire*, p. 283, n. 3.

[119] The iron gates, Kohlûgha or Kalugah (Mong. "a barrier"), a mountain pass about 90 miles south-south-east from Samarkand, 50 miles south-south-east from Kesh, and 8 miles west of Derbent, in lat. 38° 11′ N., long. 66° 54′ E.

The distance and bearing from Kesh given in the text is south-west 200 li + south-east 300 li, which would give about the right distance in a straight line. These Iron Gates are marked on the Chinese maps; they are called *tieh men to*, *i.e.*, the iron-gate-island (or eminence) from which the Muh-ho (Amu) flows. There has been some confusion between this place and the iron gates at Derbend on the Caspian, called by the Turks *Demîr Kâpi*; compare Yule's *Marco Polo* (book i. cap. iv.), vol. i. pp. 52 and notes, pp. 55–58; and vol. ii. pp. 494, 495, 537. M. V. de St. Martin (*Mémoire*, p. 284) says that the pilgrim "indicates the beginning of the mountains at 200 li to the south-east of Ki-shwang-na, and the defile properly so called at 300 li farther on, in the same direction." But this is not so; the first bearing is *south-west*, then through the mountains in a south-east direction. For a notice of the Irongate pass, in connection with Chenghiz Khân, see Douglas, *u. s.*, p. 66. Conf. Baber's *Mem.*, pp. xxxvi. 132; Gaubil, *Hist. de Gentchiscan*, p. 257; P. de la Croix, *Hist. de Timurbec*, tom. i. pp. 33, 62, &c.; Édrisi, tom. i. p. 484; Wood's *Oxus*, Yule's int., p. lxi.; Markham's *Clavijo*, p. 122; Bretschneider, *Chin. Med. Trav.*, p. 41 and n.; *Med. Geog.*, p. 61.

of the Tu-ho-lo.[120] This country, from north to south, is about 1000 li or so in extent, from east to west 3000 li or so. On the east it is bounded by the T'sung-ling mountains, on the west it touches on Po-li-sse (Persia), on the south are the great Snowy Mountains, on the north the Iron Gates.[121] The great river Oxus flows through the midst of this country in a westerly direction. For many centuries past the royal race has been extinct. The several chieftains have by force contended for their possessions, and each held their own independently, only relying upon the natural divisions of the country. Thus they have constituted twenty-seven states,[122] divided by natural boundaries, yet as a whole dependent on the Tuh-

120 Formerly written by mistake To-fo-lo.

121 The country here described as Tu-ho-lo is the Tukhâra of Sanskrit, and the Tokhâristân of the Arabian geographers. It corresponds with the Ta-hia of Sze-ma-t'sien. Ta-hia is generally identified with Baktria, but the limits of Baktria are not defined, except that it is separated from Sogdhiana by the Oxus. No doubt this land of Tukhâra was that inhabited by the Tokhari, who were neighbours to the Dahæ, both of them mountain tribes (see the question discussed *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. pp. 95, 96). Mr. Kingsmill has given the substance of Sze-ma-tsien's account of Ta-hia and the surrounding tribes (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xiv. pp. 77 ff). It is to be observed, however, that Hiuen Tsiang, when speaking of the Turks, *i.e.*, the Yueh-chi and Ye-tha, who had overrun this part of Central Asia, uses different symbols from those employed here. In the first case the people are called Tuh-kiueh; in this case the country is called Tu-ho-lo. The land of the Tokhâri (Tokhâristân) need not be connected with the people called Tuh-kiueh—the Hiung-nû or Kara-nirûs—although it was afterwards overrun by them. See n. 62 *supra*. For notices of the Tokhâri (v.l. Takhari) consult Strabo, *Geog.*, lib. xi. cap. 8. 2 (p. 511); Pliny, lib. vi. c. 17, 20; Amm. Marcell., xxiii. 6, 57; Ptol., *Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 11, 6; Justin, xlii. 2; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* (2d ed.), vol. i. pp. 1019, 1023; Ritter, *Asien*, vol. v. p. 701, vii. p. 697; *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xix. p. 151; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 45, 46; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, p. 170. Tushâra (snowy, frigid) and Tushkâra are used as equivalents of Tukhâra; Wilson, *Vishnu Pur.* (Hall), vol. ii. p. 186, vol. iv. p. 203; *Mahâbhârata*, ii. 1850, iii. 1991, 12,350, vi. 3652; *Harivaṁśa*, v. 311, xiv. 784, cxiii. 6441; *Brihat Saṁhitâ*, xiv. 22, xvi. 6; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. p. 498. *Tu-ho-lo* might phonetically represent Tûr, and so indicate the origin of Turân, the region to which Wilford assigned the Tukhâras.

122 So also the Greeks when they took possession of Baktria divided it into satrapies, two of which, Aspionia and Turiva, the Parthians wrested from Eukratides.—Strabo, lib. xi. c. 11, 2 (p. 517). The numerous coins belonging to the Greek period in Baktria probably relate to these satrapies, and not to an undivided Baktrian kingdom. See *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 160.

kiueh tribes (*Turks*). The climate of this country is warm and damp, and consequently epidemics prevail.

At the end of winter and the beginning of spring rain falls without intermission; therefore from the south of this country, and to the north of Lamghân (Lân-po), diseases from moisture (*moist-heat*) are common. Hence the priests retire to their rest (*rain-rest*) on the sixteenth day of the twelfth month, and give up their retirement on the fifteenth day of the third month. This is in consequence of the quantity of rain, and they arrange their instructions accordingly. With regard to the character of the people, it is mean and cowardly;[123] their appearance is low and rustic. Their knowledge of good faith and rectitude extends so far as relates to their dealings one with another. Their language differs somewhat from that of other countries. The number of radical letters in their language is twenty-five; by combining these they express all objects (*things*) around them. Their writing is across the page, and they read from left to right. Their literary records have increased gradually, and exceed those of the people of Su-li. Most of the people use fine cotton for their dress; some use wool. In commercial transactions they use gold and silver alike. The coins are different in pattern from those of other countries.

Following the course of the Oxus as it flows down from the north, there is the country of Ta-mi.

TA-MI [TERMED].

This country[124] is 600 li or so from east to west, and 400 li or so from north to south. The capital of the country

[123] So Sze-ma-t'sien describes the people of Ta-hia: "There was no supreme ruler; each city and town elected its own chief. Its soldiers were weak and cowards in battle, fit only for traders." (Kingsmill, *loc. cit.*)

[124] Termed or Termiz, on the north bank of the Amu-daria. Conf. Baber's *Memoirs*, int., p. xxxv.; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, pp. 57, 167; Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 328; Yule, *Cathay*, p. ccxxxv; Édrisi, tome i. p. 273; *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. vi. tome v. p. 270; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxvi. p. 263; vol. xlii. p. 510.

is about 20 li in circuit, extended from east to west, and narrow from north to south. There are about ten *saṅghârâmas* with about one thousand monks. The *stûpas* and the images of the honoured Buddha are noted for various spiritual manifestations. Going east we arrive at Ch'i-ngoh-yen-na.[125]

CH'I-NGOH-YEN-NA [CHAGHÂNIÂN].[126]

This country extends about 400 li from east to west, and about 500 li from north to south. The capital is about 10 li in circuit. There are some five *saṅghârâmas*, which contain a few monks. Going east we reach Hwŭh-lo-mo.

HWŬH-LO-MO[127] [GARMA].

This country is some 100 li in extent from east to west,

[125] Before entering on this excursus, it will be better to explain Hiuen Tsiang's actual route. From a comparison of the text with the narrative of Hwui-lih, it will be seen that, after leaving the Iron gates, and entering Tukhâra, he proceeded across the Oxus to the country called Hwo. This almost certainly is represented by Kunduz, on the eastern bank of the Surkh-âb. Here he met with the eldest son of the Khân of the Turks. This prince had married the sister of the king of Kao-chang, from whom Hiuen Tsiang had letters of recommendation. After some delay the pilgrim proceeded, in company with some priests from Balkh, to that city (Po-ho). Here he remained examining the sacred relics of his religion for some days. From this he departs southwards along the Balkh river to Dara-gaz, and there entering the mountains, he proceeds still southwards to Bâmiyân. So that of all the countries named betwixt the Oxus and the Hindu Kush, Hiuen Tsiang only himself visited Hwo (Kunduz), Po-ho (Balkh), Kie-chi (Gaz), and Fan-yen-na (Bâmiyân). This is gathered not only from the records found in Hwui-lih, but also from the use of the symbol *hing*. The excursus begins from Termed, at which point he probably crossed the Oxus, and proceeds, as the text says, along the northern flow of the river.

[126] Chaghâniân, or Saghâniân, probably corresponds with Hissâr, on the Karateghin (or northern) branch of the Oxus, as the text says; the town is in lat. 38° 29′ N., long. 69° 17′ E. It included the valley of the Surkhan and Upper Kafirnahan. *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 96; Baber's *Mem.*, p. xxxv.; Ouseley, *Or. Geog.*, p. 277; Édrisi, tom. i. p. 480; Wood's *Oxus*, Yule's int., p. lxii; *Ocean Highways*, 1876, p. 328.

[127] From the eastern direction given we should expect the river to bend eastwards; we find it does so. There can be little question, therefore, that Colonel Yule is right in restoring Hwŭh-lo-mo to Garma, the capital of Karateghîn district, on the Surkh-âb or Vakhsh. *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 96; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xli. pp. 338 ff; Wood's *Oxus*, p. lxx.; V. de St. Martin conjecturally identified it with Shadumân Hissâr.

and 300 li from north to south. The capital is about 10 li in circuit. The king is a Turk of the Hi-su tribe. There are two convents and about one hundred monks. Going east[128] we arrive at the Su-man country.

SU-MAN [SUMÂN AND KULÂB].

This country extends 400 li or so from east to west, and 100 li from north to south. The capital of the country is 16 or 17 li in circuit; its king is a Hi-su Turk. There are two convents and a few monks. On the south-west this country borders on the Oxus, and extends to the Kio-ho-yen-na country.

KIO-HO-YEN-NA [KUBÂDIÂN].

From east to west it is 200 li or so in extent; from north to south 300 li or so. The capital is 10 li or so in circuit. There are three convents and about one hundred monks. Still eastward is the country of Hu-sha.

HU-SHA[129] [WAKHSH].

This country is about 300 li from east to west, and 500 li or so from north to south. The capital is 16 or 17 li in circuit. Going eastwards we arrive at Kho-to-lo.

KHO-TO-LO[130] [KHOTL].

This kingdom is 1000 li or so from east to west, and

[128] This expression "going east" need not imply that the country indicated lies to the eastward of the last named, but that it is eastward of the line of advance, which would in this case be the northern branch of the Oxus. Hence this country of Sumân, which has been identified with the Shumân of the Arab geographers (Édrisi, tom. ii. p. 203; Abulfeda. *Chor. et Marar.*, p. 38; Ouseley. *Or. Geog.*, p. 277), is said to have the Oxus on the south-west, extending to Kubâdiân (Kio-ho-yen-na), which lies between the Kafirnahan and Wagesh rivers,—the town of Kubâdiân being in lat. 37° 21′ N., long. 68° 9′ E., 57 miles N.N.E. of Khulm. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. pp. 456, 509 n.

[129] Hu-sha is no doubt Wakhsh, which lies to the north of Shumân and Khotlân. Conf. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xl. p. 143.

[130] Kho-to-lo is represented by Khotl or Khotlân, the Kutl of

the same from north to south. The capital is 20 li or so in circuit. On the east it borders on the T'sung-ling mountains, and extends to the country of Kiu-mi-to.

KIU-MI-TO [KUMIDHA,[131] OR DARWÂZ AND ROSHÂN].

This country extends 2000 li from east to west, and about 200 li from north to south. It is in the midst of the great T'sung-ling mountains. The capital of the country is about 20 li in circuit. On the south-west it borders on the river Oxus;[132] on the south it touches the country of Shi-ki-ni.[133]

Passing the Oxus on the south,[134] we come to the kingdom of Ta-mo-sih-teh-ti,[135] the kingdom of Po-to-

Édrisi, and is described in the text as stretching eastward to the T'sung-ling mountains (Pamir), and bordered on the south by the valley of the Kômêdai, or plain of Kurgan-tubê and lower valley of the Vakhsh. It would thus correspond with the country to the north-east of Kulâb. Conf. Deguignes, *H. des Huns*, tom. v. p. 28; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, p. 170 n.; Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, pp. 239, 276.

[131] Kiu-mi-to would correctly be restored to Kumidha, which naturally represents the country of the Kômêdai of Ptolemy (*Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 12, 3, c. 13, 2, 3; lib. vii. c. 1, 42), through which the ancient caravans travelled eastward for silk. It corresponds with Darwâz (the gate), or the valley of Râsht. See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. pp. 97, 98; *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. vi. tom. v. p. 270; Édrisi, tom. i. p. 483; *Jour. As. S. Beng.*, vol. xvii. pt. ii. p. 15; Wood's *Oxus*, pp. xxxix, lxxv, 248, 249; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xli. p. 339; *Proc. R. G. S.*, vol. i. (1879) p. 65.

[132] The chief town of Darwâz—still called Khum or Kala-i-khum—is on the Ab-i-Piânj or south branch of the Amu, which runs just within the south-west limit of the district. *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. iv. (1882), pp. 412 ff.; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. pp. 458, 471, 498. Roshân lies to the south-east of Darwâz and between it and Shignân, and on the northern branch of the river which joins the Panja near Bartang.

[133] Shi-ki-ni has been identified with Shignân or Shakhnân by Cunningham and Yule.—*J. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. pp. 97, 113; *J. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. p. 508 n.; *J. As. S. Beng.*, vol. xvii. pt. ii. p. 56; Wood's *Oxus*, pp. 248, 249. Edrisi has Saknia, tom. i. p. 483.

[134] That is, to the south of the Amu or Panja. The pilgrim having described the districts first in a northerly direction, then east of the main stream, now leaving the valley of the Shignân, which runs along the northern side of the Panja, he recounts the names of districts to the south of that river.

[135] Ta-mo-sih-teh-ti was restored doubtfully to Tamasthiti by Julien. It is the Termistât of the Arab geographers, one stage from the famous stone bridge on the Waksh-âb or Surkh-âb, and one of the chief towns of Khutl.—*Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. p. 508 n. See also Wood's *Oxus*, pp. lxxi, 260;

chang-na,[136] the kingdom of In-po-kin,[137] the kingdom of Kiu-lang-na,[138] the kingdom of Hi-mo-to-lo,[139] the kingdom of Po-li-ho,[140] the kingdom of Khi-li-seh-mo,[141] the kingdom of Ho-lo-hu,[142] the kingdom of O-li-ni,[143] the kingdom of Mung-kin.[144]

Going from the kingdom of Hwo (Kunduz) south-east,

Istakhri, pp. 125, 126, and Gardiner's 'Memoir' in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xxii. pp. 289, 291.

Julien has made a mistake (*Mém.* t. ii. p. 201) in giving the width of the valley at 400 or 500 li; it should be 4 or 5 li, according to the India Office Library copy. It would thus be a valley some 300 miles long, and about a mile wide. On Captain Trotter's map the long valley of Wakhân extends through more than two degrees of longitude, viz., from 72° to 74° 30′ E. long.; but following the winding of the river it might probably approach the length assigned by Hiuen Tsiang. See also Yule, *u. s.* pp. 111–113.

136 Po-to-chang-na. This represents Badakshân, celebrated for its ruby mines. For an interesting account of this country, its inhabitants, and their character, see Wood's *Oxus*, pp. 191 seq.; conf. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxvi. pp. 252, 260, 265, 278; vol. xxxvii. pp. 8, 10; vol. xl. pp. 345, 393; vol. xlii. pp. 440 ff.; vol. xlvi. pp. 278, 279.

137 In-po-kin, probably Yamgân, the old name of the valley of the Kokchâ, from Jerm upwards.—Yule.

138 Kiu-lang-na represents Kurân, a name applied to the upper part of the Kokchâ valley, about Laj-ward (Wood). Celebrated for mines of *lapis-lazuli*.—See Yule, *u. s.*

139 Hi-mo-to-lo. This certainly would correspond with Himatala, the Chinese explanation being "under the Snowy Mountains" (*hima + tala*).—Julien, *Mem.*, tom. i. p. 178. Colonel Yule has identified it with Darâim, or, as it is otherwise given, Darah-i-aim. (See his remarks, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 108; Wood's *Oxus*, p. lxxvii.

140 Po-li-ho must be in the neighbourhood of the Varsakh river, a tributary of the Kokchâ. Wood, in his map, has a district called Farokhar or Farkhar, which may represent Po-li-ho or Parika.

141 Khi-li-seh-mo is no doubt Khrishma or Kishm, north of Farkhar, and thirty-two miles east of Tâlikân. Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 163.

142 Ho-lo-hu represents Râgh, an important fief in the north of Badakshân between the Kokchâ and the Oxus (Yule).

143 O-li-ni. This, as Colonel Yule says, "is assuredly a district on both sides of the Oxus," of which the chief place formerly bore the name of Ahreng; the Hazrat Imâm of Wood's map, 26 miles north of Kunduz. Yule, *u. s.* p. 106; P. de la Croix, *H. de Timurbec*, t. i. pp. 172, 175; *Institutes of Timur*, p. 95.

144 Mung-kin. Julien has by mistake given the circuit of this district as 4000 li (*Mém.*, tom. ii. p. 194), instead of 400 li. This has been observed by Colonel Yule (p. 105, *u. s.*) It probably is represented by the district from Tâlikân and Khânâbâd, and the valley of the Furkhan, in the east of Kunduz or Kataghân. This Tâlikân is the Thâikân of the Arab geographers. Marco Polo visited it. Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, pp. 223, 224, 230, 231; Baber's *Mem.*, pp. 38, 130; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 160. Conf. Burnes, *Trav. in Bokhara*, vol. iii., p. 8; Wood's *Oxus*, pp. lxxxi, 156; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, p. 195. There is a district called Munjân, in the south of Badakshân, between the sources of the Kokchâ and Gogardasht.

we come to the kingdom of Chen-seh-to,[145] the kingdom of 'An-ta-la-po[146] (Andarâb), remarks concerning which may be found in the return records.

Going south-west from the country of Hwo, we arrive at the kingdom of Fo-kia-lang (Baghlân).

FO-KIA-LANG [BAGHLÂN].

This country[147] is 50 li or so from east to west, and 200 li or so from north to south; the capital is about 10 li in circuit. Going south, we come to the country of Hi-lu-sih-min-kien (Rúí-samangân).

HI-LU-SIH-MIN-KIEN [RÚÎ-SAMANGÂN].[148]

This country is about 1000 li in circuit, the capital about 14 or 15 li. On the north-west it borders on the kingdom of Ho-lin (Khulm).

HO-LIN [KHULM].

This country is 800 li or so in circuit, the capital is 5 or 6 li in circumference; there are about ten convents and 500 monks. Going west, we come to the country of Po-ho (Balkh).

PO-HO [BALKH].

This country is about 800 li from east to west, and 400 li from north to south; on the north it borders on the Oxus. The capital is about 20 li in circuit. It is

[145] Chen-seh-to, for *Kwo-sch-to*, *i.e.*, Khousta or Khost, located by Yule between Tâlikân and Indarâb. A district now known as Khost is in Afghanistan, south of the Kuram valley. *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxxii. p. 311.

[146] An-ta-la-po, *i.e.*, Andarâb or Indarâb. Lat. 35° 40′ N.; long. 69° 27′ E.

[147] In the valley of the southern Surkh-âb or Kunduz river, about 34 miles south from Kunduz. Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, p. 223; *Jour. R As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 101.

[148] In the upper valley of the Khulm river, including the towns of Rûî, Kuram, and Haibak, formerly called Samangân, and about 42 miles west from Baghlân. Moorcroft, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 402; Sprenger, *Post u. Reise Routen*, p. 37; Burnes, *Travels* (1st ed.), vol. i. pp. 201–205.

called generally the little Râjagṛiha.[149] This city, though well (*strongly*) fortified, is thinly populated. The products of the soil are extremely varied, and the flowers, both on the land and water, would be difficult to enumerate. There are about 100 convents and 3000 monks, who all study the religious teaching of the Little Vehicle.

Outside the city, towards the south-west,[150] there is a convent called Navasaṅghârâma, which was built by a former king of this country. The Masters (*of Buddhism*), who dwell to the north of the great Snowy Mountains, and are authors of *Śâstras*, occupy this convent only, and continue their estimable labours in it. There is a figure of Buddha here, which is lustrous with (*reflects the glory of*) noted gems, and the hall in which it stands is also adorned with precious substances of rare value. This is the reason why it has often been robbed by chieftains of neighbouring countries, covetous of gain.

This convent also contains (*possesses*) [151] a statue of Pi-

[149] So I think it ought to be translated. It is called the "Little Râjagṛiha" in consequence of the numerous Buddhist sites in its neighbourhood, vying in that respect with the Magadha capital. This is plainly intimated in the *Life* of Hiuen Tsiang (Julien's trans., p. 64), where the Khân says that "it is called the Little Râjagṛiha: its sacred relics are exceedingly numerous;" the latter being the explanation of the former. On Balkh, see Burnes, *Travels* (1st ed.), vol. i. pp. 237–240; Ferrier, *Caravan Journ.*, pp. 206, 207; B. de Meynard, *Les Prairies d'Or*, t. iv. p. 48; *Dict. Géog.-Hist. de Perse*, p. 571; *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xlii. p. 510; De Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 167; Hyde, *Hist. Rel. vet. Pers.*, p. 494; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 158; *Cathay*, p. 179; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, p. 196; *Chin Med. Trav.*, pp. 47, 117.

[150] Julien gives *south-east* by mistake.

[151] This passage seems to require the use of a past tense, "this convent formerly (*su*) had;" and so Julien renders it. But it appears to me improbable, if the statue of Vaiśravaṇa was in existence when the foray was made, "in recent times," that it should have been lost or destroyed so soon afterwards. Moreover, the symbol *su* has sometimes the sense of "a present condition" (as, for example, in the *Chung Yung*, xiv. 1, 2). Considering the sentence which follows, where the *interior* of the Saṅghârâma is spoken of, I should prefer to think that *su* is a mistake for *ts'ien*; they both have the meaning of "before" or "formerly," but *ts'ien* also has the sense of "in front of." In this case the passage would run: "In front of the Saṅghârâma there is a figure of Vaiśravaṇa Dêva." This Dêva was the protector of the convent, not so much that he was Kubêra, the god of wealth, as that he was the guardian of the north.

sha-men (Vaiśravaṇa) Dêva, by whose spiritual influence, in unexpected ways, there is protection afforded to the precincts of the convent. Lately the son of the Khân Yeh-hu (*or* She-hu), belonging to the Turks, becoming rebellious, Yeh-hu Khân broke up his camping ground, and marched at the head of his horde to make a foray against this convent, desiring to obtain the jewels and precious things with which it was enriched.[152] Having encamped his army in the open ground, not far from the convent, in the night he had a dream. He saw Vaiśravaṇa Dêva, who addressed him thus: "What power do you possess that you dare (*to intend*) to overthrow this convent?" and then hurling his lance, he transfixed him with it. The Khân, affrighted, awoke, and his heart penetrated with sorrow, he told his dream to his followers, and then, to atone somewhat for his fault, he hastened to the convent to ask permission to confess his crime to the priests; but before he received an answer he died.

Within the convent, in the southern hall of Buddha, there is the washing-basin which Buddha used. It contains about a peck,[153] and is of various colours, which dazzle the eyes. It is difficult to name the gold and stone of which it is made.[154] Again, there is a tooth of Buddha about an inch long, and about eight or nine tenths of an inch in breadth. Its colour is yellowish white; it is pure and shining. Again, there is the sweeping brush of Buddha, made of the

This was perhaps the most northern Buddhist establishment in existence; at any rate, it was built for the convenience of northern priests.

[152] This sentence may otherwise be rendered: "Lately the son of the Turk Yeh-hu-khân, whose name was Sse-yeh-hu-khân, breaking up his camping ground," &c. Yeh-hu is the Khân that Hiuen Tsiang met on the rich hunting grounds of the Chu'i river (*Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 55). If the name of his son was Sse-yeh-hu, then doubtless it is he who purposed to sack the Saṅghârâma. But if *sse* has the sense of "rebelling," then it would be Yeh-hu-khân himself who is referred to. I am inclined to think it must have been the son, whose name was *Sse*; but the repetition of the name Yeh-hu-khân is perplexing. The symbols *po-lo* correspond with the Turkish work *bulak*, camping ground or cantonment.

[153] *Teou*, a dry measure of ten pints.

[154] This may mean—the golden-like stone of which it is made has a difficult name, or the metal (gold) and stone are difficult to name.

plant "Ka-she" (*kâśá*). It is about two feet long and about seven inches round. Its handle is ornamented with various gems. These three relics are presented with offerings on each of the six fast-days by the assembly of lay and cleric believers. Those who have the greatest faith in worship see the objects emitting a radiance of glory.

To the north of the convent is a *stûpa*, in height about 200 feet, which is covered with a plaster hard as[155] the diamond, and ornamented with a variety of precious substances. It encloses a sacred relic (*she-li*), and at times this also reflects a divine splendour.

To the south-west of the convent there is a *Vihâra*. Many years have elapsed since its foundation was laid. It is the resort (*of people*) from distant quarters. There are also a large number of men of conspicuous talent. As it would be difficult for the several possessors of the four different degrees (*fruits*) of holiness to explain accurately their condition of saintship, therefore the Arhats (*Lo-han*), when about to die, exhibit their spiritual capabilities (*miraculous powers*), and those who witness such an exhibition found *stûpas* in honour of the deceased saints. These are closely crowded together here, to the number of several hundreds. Besides these there are some thousand others, who, although they had reached the fruit of holiness (*i.e.*, *Arhatship*), yet having exhibited no spiritual changes at the end of life, have no memorial erected to them.

At present the number of priests is about 100; so irregular are they morning and night in their duties, that it is hard to tell saints from sinners.[156]

To the north-west of the capital about 50 li or so we arrive at the town of Ti-wei; 40 li to the north of this

155 It may be "hard as the diamond," or "shining like the diamond."

156 There is evidently a false reading here. I think the character *fi*, which, in connection with the following character, *hai*, means "remiss and idle," is for *mi*, which would qualify *hai* in the sense of "absence of idleness." The passage would then read: "Morning and night there is an absence of idleness, but it is difficult to conjecture who are saints and who not."

town is the town of Po-li. In each of these towns there is a *stûpa* about three chang (30 *feet*) in height. In old days, when Buddha first attained enlightenment after advancing to the tree of knowledge,[157] he went to the garden of deer;[158] at this time two householders[159] meeting him, and beholding the brilliant appearance of his person, offered him from their store of provisions for their journey some cakes and honey. The lord of the world, for their sakes, preached concerning the happiness of men and Dêvas, and delivered to them, his very first disciples,[160] the five rules of moral conduct and the ten good qualities (*shen*, virtuous rules).[161] When they had heard the sermon, they humbly asked for some object to worship (*offer gifts*). On this Tathâgata delivered to them some of his hair and nail-cuttings. Taking these, the merchants were about to return to their own country,[162] when they asked of Buddha the right way of venerating these relics. Tathâgata forthwith spreading out his *Saṅghâṭi* on the ground as a square napkin, next laid down his *Uttarâsaṅga* and then his *Saṅkakshikâ*; again over these he placed as a cover his begging-pot, on which he erected his mendicant's staff.[163] Thus he placed them in order, making thereby

157 This passage might perhaps also be rendered "after gazing with delight on the Bôdhi tree." The symbol *tsu* has such a meaning, and it would be in strict agreement with the legend.

158 That is, the garden at Banâras.

159 Two merchant-lords (*chang-chê*).

160 "The very first to hear the five," &c.

161 That is, the five *S'îlâs* and the ten *S'îlâs*. See Childers, *Pali Dict.*, sub *silam*. The story of the two merchants alluded to in the text is one well known in the Buddhist legend. It will be found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (2d ed.) pp. 186, 187, and note; also in the *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, p. 167; Bigandet, *Legend of Gaudama*, vol. i. p. 108; Beal, *Rom. Legend*, p. 236. The incident is also found amongst the Amarâvâti sculptures (*Tree and Serp. Worship*, pl. lviii. fig. 1, middle disc).

162 Their own country was Suvarṇabhûmi or Burma.

163 This translation differs from that of M. Julien. I take the construction thus: *I săng kia chi*, "taking his saṅghâṭi;" *fang thee po*, "as a square napkin" (*i.e.*, folding it into this shape); *hia*, "he placed it underneath." The rest of the sentence, then, will follow as I have translated it. The monument erected as a shrine for the relics given on this occasion is said to be the far-famed Shwè-dagun at Rângun.—*As. Researches*, vol. xvi., quoted by Spence Hardy, *M. B.*, p. 187 n.

(*the figure of*) a *stûpa*. The two men taking the order, each went to his own town, and then, according to the model which the holy one had prescribed, they prepared to build a monument, and thus was the very first *Stûpa* of the Buddhist religion erected.

Some 70 li to the west of this town is a *Stûpa* about two chang (20 *feet*) in height. This was erected in the time of Kâśyapa Buddha. Leaving the capital and going south-west, entering the declivities of the Snowy Mountains, there is the country of Jui-mo-to [Jumadh ?].

JUI-MO-TO [JUMADHA ?].[164]

This country is 50 or 60 li from east to west, and 100 li or so from north to south. The capital is about 10 li in circuit. Towards the south-west is the country of Hu-shi-kien (Jûzgân).

HU-SHI-KIEN [JÛZGÂNA].

This country is about 500 li from east to west, and about 1000 li from north to south. The capital is 20 li in circuit. It has many mountains and river-courses. It produces excellent (*shen*) horses. To the north-west is Ta-la-kien.

TA-LA-KIEN [TÂLIKÂN].[165]

This country is 500 li or so from east to west, and 50 or 60 li from north to south. The capital is 10 li about in circuit. On the west it touches the boundaries of Persia. Going[166] 100 li or so south from the kingdom of Po-ho (Balkh), we arrive at Kie-chi.

[164] A position near Sir-i-pul seems indicated.—Yule, *u. s.*, p. 101.

[165] On the borders of Khorasân, in the valley of the Murghâb.—Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, pp. 175, 220; Edrisi, tom. i. pp. 468, 478; *Jour. As.*, ser. vi., tom. xiii. pp. 175–179. There is a Tâlikân also in Badakshân. See n. 145 *ante*.

[166] Here the true itinerary is resumed. Hiuen Tsiang now leaves Balkh, and travels south about twenty miles to Gaz or Darah-Gaz. "This valley will be found in Macartney's map to Elphinstone, in the map to Ferrier's Travels, &c., about one march south of Balkh, about half-way between that town and

KIE-CHI [GACHI OR GAZ].

This country from east to west is 500 li or so, from west to south 300 li. The capital is 4 or 5 li in circuit. The soil is stony, the country a succession of hills. There are but few flowers or fruits, but plenty of beans and corn. The climate is wintry; the manner of the people hard and forbidding. There are some ten convents or so, and about 200 [167] priests. They all belong to the school of the Sarvâstivâdas, which is a branch of the Little Vehicle.

On the south-east we enter the great Snowy Mountains. These mountains are high and the valleys deep; the precipices and hollows (*crevasses*) are very dangerous. The wind and snow keep on without intermission; the ice remains through the full summer; the snow-drifts fall into the valleys and block the roads. The mountain spirits and demons (*demon sprites*) send, in their rage, all sorts of calamities; robbers crossing the path of travellers kill them.[168] Going with difficulty 600 li or so, we leave the country of Tukhâra, and arrive at the kingdom of Fan-yen-na (Bâmiyân).

FAN-YEN-NA [BÂMIYÂN].[169]

This kingdom is about 2000 li from east to west, and 300 li from north to south. It is situated in the midst

Dehas. Ibn Haukal also states that the hill-country south of Balkh is called Ghaz (Ouseley, *Or. Geog.*, pp. 243, 244, 270). Darah-Gaz is mentioned in Timur's *Institutes* (p. 59), and it was the scene of a rout of Humayûn's little army by the Uzbeks in 1549.—Erskine's *Baber and Humayun*, vol. ii. pp. 373, 376; Yule, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 102; *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xxii. p. 164.

[167] My text gives 200 as the number of the priests; but the error is in the printing: it ought to be 300.

[168] This phrase, *wei wu*, may refer to the former statement, "that the robbers kill the travellers;" in which case *wei wu* would mean, "as a profession or business;" referring perhaps to the existence of a dacoit system.

[169] The country of Bâmiyân has been described by Burnes and other travellers. Wood, in his journey to the source of the Oxus, passed through it. It lies immediately to the north of the Hajiyak Pass. Wood's *Oxus* (2d ed.), pp. 130, 131; *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. i. (1879), pp. 244 ff.; Baber's *Memoirs*, p. 139.

of the Ṡnowy Mountains. The people inhabit towns either in the mountains or the valleys, according to circumstances.[170] The capital leans on a steep hill, bordering on a valley 6 or 7 li in length.[171] On the north it is backed by high precipices. It (*the country*) produces spring-wheat[172] and few flowers or fruits. It is suitable for cattle, and affords pasture for many sheep and horses. The climate is wintry, and the manners of the people hard and uncultivated. The clothes are chiefly made of skin and wool, which are the most suitable for the country. The literature, customary rules, and money used in commerce are the same as those of the Tukhâra country. Their language is a little different, but in point of personal appearance they closely resemble each other. These people are remarkable, among all their neighbours, for a love of religion (*a heart of pure faith*); from the highest form of worship to the three jewels,[173] down to the worship of the hundred (*i.e., different*) spirits, there is not the least absence (*decrease*) of earnestness and the utmost devotion of heart. The merchants, in arranging their prices as they come and go, fall in with the signs afforded by the spirits. If good, they act accordingly; if evil, they seek to propitiate the powers.[174] There are ten convents and about 1000 priests. They belong to the Little Vehicle, and the school of the Lôkôttaravâdins (Shwo-ch'uh-shi-pu).

To the north-east of the royal city there is a mountain, on the declivity of which is placed a stone figure of Buddha,

Grote (*Hist. Greece*, vol. xii. p. 271 n.) supposes that Alexander crossed into Baktria by Bâmiyân: see Arrian, *Anab.*, lib. iii. c. 29, 1; Strabo, *Geog.*, lib. xv. c. 2, 11; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 179 f.; also note 175 *inf.*

170 Or, "according to the resources or strength of the place."

171 Such it appears is the meaning. The town rests on, or is supported by, a precipitous cliff, and borders on a valley 6 or 7 li in length.

172 The *suh-maï* is "late wheat;" wheat sown in the spring.

173 Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha.

174 This sentence might be rendered better thus: "The merchants conjecture in coming and going whether the gods and spirits (or the heavenly spirits) afford propitious omens; if the indications are calamitous, they offer up their prayers (seek religious merit)."

erect, in height 140 or 150 feet.[175] Its golden hues sparkle on every side, and its precious ornaments dazzle the eyes by their brightness.

To the east of this spot there is a convent, which was built by a former king of the country. To the east of the convent there is a standing figure of Sâkya Buddha, made of metallic stone (*tcou-shih*[176]), in height 100 feet. It has been cast in different parts and joined together, and thus placed in a completed form as it stands.

To the east of the city 12 or 13 li there is a convent, in which there is a figure of Buddha lying in a sleeping position, as when he attained *Nirvâṇa* The figure is in length about 1000 feet or so.[177] The king of this (*country*),

175 These rock-hewn figures of Buddha in Bâmiyân have been objects of curiosity down to the present day. They were seen during the campaign in Afghanistan in 1843, and doubtless remain to the present day. The most recent notice of them is in General Kaye's paper. *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. i. (1879), pp. 248, 249. He says: "On the opposite side of the valley from the great (standing) image, about a mile to the west, a stony gully leads into the hills. A short way up this there is a nearly insulated rock, on the flat summit of which there is in relief a recumbent figure, bearing a rude resemblance to a huge lizard," which figure the people now call Azhdahâ, or the dragon slain by a Muhammadan pîr (see also *ib.*, p. 338). Hyde, quoting Masâlik Mamâlik and the *Farhang-i-Jahângiri* of Ibn Fakred-din Angju, says the two larger statues are 50 cubits high, one called *Surkh-but* (red image) and the other *Khink-but* (grey image), and at some distance is a smaller one "in formæ vetulæ," called *Nesr*. The *Aîn-i-Akbarî* says the larger of the two is 80 ells (cubits?) and the lesser 50 in height; Burnes's estimate is 120 and 70 feet. Wilford gives a tolerably minute account of Bâmiyân and these figures. Masson mentions five statues. See Ritter, *Die Stupa's oder die Architektonischen Denkmale an der Indo-Baktr. Königstr. u. d. Colosse von Bamiyan*, pp. 24 f.; Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.*, p. 132; Burnes, *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 182–188, and *J. A. S. Ben.*, vol. ii. pp. 561 f.; Masson, *ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 707 f.; Wood's *Oxus*, pp. lxvii, 125 f.; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. vi. pp. 462–472, 495, 523–528; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, pp. 58, 193; Gladwin, *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 208, vol. iii. pp. 168, 169.

176 This *tcou-shih* is described by Medhurst (*sub voc.*) as "a kind of stone resembling metal. The Chinese call it the finest kind of native copper. It is found in the Po-sze country (Persia) and resembles gold. On the application of fire it assumes a red colour, and does not turn black. When mercury falls to the ground this substance will attract it." But from the statement that each part of this figure was *cast* separately, it is plain that it was made of metal, probably brass or bronze. Julien translates it by *laiton*, brass.

177 If this sleeping figure of Buddha was lying within the building, it is unreasonable to suppose it could be 1000 feet in length. The sleeping figures of Buddha at Moulmein, I

every time he assembles the great congregation of the Wu-che (*Môksha*),[178] having sacrificed all his possessions, from his wife and children down to his country's treasures, gives in addition his own body; then his ministers and the lower order of officers prevail on the priests to barter back these possessions; and in these matters most of their time is taken up.[179]

To the south-west of the convent of the sleeping figure (*of Buddha*), going 200 li or so, passing the great Snowy Mountains on the east, there is a little watercourse (*or valley*), which is moist with (*the overflowings of*) standing springs, bright as mirrors; the herbage here is green and bright.[180] There is a *saṅghârâma* here with a tooth of Buddha, also the tooth of a Pratyêka[181] Buddha, who lived at the beginning of the *Kalpa*, which is in length about five inches, and in breadth somewhat less than four inches. Again, there is the tooth of a golden-wheel king,[182] in length three inches, and in surface (*breadth*) two inches. There is also the iron begging-dish of Śaṇa-kavâsa,[183] a great Arhat, which is capable of holding eight or nine *shing* (*pints*). These three sacred objects, be-

am told by a friend who visited the caves there and measured the figures, were 60 yards in length. The figures of Buddha entering *Nirvâṇa* in the Sinhalese temples are often very large. One in Cave xxvi. at Ajaṇṭâ is fully 23 feet in length. See Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, p. 344; and note 175 *supra*. The text of Hiuen Tsiang is probably corrupt in this passage.

[178] The *Môksha Mahâparishad*; a meeting, as it seems, held every five years for the benefit of the priests (Buddhist community). On these occasions there were recitations of the law, and offerings were made to the priesthood. These assemblies were generally made on some favourite mountain. It was also called *Pañchavarshikâ parishad*. See *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 170; and note 66 *supra*.

[179] In such matters as these there is most concern shown.

[180] *Ts'ung*, a light green.

[181] A Pratyêka Buddha is one who has attained enlightenment, that is, become a Buddha, but for himself alone.

[182] That is, a monarch of the four *dvîpas* or *suvarṇachakravartin*.

[183] Śaṇakavâsa, or Sâṇavâsika, according to some Northern accounts, was the fourth patriarch or president of the Buddhist community (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, xiv.) Other authorities speak of him as the third patriarch. See Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.; Rémusat, *Mél. Asiat.*, tom. i. p. 118; Neumann, *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morg.*, vol. iii. p. 124; Edkins, *Chin. Buddhism*, pp. 66-69; Lassen, *Ind. Alterthums.* (2d edit.), vol. ii. p. 1201. He lived 100 years after Buddha.

queathed by the holy personages referred to, are all contained in a yellow-golden sealed case. Again, there is here the *Saṅghâṭi* robe, in nine pieces[184] of Śaṇakavâsa; the colour is a deep red (*rose-red*); it is made of the bark (*peel*) of the *She-no-kia* plant.[185] Śaṇakavâsa was the disciple of Ânanda.[186] In a former existence he had given the priests garments made of the *Śaṇaka* plant (*fibre*), on the conclusion of the rainy season.[187] By the force of this meritorious action during 500 successive births he wore only this (*kind of*) garment, and at his last birth he was born with it. As his body increased so his robe grew larger, until the time when he was converted by Ânanda and left his home (*i.e.*, became an ascetic). Then his robe changed into a religious garment;[188] and when he was fully ordained it again changed into a *Saṅghâṭi*, composed of nine pieces. When he was about to arrive at *Nirvâṇa* he entered into the condition of *Samâdhi*, bordering on complete extinction, and by the force of his vow in attaining wisdom (*he arrived at the knowledge*)[189] that this *kashâya* garment would last till the bequeathed law (*testament*) of Śâkya (*was established*), and after the destruction of this law then his garment also would perish. At the present time it is a little fading, for faith also is small at this time!

Going eastward from this, we enter the defiles of the Snowy Mountains, cross over the black ridge (Siâh Kôh), and arrive at the country of Kia-pi-shi.

184 *I.e.*, composed of nine parts sewn together.

185 The *Śaṇaka* plant, a kind of hemp called the Bengal *śan*.

186 The ordinary succession of the patriarchs is, after Buddha, (1) Kâśyapa, (2) Ânanda, (3) Madhyântika, (4) Śaṇakavâsa. The last named is sometimes identified with Yaśa, the son of Kana, who was one of the chief leaders in the second council 100 years after Buddha. He may be the same as Sonaka in the Southern records, who died, according to Rhys Davids (*Numismata Orientalia*, pp. 46, 47), in A.B. 124; conf. Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. p. 150.

187 "At the conclusion of the retirement during the rainy season." It was customary for the priests to retire into a fixed residence during the three months of the rainy season. When the retirement broke up (*kiai ngan ku jih*) robes and other presents were given to the priests.

188 *I.e.*, a vestment worn by the religious.

189 Or "he secured the privilege, by the earnestness of his vow, that his robe," &c.

KIA-PI-SHI [KAPIŚA].

This country[190] is 4000 li or so in circuit. On the north it abuts on the Snowy Mountains, and on three sides it borders on the "black ridge" (*the Hindu Kush*). The capital of the country is 10 li or so in circuit. It produces cereals of all sorts, and many kinds of fruit-trees. The *shen* horses are bred here, and there is also the scent (*scented root*) called *Yu-kin*.[191] Here also are found objects of merchandise from all parts. The climate is cold and windy. The people are cruel and fierce; their language is coarse and rude; their marriage rites a mere intermingling of the sexes. Their literature is like that of the Tukhâra country, but the customs, common language, and rules of behaviour are somewhat different. For clothing they use hair garments (*wool*); their garments are trimmed with fur. In commerce they use gold and silver coins, and also little copper coins, which in appearance and stamp[192] differ from those of other countries. The king is a Kshattriya by caste. He is of a shrewd

[190] Kapiśa is the Καπίσα (or Κάπισα) of Ptolemy (*Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 18, 4), and the Capissa of Pliny (*H. N.*, lib. vi. c. 23, 25), the capital of a district called Capissene. It is perhaps also the Caphusa of Solinus (*Polyh.*, c. 54). See Lassen's discussion, *Ind. Alterth.*, vol. iii. pp. 135, 591, 879–889. Ptolemy placed it 155 miles N. 15° E. from Καβοῦρα or Kabul, the Kâpûl or Kâvul of the *Bundahiś*; but this distance is far too great. Julien supposes the district to have occupied the Panjshir and Tagaô valleys in the north border of Kohistân, and that the capital may have been either in the valley of the Nijraô or of the Tagaô. Conf. Baber's *Mem.*, pp. 144 f.; Masson, *Narrative of Jour.*, vol. iii. p 168; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, p. 117; Pânini has Kâpiśî (iv. 2, 99).

[191] *Curcuma* (Jul.) The *Curcuma* belongs to the natural order of *Zingiberaceæ*; the different species are stemless plants with tuberous roots. The scented species referred to in the text is probably the *Curcuma zedoaria*, or broad-leaved turmeric. The tubers are aromatic, and when ground the powder is used not only as a stimulating condiment in curry powders, &c., but as a perfume. In Sanskrit it is called *haridrâ*, with forty-six synonyms.

[192] The original, *kwei keu mu yang*, has, I suspect, the meaning of "stamp and inscription;" literally it would mean the pattern or fashion (*mu yang*) of the compass and square (*kwei keu*), or the circular and square part are different, &c. But the expression may also simply mean, "the size and form." It possibly refers to the copper coins of Kanishka or Kanêrki.

character (*nature*),[193] and being brave and determined, he has brought into subjection the neighbouring countries, some ten of which he rules. He cherishes his people[194] with affection, and reverences much the three precious objects of worship. Every year[195] he makes a silver figure of Buddha eighteen feet high, and at the same time he convokes an assembly called the *Môksha Mahâparishad* when he gives alms to the poor and wretched, and relieves the bereaved (*widows and bereaved*).

There are about 100 convents in this country and some 6000 priests. They mostly study the rules of the Great Vehicle. The *stûpas* and *saṅghârâmas* are of an imposing height, and are built on high level spots, from which they may be seen on every side, shining in their grandeur (*purity*).[196] There are some ten temples of the Dêvas, and 1000 or so of heretics (*different ways of religion*); there are naked ascetics, and others who cover themselves with ashes, and some who make chaplets of bones, which they wear as crowns on their heads.[197]

To the east of the capital[198] 3 or 4 li, at the foot of a

193 This passage may also be rendered: "He is distinguished for wisdom and tact; he is by nature brave and determined," &c. Hwui-lih uses the expression *ming lioh*, instead of *chi lioh*; evidently alluding to his tact or shrewdness, by which he had brought the neighbouring countries into his power.

194 "The hundred families."

195 The expression *sui* certainly means "a year" or "yearly;" but it may also have the sense of "periodically." This would suit the context perhaps better, as the "great assemblies" were usually convoked "every five years."

196 It seems that the passage requires some such rendering as this. The symbol *ch'hang* indicates "a high level spot, from which there is a good prospect" (Medhurst). Mr. Simpson's account of the *stûpas* in the Jellalâbâd valley would favour this translation (*Buddhist Architecture*, a paper read by W. Simpson before the Royal Institute of British Architects, 12th January 1880). We may gather from the connection of *stûpa* and *saṅghârâma* in the text, that Hiuen Tsiang alludes to the *stûpa* with its *vihâra*.

197 The three sects here enumerated are known as (1) the Nirgranthas or Digambara Jainas; (2) Pâśupatas; and (3) Kapâladhâriṇas.

198 There is some difficulty in fixing the name and site of the capital of Kapiśa. General Cunningham identifies it with Opiân (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 19). His opinion is based on a statement I have not been able to verify, viz., that on leaving Bâmiyân, Hiuen Tsiang travelled 600 li in an easterly direction over "snowy mountains and black hills" to the capital of Kia-pi-shi. I can find no distance given either in the *Si-yu-ki* or by Hwui-lih. From Bâmiyân south-

mountain in the north, is a great *saṅghârâma* with 300 or so priests in it. These belong to the Little Vehicle and adopt its teaching.[199]

According to tradition, Kanishka Râja of Gandhâra[200] in old days having subdued all the neighbouring provinces and brought into obedience people of distant countries, he governed by his army a wide territory, even to the east of the T'sung-ling mountains. Then the

east to the "humid valley" is 200 li. After this the account simply says: "Going in an easterly direction, &c., we come to Kia-pi-shi." Nor can I find any corroboration of the statement that "on leaving the capital of Kapisene, Hiuen Tsiang was accompanied by the king as far as the town of Kiu-lu-sa-pang, a distance of one yôjana to the north-east" (*op. cit.*, p. 20). Hwui-lih indeed states (i. 266) that the king of Kapiśa accompanied the pilgrim 6 li from the *frontiers* of his kingdom; but that gives us no clue to the name or site of the capital. V. St. Martin makes Opiân the capital of Fo-li-shi-sa-t'ang-na (*Mém.*, tom. ii. p. 190). Hiuen Tsiang does not give the name of the chief city, but he places it 600 li to the west of Lan-po (Lamghân), which again is 100 li to the north-west of Na-kie-lo-ho (Nagarahâra). Supposing the site of Nagarahâra to be at the point of junction of the Kâbul river with the Surkhar or Surkh-rud, we should have to place the capital of Kapiśa on the declivity of the Hindu Kush, not far from the little town of Ghorband, or perhaps near Kushân, 10 miles west of Opian.

199 I find in Julien's translation that this *saṅghârâma* was called Jin-kia-lan (the humane saṅghârâma, or, of "the man"). It is wanting in my text. India Office, No. 1503.

200 Kanishka-râja, of Gandhâra. He is often called in Chinese Buddhist books "the Chandan Kanika" (see *Fo-sho-hing-t'san-king*, pages xxviii., xxix.) This may simply mean Kanishka of Gandhâra, the use of *Chandana* for *gandha* being common. The mountains of Gândhâra are often explained as the "perfume mountains," as though from *gandha*. But in an old Buddhist map in my possession the Gândhâra mountains are called the earth-holding (*ti chi*), as though *gan* were from an old root, γᾶν or γῆν, and *dhṛi*, to hold. Kanishka was king of the Yueï-chi, and the rise of his dynasty is placed by Chinese authors in the first century B.C. On his coins he is styled in the corrupt Greek legends Κανηρκι Κορανο, and in the Baktrian-Pali legends and Manikyâla inscription he is called Kanishka the Kushâna, or "of the Gushana family," connecting him with the tribe called by the Chinese Kweï-shwang. Korano and Kushâna are only different forms of the same word. Prinsep, *Essays*, vol. i. pp. 145 f.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. pp. 806 f.; *J. As. S. Ben.*, vol. xxxii. pp. 144 f.; *Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Rep.*, vol. ii. p. 50; *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. xiv. pp. 161 f. The date of Kanishka is yet undetermined. According to Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. [2d ed.] pp. 766, 768), he lived between A.D. 10 and A.D. 40. The Northern Buddhists place him (as we shall see farther on) 400 years after the *Nirvâṇa*. But as Hiuen Tsiang places Aśôka only 100 years after Buddha, the error appears to be in the date of the *Nirvâṇa*; and thus Kanishka was really about 300 years after Aśôka. Recent writers argue that Kanishka lived in the latter part of the first century, and

tribes who occupy the territory to the west of the river,[201] fearing the power of his arms, sent hostages to him. Kanishka-râja having received the hostages,[202] treated them with singular attention, and ordered for them separate establishments for the cold and hot weather; during the cold they resided in India and its different parts, in the summer they came back to Kapiśa, in the autumn and spring they remained in the kingdom of Gandhâra; and so he founded *saṅghâramas* for the hostages according to the three seasons. This convent (*of which we are now speaking*) is the one they occupied during the summer, and it was built for that purpose.[203]

that the Śaka era (A.D. 78) originated with his reign. See Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi. pp. 149 ff.; vol. vii. pp. 141 ff.; Oldenberg, *ib.*, vol. x. pp. 213 ff.; Fergusson, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xii. pp. 261 ff.; Max Müller, *India,* p. 293. R. Davids has come to the conclusion that the *Nirvâṇa* is within a few years of 412 B.C. (*Numismata Oriental.*, part vi. p. 56). If this could be established, it would accord pretty well with the Northern legend referred to, and the date of Kanishka's power might have been, as Lassen supposes, between 10 A.D. and 40 A.D

[201] The district to the west of the river, *i.e.*, the Yellow River, were the people of the Tangut empire. (For an explanation of the word Tangut, and other particulars, see Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 209; Bretschneider, *Med. Geog.*, p. 123). In my copy there is no mention made of "dependent princes" (Julien *in loc.*); the expression is "*fan wei,*" which I take to be equivalent to "the associated tribes." The word *fan* is used for the Tibetans. This would explain Yule's remark (*op. cit.*, p. 209) that "the word Tanggod (Tangut) is properly a Mongol plural designating certain tribes of Tibetan blood."

[202] In Hwui-lih's account (*Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 72), we are told there was only one hostage, and he was a son of the Emperor of China. There is a curious story found among the sermons of Aśvaghôsha—who was contemporary with Kanishka—of a son of the Emperor of China coming to India to seek a cure for his blindness. He dwelt in a monastery in which there was a great preacher. On a certain occasion he preached so eloquently that the entire congregation was moved to tears. Some of these tears were applied to the eyes of the blind prince, and he recovered (Sermon 54). There was plainly an intercourse kept up between China, or the eastern frontiers of China, and North India from an early period.

[203] The name of this convent is given by Hwui-lih (K. ii. fol. 10 a) as Sha-lo-kia, which is restored by Julien (t. ii. p. 503) doubtfully to Sharaka. Dr. Eitel (*Handbook* sub voc.) has followed him in this restoration. It seems to be referred to by I-Tsing in his account of the travels of Hwui-lun (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 570). I am of opinion that Sha-lo-kia ought to be restored to Serika, and that it was so called because it was built for the Chinese hostages or hostage. This name for China (Serika) indeed is not known in Chinese literature; but it is plain that this establish-

Hence the pictures of these hostages on the walls; their features, and clothing, and ornaments are like the people of Eastern Hia (China).[204] Afterwards, when they were permitted to return to their own country, they were remembered in their old abode,[205] and notwithstanding the intervening mountains and rivers, they were without cessation reverenced with offerings, so that down to the present time the congregation of priests on each rainy season[206] (*frequent this spot*); and on the breaking up of the fast they convene an assembly and pray for the happiness of the hostages,—a pious custom still existing.

To the south of the eastern door of the hall of Buddha

ment was not only very rich, but also provided with celebrated mural paintings. I have already called attention (*Abstract*, &c., p. 136 n.), to the way in which artists from Baktria were employed to paint the Buddhist vihâras at an early date, but more particularly, as it would seem, during the time of Kanishka; for Aśvaghôsha, who relates the story referred to, was a follower of Kanishka. Nothing would be more natural than that an artist or artists from Baktria should speak of this vihâra as the Serika vihâra; the common term for China being Σηρική (Ptol., vi. 16, 1, 3, 4, 6, &c.; Pliny, *H. N.*, lib. vi. c. 20, 5). This conjecture is confirmed by the translation of the term Sha-lo-kia given by Hiuen Tsiang. It is not given indeed in my copy, but in the original used by M. Julien the convent is called "the Saṅghârâma of men" (*jin-kia-lan*). This is restored by Julien doubtfully to Narasaṅghârâma (p. 42). But this (*nara*) is an epithet of the king of China, according to Arabian travellers (vid. *supra*, p. 14, n. 41). It seems, therefore, probable that this Saṅghârâma was originally called after the king's son by the Baktrian term, *Serika*.

204 The Eastern Hia people, *i.e.*, the Chinese, in distinction from the Western Hia, *i.e.*, the Tanguts. Bretschneider, *Notes, Med. Geog.*, &c., p. 35, n. 81.

205 So I understand the passage. It is not that the hostages remembered their old abode, but that the memory of the hostages remained with the priests of the Sha-lo-kia convent. Hence, after the summer rest was over, the priests used to hold a special assembly in order to invoke a blessing on their memory. M. Julien has translated it so in the *Life* of Hiouen Thsang, p. 72, but in this passage he has inverted the sense.

206 The rainy season (*varsha*), as is well known, was observed by the Buddhists as a period of retreat, not in the sense of fasting, or, as it has been translated, Lent, but for the purpose of shelter, and also, as stated in the *Vinaya*, to avoid trampling down the young herbage. After the three months' rest, of which there were two kinds,—viz., either the first three months, *i.e.*, beginning at the appointed time, and continuing for three consecutive months, or else the second three months, that is, when through inability to begin at the appointed time the retreat was entered on a month later, and therefore lasted a month later,—the retreat was broken up, and presents, &c., were made to the congregation.

belonging to this *saṅghârâma* there is a figure of the Great Spirit King;[207] beneath his right foot they have hollowed the earth for concealing treasures therein. This is the treasury place of the hostages, therefore we find this inscription, "When the *saṅghârâma* decays let men take (*of the treasure*) and repair it." Not long ago there was a petty (*frontier*) king of a covetous mind and of a wicked and cruel disposition; hearing of the quantity of jewels and precious substances concealed in this convent, he drove away the priests and began digging for them. The King of the Spirits had on his head the figure of a parrot, which now began to flap its wings and to utter screams. The earth shook and quaked, the king and his army were thrown down prostrate on the ground; after a while, arising from the earth, he confessed his fault and returned.

Above a mountain pass[208] to the north of this convent there are several stone chambers; it was in these the hostages practised religious meditation. In these recesses many and various gems (*precious things*) are concealed: on the side there is an inscription that the Yakshas (*Yo-cha*) guard and defend the places (*precincts*). If any one wishes to enter and rob the treasures, the Yakshas by spiritual

[207] This great spirit-râja is the same as Vaiśravaṇa, "the celebrated" (περικλυτος). He is called Mahâkâla, "the great black one;" in Japan he is still called Dai Gakf, "the great black," and is generally figured as an old man of dwarfish size, with a sack on his back. I have often myself examined the figure on the hearths of the kitchens at Hakodate. He is in one sense the same as Kuvêra. For further remarks on this point see *Academy*, July 3, 1880; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ix. p. 203.

[208] The convent was three or four li to the east of the capital, and at the foot of a northern mountain, which mountain formed one side of a pass. In General Cunningham's map referred to, there is such a northern mountain detached from the Paghman range, and a pass between it and the main line of hills. Just beyond this pass we find Chârikar, close to Opiân. If we may rely on these coincidences, the capital of Kapiśa would be to the west of this pass about a mile, whilst Chârikar would derive its name from the Sha-lo-kia monastery. The text, it must be noticed, does not require the mountain pass to be distinct from the northern mountain, at the base of which the convent was built, but it means that the chambers were excavated on the northern scarp of the pass. The context, moreover, requires this. For some interesting notices respecting the Buddhist caves of Afghanistân, see *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xiv. pp. 319 ff.

transformation appear in different forms, sometimes as lions, sometimes as snakes, and as savage beasts and poisonous reptiles; under various appearances they exhibit their rage. So no one dares to attempt to take the treasures.

At 2 or 3 li to the west of the stone chambers, above a great mountain pass,[209] there is a figure of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhisattva;[210] those who with sincere faith desire (*vow or pray*) to see him, to them the Bôdhisattva appears coming forth from the image, his body of marvellous beauty, and he gives rest and reassurance to the travellers.

Thirty li or so to the south-east of the capital we arrive at the convent of Râhula (Ho-lo-hu-lo); by its side is a *stûpa* about 100 feet in height. On sacred days (*fast days*) this building reflects a brilliant light. Above the cupola,[211] from between the interstices of the stone, there exudes a black scented oil, whilst in the quiet night may be heard the sounds of music. According to tradition, this *stûpa* was formerly built by Râhula, a great minister of this country. Having completed this work of merit (*religious work*), he saw in a night-dream a man who said to him, "This *stûpa* you have built has no sacred relic (*she-li*) in it as yet; to-morrow, when they come to offer, you must make your request to the king" (*for the offering brought*).

[209] The meaning is, above a high mountain-side, *i.e.*, as it seems, above a high peak, which would form the beginning of the pass on the western side.

[210] Kwan-tsz'-tsai or Avalôkitêśvara, "the god that looks down." He is best known in Nepâl as Padmapâṇi; in Tibet he is called sPyan-ras-gzigs-*d*vang-phyug (pron. Chenresi-vanchug); in China, as Kwan-yin; and in Japan as Kuan-nŏn. In Sanskrit he is also known as Karuṇârṇava, Abhayamdada ("the remover of fear"), Abhyutgatarâja ("the great august king"), &c. See Burnouf, *Int. à l'Hist. d. Budd. Ind.*, 2d ed.), pp. 92, 101, 197–202, 557–559; *Lotus*, pp. 261 ff., 301, 352, 428; *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 233, 239, 247, 253; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. ii. pp. 136 ff., 411 ff.; Vassilief, *Le Bouddh.*, pp. 125, 175, 178, 186, 197; *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. viii. pp. 249–253; Burgess, *Cave Temples*, pp. 357, &c.; *Arch. Sur. Reports, W. India*, vol. iii. pp. 75, 76; vol. v. pp. 11, 14. He is generally described as "the god of mercy," because he hears the cries of men. Probably a relic or revival of the old worship of hill-gods. Hence his figure placed on this mountain-top.

[211] Above "the covering shaped liked a pâtra," *i.e.*, the cupola or dome.

On the morrow, entering the royal court, he pressed his claim (*or* he advanced and requested), and said: "Your unworthy subject ventures to make a request." The king replied: "And what does my lord require?" Answering, he said, "That your majesty would be pleased to favour me by conferring on me the first[212] offering made this day." The king replied: "I consent."

Râhula on this went forth and stood at the palace gate. Looking at all who came towards the spot, suddenly he beheld a man holding in his hand a relic casket (*pitcher*). The great minister said, "What is your will? what have you to offer?" He replied, "Some relics of Buddha." The minister answered, "I will protect them for you. I will first go and tell the king." Râhula, fearing lest the king on account of the great value of the relics should repent him of his former promise, went quickly to the *saṅghârâma* and mounted the *stûpa*; by the power of his great faith, the stone cupola opened itself, and then he placed the relics therein. This being done, he was quickly coming out when he caught the hem of his garment in the stone.[213] The king sent to pursue him, but by the time the messengers arrived at the *stûpa*, the stones had closed over him; and this is the reason why a black oily substance exudes from the crevices of the building.

To the south[214] of the city 40 li or so, we come to the town of Si-pi-to-fa-la-sse (Śvêtavâras).[215] In the case

[212] So it appears to me the passage should be translated, "the first offering." Julien renders it as if there were only a single offering.

[213] That is, he caught his garment in the stone of the inner portion of the *stûpa* before he could escape to the exterior. The relic casket, as is well known, is placed in a chamber in the upper-middle part of the cupola or dome.

[214] This bearing is given in my text; it seems to be wanting in Julien's.

[215] Julien restores this name to Sphitavaras doubtfully. V. de St. Martin (*Mémoire*, &c., p. 300) suggests Śvêtavâras. As this seems to be more in agreement with the Japanese equivalents in my text, I have adopted it. The situation or name of this city is unknown. General Cunningham suggests Saptavarsha or Sattavasa, and connects with this name, "the Thatagush of the inscriptions of Darius, who are the Sattagudai of Herodotus" (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 26). If we suppose the Chehêl Dukhtarân peak to be the same as the mountain called O-lu-no

of earthquakes, and even when the tops of the mountains fall, there is no commotion around this city.

Thirty li or so to the south of the town of Si-po-to-fa-la-sse we come to a mountain called 'O-lu-no (Aruṇa).[216] The crags and precipices of this mountain are of a vast height, its caverns and valleys are dark and deep. Each year the peak increases in height several hundred feet, until it approaches the height of Mount Tsu-na-hi-lo (Śunagir)[217] in the kingdom of Tsu-ku-cha (Tsaukûṭa);[218] then when it thus faces it, suddenly it falls down again. I have heard this story in neighbouring countries. When first the heavenly spirit Śuna came from far to this mountain desiring to rest, the spirit of the mountain, affrighted, shook the surrounding valleys. The heavenly spirit said, "Because you have no wish to entertain me, therefore this tumult and confusion; if you had but entertained me for a little while, I should have conferred on you great riches and treasure; but now I go to Tsu-ku-cha to the mountain Tsu-na-hi-lo, and I will visit it every year. On these occasions, when the king and his ministers offer me their tribute, then you shall stand face to face with me." Therefore Mount 'O-lu-no having increased to the height (*aforesaid*), suddenly falls down again at the top.

About 200 li to the north-west of the royal city we come to a great snowy mountain, on the summit of which

(about to be noticed), then measuring north about six miles, we should come to Begrâm; from this, eight miles north—according to our text—would take us up the Panjshir river, and not to the capital. There is no bearing given in the French translation, and it is possible that the symbol for south in our text has been interpolated. From Hiuen Tsiang's remark "that the city of Śvêtavâras could not be destroyed," we may perhaps identify it with the Tetragonis of Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, lib. vi. c. 25.

[216] 'O-lu-no may be restored to Aruṇa, "the red." The symbol *na*, however, is especially referred to in a note as being equal in sound to *n(oo)* + *(k)o*, *i.e.*, *no*.

[217] The symbols *Tsu-na-hi-lo* would give Śunahir. The Japanese phonetic equivalent for *hi* is given as *ki* or *gi*, which (if correct) gives us Śunagir. Julien suggests Kshuṇahila.

[218] The kingdom of Tsaukûṭa appears, from the return journey, to be the same as Sewistân. The high mountain of Tukatu may perhaps represent the *Tsu-na-hi-lo* of the text. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. iii. p. 884.

is a lake. Here whoever asks for rain or prays for fine weather, according to his request so he receives.

Tradition says in old time there was an Arhat (*Lo-han*) belonging to Gandhâra (Kien-t'o-lo) who constantly received the religious offerings of the Nâga king of this lake. On the arrival of the time for the mid-day meal, by his spiritual power he rose with the mat on which he sat into the air, and went (*to the place where the Nâga dwelt*). His attendant, a Śrâmaṇêra (*novice*), secretly catching hold of the under part of the mat, when the time came for the Arhat to go, was transported in a moment with him (*to the palace of the Nâga*). On arriving at the palace, the Nâga saw the Śrâmaṇêra. The Nâga-râja asking them to partake of his hospitality, he provided the Arhat with "immortal food," but gave to the Śrâmaṇêra food used by men. The Arhat having finished his meal, began then to preach for the good of the Nâga, whilst he desired the Śrâmaṇera, as was his custom, to wash out his alms-bowl. Now the bowl happened to have in it some fragments of (*the heavenly*) food. Startled at the fragrance of this food,[219] forthwith there arose in him an evil determination (*vow*). Irritated with his master, and hating the Nâga, he uttered the prayer (*vow*) that the force of all his religious merit might now be brought into operation with a view to deprive the Nâga of life, and, "May I," he said, "myself become a Nâga-king."

No sooner had the Śrâmaṇêra made this vow than the Nâga perceived his head to be in pain.

The Arhat having finished his preaching concerning the duty of repentance, the Nâga-râja confessed his sins, condemning himself. But the Śrâmaṇêra still cherishing hatred in his heart, confessed not. And now having returned to the *saṅghârâma*, in very truth the prayer he had put up in consequence of the power of his religious merit was accomplished, and that very night he died and

219 That is, startled to find from the fragrance that this food was different from that which he had received.

became a Nâga-râja. Then filled with rage, he entered the lake and killed the other Nâga king, and took possession of his palace; moreover, he attached to himself the whole fraternity of his class (*i.e., all the Nâgas*) to enable him to carry out his original purpose. Then fiercely raising the winds and tempests, he rooted up the trees and aimed at the destruction of the convent.

At this time Kanishka-râja, surprised at the ravages, inquired of the Arhat as to the cause, on which he told the whole circumstance. The king therefore, for the sake of the Nâga,[220] founded a *saṅghârâma* at the foot of the Snowy Mountains, and raised a *stûpa* about 100 feet in height. The Nâga, cherishing his former hatred, raised the wind and rain. The king persevering in his purpose of charity, the Nâga redoubled his fury (*angry poison*), and became exceedingly fierce. Six times he destroyed the *saṅghârâma* and the *stûpa*, and on the seventh occasion Kanishka, confused by his failure, determined to fill the Nâga's lake and overthrow his palace. He came therefore with his soldiers to the foot of the Snowy Mountains.

Then the Nâga-râja, being terrified and shaken with apprehension, changed himself into an aged Brâhmaṇ, and bowing down before the king's elephant, he remonstrated with the king, and said, "Mahârâja, because of your accumulated merit in former births, you have now been born a king of men, and you have no wish which is not gratified. Why then to-day are you seeking a quarrel with a Nâga? Nâgas are only brutish creatures. Nevertheless amongst lower creatures[221] the Nâga possesses great power, which cannot be resisted. He rides on the clouds, drives the winds, passes through space, and glides over the waters; no human power can conquer him.[222] Why then is the king's heart so angry? You have now raised the army

[220] That is (as it seems), for the sake of the Nâga who was dead.

[221] Among the lower creatures belonging to an evil class; referring to the evil ways or modes of birth (*jâti*). The three evil ways are birth as a beast, as a prêta, or a demon.

[222] Or, "it is no human power which restrains him."

of your country to fight with a single dragon; if you conquer, your renown will not spread very far;[223] but if you are conquered, then you will suffer the humiliation of defeat. Let me advise the king to withdraw his troops."

The king Kanishka hesitating to comply, the dragon returned to his lake. His voice, like the thunderclap, shook the earth, and the fierce winds tore up the trees, whilst stones and sand pelted down like rain; the sombre clouds obscured the air, so that the army and the horses were filled with terror. The king then paid his adoration to the Three Precious ones, and sought their help, saying, "My abounding merit during former births has brought about my state as king of men. By my power I have restrained the strong and conquered the world (*Jambudvîpa*). But now (*as it appears*), by the onslaught of a dragon-beast overcome, this, verily, is proof of my poor merit! Let the full power of all my merit now appear!"

Then from both his shoulders there arose a great flame and smoke.[224] The dragon fled, the winds hushed, the mists were melted, and the clouds were scattered. Then the king commanded each man of his army to take a stone and thus to fill up the dragon lake.

Again the dragon king changed himself into a Brâhman, and asked the king once more, "I am the Nâga king of yonder lake. Affrighted by your power, I tender my submission. Would that the king in pity might forgive my former faults! The king indeed loves to defend and cherish all animated beings, why then alone against me is he incensed? If the king kill me, then we both shall fall into an 'evil way'—the king, for killing; I, for cherishing an angry mind. Deeds and their consequences

[223] Or, "an acknowledged-afar renown;" or it may be, as in Julien's translation, "the renown of one who conquers the distant;" this, however, appears strained.

[224] A great smoke-brightness. The flames on the shoulders are observable on some of the Kanerki coins. We may compare with these flames the two ravens that sit on the shoulders of Oðinn, and also "the echo of heathen thought" which makes the dove sit on Christ's shoulder at his baptism (Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, by Stallybrass, vol. i. p. 148).

will be plainly manifested when the good and evil are brought to light."

The king then agreed with the Nâga that if hereafter he should again be rebellious there should be no forgiveness. The Nâga said, "Because of my evil deeds I have received a dragon form. The nature of Nâgas is fierce and wicked, so that they are unable to control themselves; if by chance an angry heart rises in me, it will be from forgetfulness of our present compact. The king may now build the *saṅghârâma* once more; I will not venture to destroy it again. Each day let the king send a man to observe the mountain top; if it is black with clouds, then let him sound the *ghaṇṭâ* (drum *or* cymbal) loudly; when I hear the sound of it, my evil purpose will subside."

Forthwith the king renewed his work in raising the *sanghârâma* and *stûpa*. People look out for the clouds and mists on the mountain top down to the present day. Tradition says that in this *stûpa* there is a considerable quantity (a pint, or *shing*) of relics[225] of Tathâgata, consisting of his bones and flesh, and that wonderful miracles are wrought thereby, which it would be difficult to name separately. At one time, from within the *stûpa* there arose suddenly a smoke, which was quickly followed by a fierce flame of fire. On this occasion the people said the *stûpa* was consumed. They gazed for a long time till the fire was expended and the smoke disappeared, when they beheld a *Śarîra* like a white pearl gem,[226] which moved with a circular motion round the surmounting pole of the *stûpa*; it then separated itself and ascended up on high to the region of the clouds, and after scintillating there awhile, again descended with a circular motion.[227]

[225] The words rendered "relics," &c., are in the original "bone and flesh *śarîras*;" that is, "bone and flesh remains," or body-relics.

[226] The symbol for "gem" is of uncertain meaning. There is a precious gem from the Lu country called *yu-fan*. It is the latter of these two words that occurs in the text, connected with *chu*, a pearl. I have therefore translated *chu-fan* by pearl-gem.

[227] This account probably refers to some electrical phenomenon. The surmounting pole of the *stûpa* was provided with metal rings or discs,

To the north-west of the capital there is a large river[228] on the southern bank of which, in a convent of an old king, there is a milk-tooth of Śâkya Bôdhisattva; it is about an inch in length.

To the south-east of this convent there is another, which is also called the convent of the old king; in this is a piece of the skull-bone of Tathâgata; the surface of it is about an inch in breadth, its colour a yellowish white; the little hair orifices are plainly seen. There is, moreover, a hair-top[229] of Tathâgata of a dark auburn colour; the hair turns to the right; drawing it out, it is about a foot long; when folded up it is only about half an inch. These three objects are reverenced with offerings by the king and the great ministers on each of the six fast (*holy*) days.

To the south-west of the convent of the skull-bone is the convent of the wife of the old king, in which there is a gilded *stûpa* (*copper gilt*), about 100 feet in height. Tradition says in this *stûpa* is about a pint of the relics of Buddha. On the fifteenth day of each month, in the evening, it reflects a circular halo of glory which lights up the dew-dish.[230] Thus it shines till the morning, when it gradually disappears and enters the *stûpa*.

To the south-west of the town is Mount Pi-lo-sa-lo (Pîlusâra);[231] the mountain spirit takes the form of an elephant, hence the name. In old days, when Tathâgata was alive, the spirit, called Pîlusâra (*siang-kien*, *i.e.*, elephant-fixed), asked the Lord of the World and 1200 Arhats (*to partake of his hospitality*). On the mountain crag is a great solid rock; here it was Tathâgata received the offerings of the spirit. Afterwards Aśôka-râja erected

and was capped generally with a metal "pitcher" (so called). This would naturally act as a lightning conductor.

228 This great river may be the affluent of the Kâbul river flowing through the Ghôrband valley. It flows about east and west after leaving the valley; the southern bank, therefore, would be that nearest the site of the capital.

229 That is, a hair from the top-knot hair.

230 *I.e.*, the circular dish at the top of the surmounting pole.

231 Elephant-firm.

on this same rock a *stûpa* about 100 feet in height. It is now called the *stûpa* of the Elephant-strength (Pîlusâra). They say that in this also is about a pint measure of the relics of Tathâgata.

To the north of the Pîlusâra Stûpa is a mountain cavern, below which is a Nâga fountain. It was here that Tathâgata, having received from the spirit some food (*rice*) with the Arhats, cleansed his mouth and rubbed his teeth with a piece of willow branch.[232] This he planted in the ground, and it forthwith took root, and is now a bushy grove. Afterwards men built here a *saṅghârama*, and called it the convent of the Pi-to-kia (*the willow twig*).

Going eastward from this 600 li or so, across a continuation of mountains and valleys, the peaks being of a stupendous height, and skirting the "black ridge,"[233] we enter North India, and crossing the frontier, come to the country of Lan-po (Lamghân).

[232] The wood commonly used in India is that of the *Khadira* tree, the *Acacia Catechu*. After being used as a tooth-cleaner it is generally split in two, and one part used to scrape the tongue. Hence probably the name *Pi-to-kiu* given in the text, which seems to be a form of the Sanskrit *vidala*, leafless; or, as Julien suggests, of *Vaitraka*, a reed, a twig.

[233] That is, the Siâh Kôh, or the range which separates Lamghân from the upper valley of the Kâo and that of the Picha.

END OF BOOK I.

BOOK II.

Relates to Three Countries, viz., (1) Lan-po, (2) Na-kie lo-ho and (3) Kien-t'o-lo.

1. *Names of India.*

On examination, we find that the names of India (T'ien-chu) are various and perplexing as to their authority. It was anciently called Shin-tu, also Hien-tau; but now, according to the right pronunciation, it is called In-tu. The people of In-tu call their country by different names according to their district. Each country has diverse customs. Aiming at a general name which is the best sounding, we will call the country In-tu.[1] In Chinese this name signifies the Moon. The moon has many names, of which this is one. For as it is said that all living things ceaselessly revolve in the wheel (*of transmigration*) through the long night of ignorance, without a guiding star, their case is like (*the world*), the sun gone down; as then the torch affords its connecting light, though there be the shining of the stars, how different from the bright (*cool*) moon; just so the bright connected light of holy men and sages, guiding the world as the shining of the moon, have made this country eminent, and so it is called In-tu.

The families of India are divided into castes, the Brâhmaṇs particularly (*are noted*) on account of their purity and nobility. Tradition has so hallowed the name of this tribe that there is no question as to difference of place, but the people generally speak of India as the country of the Brâhmaṇs (Po-lo-men).

[1] See *Jour. Asiat.*, sér. iv. tom. x. p. 91.

2. *Extent of India, Climate, &c.*

The countries embraced under this term of India are generally spoken of as the five Indies. In circuit this country is about 90,000 li; on three sides it is bordered by the great sea; on the north it is backed by the Snowy Mountains. The north part is broad, the southern part is narrow. Its shape is like the half-moon. The entire land is divided into seventy countries or so. The seasons are particularly hot; the land is well watered[2] and humid. The north is a continuation of mountains and hills, the ground being dry and salt. On the east there are valleys and plains, which being well watered and cultivated, are fruitful and productive. The southern district is wooded and herbaceous; the western parts are stony and barren. Such is the general account of this country.

3. *Measures of Length.*

To give a brief account of matters. In point of measurements, there is first of all the *yôjana* (*yu-shen-na*); this from the time of the holy kings of old has been regarded as a day's march for an army. The old accounts say it is equal to 40 *li;* according to the common reckoning in India it is 30 *li*, but in the sacred books (*of Buddha*) the *yôjana* is only 16 *li.*

In the subdivision of distances, a *yôjana* is equal to eight *krôśas* (*keu-lu-she*); a *krôśa* is the distance that the lowing of a cow can be heard; a *krôśa* is divided into 500 bows (*dhanus*); a bow is divided into four cubits (*hastas*); a cubit is divided into 24 fingers (*aṅgulis*); a finger is divided into seven barleycorns (*yavas*); and so on to a louse (*yûka*), a nit (*likshâ*), a dust grain, a cow's hair, a sheep's hair, a hare's down, copper-water,[3] and so on for seven divisions,

[2] Has many fountains.

[3] An enumeration corresponding to that in the text will be found in the *Lalita Vistara* (Foucaux, p. 142) and in the *Romantic Legend of Buddha* (p. 87). The expression copper-water may refer to the size of the small hole made in the *tamrî* or copper cup for the admission of water.

till we come to a small grain of dust; this is divided sevenfold till we come to an excessively small grain of dust (*aṇu*); this cannot be divided further without arriving at nothingness, and so it is called the infinitely small (*paramâṇu*).

4. *Astronomy, the Calendar, &c.*

Although the revolution of the *Yin* and *Yang* principles and the successive mansions of the sun and moon be called by names different from ours, yet the seasons are the same; the names of the months are derived from the position (*of the moon in respect*) of the asterisms.

The shortest portion of time is called a *t'sa-na* (kshaṇa); 120 *kshaṇas* make a *ta-t'sa-na* (takshaṇa); 60 of these make a *la-fo* (lava); 30 of these make a *mau-hu-li-to* (muhûrta); five of these make "a period of time" (*kâla*); six of these make a day and night (*ahôrâtra*),[4] but commonly the day and night are divided into eight *kalâs*.[5]

The period from the new moon till full moon is called the white division (*Śukla-paksha*) of the month; the period from the full moon till the disappearance (*of the light*) is called the dark portion (*Kṛĭshṇa-paksha*). The dark portion comprises fourteen or fifteen days, because the month is sometimes long and sometimes short. The preceding dark portion and the following light portion together form a month; six months form a "march" (*hing, s. ayaṇa*). The sun when it moves within (*the equator*) is said to be on its northward march;[6] when it moves without (*the equator*) it is on its southern march.[7] These two periods form a year (*vatsara*).

The year, again, is divided into six seasons. From the 16th day of the 1st month till the 15th day of the 3d month is the season of gradual heat; from the 16th day of

[4] Three in the day, three in the night.—*Ch. Ed.*

[5] Four for the day and four for the night; each of these *kalâs* is again divided into four parts or periods (*she*).—*Ch. Ed.*

[6] *Uttarâyaṇa.*

[7] *Dakshiṇâyaṇa.*

the 3d month till the 15th day of the 5th month is called the season of full heat; from the 16th day of the 5th month till the 15th day of the 7th month is called the rainy season; from the 16th day of the 7th month till the 15th day of the 9th month is called the season of growth (*vegetation*); from the 16th day of the 9th month to the 15th day of the 11th month is called the season of gradual cold; from the 16th day of the 11th month to the 15th day of the 1st month is called the season of great (*full*) cold.[8]

According to the holy doctrine of Tathâgata, the year is divided into three seasons. From the 16th day of the 1st month till the 15th day of the 5th month is called the hot season; from the 16th day of the 5th month till the 15th day of the 9th month is called the wet season; from the 16th day of the 9th month to the 15th day of the 1st month is called the cold season. Again, there are four seasons, called spring, summer, autumn, winter. The three spring months are called *Chi-ta-lo* (Chaîtra) month, *Feï-she-kie* (Vaiśâka) month, *She-se-ch'a* (Jyêshṭha); these correspond with the time from the 16th day of the 1st month to the 15th of the 4th month. The three summer months are called *'An-sha-cha* (Âshâḍha) month, *Chi-lo-fa-na* (Śrâvaṇa) month, *Po-ta-lo-pa-to* (Bhâdrapada) month; these correspond to the time between the 16th day of the 4th month to the 15th day of the 7th month. The three autumn months are called, *'An-shi-fo-ku*[9]*-che* (Âśvayuja) month, *Kia-li-ta-ka* (Kârttika) month, *Wi-*[10]*kia-chi-lo* (Mârgaśîrsha) month; these correspond to the time between the 16th day of the 7th month to the 15th day of the 10th month. The three months of winter are called *P'o-sha* (Pushya) month, *Ma-ku* (Mâgha) month, and *P'o-li-kiu-na* (Phâlguna) month; these cor-

[8] These six seasons (*ṛitavas*) are respectively (1) *Vasanta*, including the months of Chaitra and Vaiśâkha; (2) *Grîshma*—Jyêshṭha and Âshâḍha; (3) *Varshâs*—Śrâvaṇa and Bhâdrapada; (4) *Saradâ*—Âśvîna and Kârttika; (5) *Hemanta*—Mârgaśîrsha and Pushya; and (6) *Sisira*—Mâgha and Phâlguna. In the south they are reckoned as beginning a month later.

[9] The symbol *ku* is for *yu*.—Julien *in loc.*

[10] The symbol *wi* is for *mo*.—Jul.

respond with the time between the 16th day of the 10th month to the 15th day of the 1st month in China. In old times in India the priestly fraternity, relying on the holy teaching of Buddha, had a double[11] resting-time (*during the rains*), viz., either the former three months or the latter three months; these periods were either from the 16th day of the 5th month to the 15th day of the 8th month, or from the 16th day of the 6th month to the 15th day of the 9th month.

Translators of the *Sûtras* (*king*) and the *Vinaya* (*liu*) belonging to former generations employed the terms *Tso-hia* and *Tso-la-hia*[12] to signify the rest during the rainy season; but this was because the ignorant (*common*) people of the frontier countries did not understand the right sounds of the language of the middle country (*India*), or that they translated before they comprehended the local phrases: this was the cause of error. And for the same reason occur the mistakes about the time of Tathâgata's conception, birth, departure from his home, enlightenment, and *Nirvâṇa*, which we shall notice in the subsequent records.

5. *Towns and Buildings.*

The towns and villages have inner gates;[13] the walls are wide and high; the streets and lanes are tortuous, and the roads winding. The thoroughfares are dirty and

11 I have preferred not to alter the text, and so translate the passage literally. The "double period" of rest during the rainy season was an early ordinance, found in the *Vinaya*. It was so arranged that those who were prevented from arriving at the appointed time might begin their "rest" a month later. If, however, we suppose the symbol *liang* to be a mistake for *yu*, then the passage will run thus: "The priestly fraternity retired into fixed dwellings during the rainy season." See Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 254.

12 I cannot but think that *hia* and *la* in these phrases are intended to be phonetic equivalents for *Varsha*, and that the author is pointing out the error of those who adopted such inadequate sounds. M. Julien's explanation, however, may be the correct one (vid. Julien *in loc.*, n. 1).

13 Such is the meaning generally assigned to the symbols *leu yen*. I do not understand the translation given by Julien; the texts perhaps are different.

the stalls arranged on both sides of the road with appropriate signs. Butchers, fishers, dancers, executioners, and scavengers, and so on, have their abodes without the city. In coming and going these persons are bound to keep on the left side of the road till they arrive at their homes. Their houses are surrounded by low walls, and form the suburbs. The earth being soft and muddy, the walls of the towns are mostly built of brick or tiles. The towers on the walls are constructed of wood or bamboo; the houses have balconies and belvederes, which are made of wood, with a coating of lime or mortar, and covered with tiles. The different buildings have the same form as those in China: rushes, or dry branches, or tiles, or boards are used for covering them. The walls are covered with lime and mud, mixed with cow's dung for purity. At different seasons they scatter flowers about. Such are some of their different customs.

The *saṅghârâmas* are constructed with extraordinary skill. A three-storied tower[14] is erected at each of the four angles. The beams and the projecting heads are carved with great skill in different shapes. The doors, windows, and the low walls are painted profusely; the monks' cells are ornamental on the inside and plain on the outside.[15] In the very middle[16] of the building is the hall, high and wide. There are various storeyed chambers and turrets of different height and shape, without any fixed rule. The doors open towards the east; the royal throne also faces the east.

[14] The phrase *chung koh* means "a storeyed room or pavilion;" so at least I understand it. M. Julien translates as though it meant a double-storeyed room, or a pavilion with *two* storeys. The passage literally translated is: "Angle towers rise on the four sides; there are (or they are) storeyed buildings of three stages."

[15] I take *li shu* to mean "the monks" or "the religious," the dark-clad.

[16] The phrase *ngau shih* may mean "the sleeping apartments," as Julien translates; but I hesitate to give it this meaning, because the monks slept in their cells, and not in a dormitory. The hall I take to be the hall for religious worship. The account here given corresponds very closely with the description of the

6. *Seats, Clothing, &c.*

When they sit *or rest* they all use mats;[17] the royal family and the great personages and assistant officers use mats variously ornamented, but in size they are the same. The throne of the reigning sovereign is large and high, and much adorned with precious gems: it is called the Lion-throne (*siṁhâsana*). It is covered with extremely fine drapery; the footstool is adorned with gems. The nobility use beautifully painted and enriched seats, according to their taste.

7. *Dress, Habits, &c.*

Their clothing is not cut or fashioned; they mostly affect fresh-white garments; they esteem little those of mixed colour or ornamented. The men wind their garments round their middle, then gather them under the armpits, and let them fall down across the body, hanging to the right. The robes of the women fall down to the ground; they completely cover their shoulders. They wear a little knot of hair on their crowns, and let the rest of their hair fall loose. Some of the men cut off their moustaches, and have other odd customs. On their heads the people wear caps (*crowns*), with flower-wreaths and jewelled necklets. Their garments are made of *Kiau-she-ye* (kauśêya) and of cotton. *Kiau-she-ye* is the product of the wild silkworm. They have garments also of *Ts'o-mo* (kshauma), which is a sort of hemp; garments also made of *Kien-po-lo* (kambala) which is woven from fine goat-hair; garments also made from *Ho-la-li* (karâla)[18] This stuff is made from the fine hair of a wild animal: it is seldom this can be woven, and therefore the stuff is very valuable, and it is regarded as fine clothing.

In North India, where the air is cold, they wear short

Vihâras in Nepâl at the present day.

[17] The expression here used may mean "matted beds" or "seats." It is commonly used to denote the *nishadyâ* (Pâli, *nisîdanaṁ*) or mats used by Buddhists.

[18] The Japanese equivalents are *Ka-ra-tsi*.

and close-fitting garments, like the Hu people. The dress and ornaments worn by non-believers are varied and mixed. Some wear peacocks' feathers; some wear as ornaments necklaces made of skull bones (the *Kapâladhârinas*); some have no clothing, but go naked (*Nirgranthas*); some wear leaf or bark garments; some pull out their hair and cut off their moustaches; others have bushy whiskers and their hair braided on the top of their heads. The costume is not uniform, and the colour, whether red or white, not constant.

The Shamans (Śramaṇas) have only three kinds [19] of robes, viz., the *Sang-kio-ki*, the *Ni-fo-si-na*. The cut of the three robes is not the same, but depends on the school. Some have wide or narrow borders, others have small or large flaps. The *Sang-kio-ki* covers the left shoulder and conceals the two armpits. It is worn open on the left and closed on the right. It is cut longer than the waist. The *Ni-fo-se-na* has neither girdle nor tassels. When putting it on, it is plaited in folds and worn round the loins with a cord fastening. The schools differ as to the colour of this garment: both yellow and red are used.

The Kshattriyas and the Brâhmaṇs are cleanly and wholesome in their dress, and they live in a homely and frugal way. The king of the country and the great ministers wear garments and ornaments different in their character. They use flowers for decorating their hair, with gem-decked caps; they ornament themselves with bracelets and necklaces.

There are rich merchants who deal exclusively [20] in gold trinkets, and so on. They mostly go bare-footed; few wear sandals. They stain their teeth red or black; they bind up their hair and pierce their ears; they ornament [21] their noses, and have large eyes. Such is their appearance.

[19] There are only two names given in the text. The first, viz., the *Seng-kia-chi—Saṅghaṭi* is omitted. The other two are the *Saṅkakshikâ* and the *Nivâsana*.

[20] It may also mean that the great merchants use only bracelets.

[21] This may also mean "they have handsome noses."

8. *Cleanliness, Ablutions, &c.*

They are very particular in their personal cleanliness, and allow no remissness in this particular. All wash themselves before eating; they never use that which has been left over (*from a former meal*); they do not pass the dishes. Wooden and stone vessels, when used, must be destroyed; vessels of gold, silver, copper, or iron after each meal must be rubbed and polished. After eating they cleanse their teeth with a willow stick, and wash their hands and mouth.

Until these ablutions are finished they do not touch one another. Every time they perform the functions of nature they wash their bodies and use perfumes of sandal-wood or turmeric.

When the king washes[22] they strike the drums and sing hymns to the sound of musical instruments. Before offering their religious services and petitions, they wash and bathe themselves.

9. *Writing, Language, Books, the Vêdas, Study.*

The letters of their alphabet were arranged by Brahmâdêva, and their forms have been handed down from the first till now. They are forty-seven in number, and are combined so as to form words according to the object, and according to circumstances (*of time or place*): there are other forms (*inflexions*) used. This alphabet has spread in different directions and formed diverse branches, according to circumstances; therefore there have been slight modifications in the sounds of the words (*spoken language*); but in its great features there has been no change. Middle India preserves the original character of the language in its integrity. Here the pronunciation is soft and agreeable, and like the language of the Dêvas. The pronunciation of the words is clear and pure, and fit as a

[22] Julien translates "when the king is going out;" but in my copy it is as in the text.

model for all men. The people of the frontiers have contracted several erroneous modes of pronunciation; for according to the licentious habits of the people, so also will be the corrupt nature of their language.

With respect to the records of events, each province has its own official for preserving them in writing. The record of these events in their full character is called *Ni-lo-pi-ch'a* (Nîlapiṭa, *blue deposit*). In these records are mentioned good and evil events, with calamities and fortunate occurrences.

To educate and encourage the young, they are first taught (*led*) to study the book of twelve chapters (*Siddhavastu*).[23]

After arriving at the age of seven years and upwards, the young are instructed in the five *Vidyâs*, *Śâstras* of great importance.[24] The first is called the elucidation of sounds (*Śabdavidyâ*.) This treatise explains and illustrates the agreement (*concordance*) of words, and it provides an index for derivatives.

The second *vidyâ* is called *Kiau-ming* (*Śilpasthânavidyâ*); it treats of the arts, mechanics, explains the principles of the *Yin* and *Yang* and the calendar.

The third is called the medicinal treatise (*Chikitsâvidyâ*); it embraces formulæ for protection, secret charms (*the use of*) medicinal stones, acupuncture, and mugwort.

The fourth *vidyâ* is called the *Hêtuvidyâ* (*science of causes*); its name is derived from the character of the work, which relates to the determination of the true and false, and reduces to their last terms the definition of right and wrong.

The fifth *vidyâ* is called the science of "the interior"

[23] This work in twelve chapters is that called *Siddhavastu* (*Sih-ti-chang*) in the *Fan-i-ming-i-tsi* (book xiv. 17 a). It is called *Sih-ti-lo-su-to* by I-tsing (*Nan häc*, iv. 8 a) by mistake for *Sih-ti-po-su-to*, *i.e.*, *Siddhavastu*. For some remarks on this subject see Max Müller's letter to the *Academy*, Sept. 25, 1880; also *Indian Antiq.*, vol. ix, p. 307.

[24] Or, it may be translated "the great *Sástra*, or *Sástras* of the five *Vidyâs*," in Chinese, *Ming*. See below, Book iii. note 102.

(*Adhyâtmavidyâ*); it relates to the five vehicles,[25] their causes and consequences, and the subtle influences of these.

The Brâhmaṇs study the four *Vêda Sâstras*. The first is called *Shau* (*longevity*); it relates to the preservation of life and the regulation of the natural condition. The second is called *Sse* (*sacrifice*); it relates to the (*rules of*) sacrifice and prayer. The third is called *Ping* (*peace* or *regulation*); it relates to decorum, casting of lots, military affairs, and army regulations. The fourth is called *Shu* (*secret mysteries*); it relates to various branches of science, incantations, medicine.[26]

The teachers (*of these works*) must themselves have closely studied the deep and secret principles they contain, and penetrated to their remotest meaning. They then explain their general sense, and guide their pupils in understanding the words which are difficult. They urge them on and skilfully conduct them. They add lustre to their poor knowledge, and stimulate the desponding. If they find that their pupils are satisfied with their acquirements, and so wish to escape to attend to their worldly duties, then they use means to keep them in their power. When they have finished their education, and have attained thirty years of age, then their character is formed and their knowledge ripe. When they have secured an occupation they first of all thank their master for his attention. There are some, deeply versed in antiquity, who devote themselves to elegant studies, and live apart from the world, and retain the simplicity of their character. These rise above mundane presents, and are as insensible to renown as to the contempt of the world. Their name having spread afar, the rulers appreciate them highly, but

25 The five Vehicles, *i.e.*, the five degrees of religious advance among the Buddhists: (1) The vehicle of Buddha, (2) of the Bôdhisattvas, (3) of the Pratyêka Buddha, (4) of the ordained disciple, (5) of the lay disciple.

26 The four *Vêdas*, in the order they are here spoken of, are the *Âyur Vêda*, the *Yajur Vêda*, the *Sâma Vêda*, the *Atharva Vêda*.

are unable to draw them to the court. The chief of the country honours them on account of their (*mental*) gifts, and the people exalt their fame and render them universal homage. This is the reason of their devoting themselves to their studies with ardour and resolution, without any sense of fatigue. They search for wisdom, relying on their own resources. Although they are possessed of large wealth, yet they will wander here and there to seek their subsistence. There are others who, whilst attaching value to letters, will yet without shame consume their fortunes in wandering about for pleasure, neglecting their duties. They squander their substance in costly food and clothing. Having no virtuous principle, and no desire to study, they are brought to disgrace, and their infamy is widely circulated.

So, according to the class they belong to, all gain knowledge of the doctrine of Tathâgáta; but, as the time is distant since the holy one lived, his doctrine is presented in a changed form, and so it is understood, rightly or not, according to the intelligence of those who inquire into it.

10. *Buddhist Schools, Books, Discussions, Discipline.*

The different schools are constantly at variance, and their contending utterances rise like the angry waves of the sea. The different sects have their separate masters, and in various directions aim at one end.

There are Eighteen schools, each claiming pre-eminence. The partisans of the Great and Little Vehicle are content to dwell apart. There are some who give themselves up to quiet contemplation, and devote themselves, whether walking or standing still or sitting down, to the acquirement of wisdom and insight; others, on the contrary, differ from these in raising noisy contentions about their faith. According to their fraternity, they are governed by distinctive rules and regulations, which we need not name.

The *Vinaya* (*liu*), discourses (*lun*), *sûtras* (*king*), are equally Buddhist books. He who can entirely explain one class of these books is exempted from the control of

the *karmadâna*. If he can explain two classes, he receives in addition the equipments of an upper seat (*room*); he who can explain three classes has allotted to him different servants to attend to and obey him; he who can explain four classes has "pure men" (*upâsakas*) allotted to him as attendants; he who can explain five classes of books is then allowed an elephant carriage; he who can explain six classes of books is allowed a surrounding escort. When a man's renown has reached to a high distinction, then at different times he convokes an assembly for discussion. He judges of the superior or inferior talent of those who take part in it; he distinguishes their good or bad points; he praises the clever and reproves the faulty; if one of the assembly distinguishes himself by refined language, subtle investigation, deep penetration, and severe logic, then he is mounted on an elephant covered with precious ornaments, and conducted by a numerous suite to the gates of the convent.

If, on the contrary, one of the members breaks down in his argument, or uses poor and inelegant phrases, or if he violates a rule in logic and adapts his words accordingly, they proceed to disfigure his face with red and white, and cover his body with dirt and dust, and then carry him off to some deserted spot or leave him in a ditch. Thus they distinguish between the meritorious and the worthless, between the wise and the foolish.

The pursuit of pleasure belongs to a worldly life, to follow knowledge to a religious life; to return to a worldly life from one of religion is considered blameworthy. If one breaks the rules of discipline, the transgressor is publicly reproved: for a slight fault a reprimand is given or a temporary banishment (*enforced silence*); for a grave fault expulsion is enforced. Those who are thus expelled for life go out to seek some dwelling-place, or, finding no place of refuge, wander about the roads; sometimes they go back to their old occupation (*resume lay life*).

11. *Castes—Marriage.*

With respect to the division of families, there are four classifications. The first is called the Brâhmaṇ (*Po-lo-men*), men of pure conduct. They guard themselves in religion, live purely, and observe the most correct principles. The second is called Kshattriya (*T'sa-ti-li*), the royal caste. For ages they have been the governing class: they apply themselves to virtue (*humanity*) and kindness. The third is called Vaiśyas (*feï-she-li*), the merchant class: they engage in commercial exchange, and they follow profit at home and abroad. The fourth is called Śûdra (*Shu-t'o-lo*), the agricultural class: they labour in ploughing and tillage. In these four classes purity or impurity of caste assigns to every one his place. When they marry they rise or fall in position according to their new relationship. They do not allow promiscuous marriages between relations. A woman once married can never take another husband. Besides these there are other classes of many kinds that intermarry according to their several callings. It would be difficult to speak of these in detail.

12. *Royal Family, Troops, Weapons.*

The succession of kings is confined to the Kshattriya (*T'sa-li*) caste, who by usurpation and bloodshed have from time to time raised themselves to power. Although a distinct caste, they are regarded as honourable (*or* lords).

The chief soldiers of the country are selected from the bravest of the people, and as the sons follow the profession of their fathers, they soon acquire a knowledge of the art of war. These dwell in garrison around the palace (*during peace*), but when on an expedition they march in front as an advanced guard. There are four divisions of the army, viz.—(1) the infantry, (2) the cavalry, (3) the chariots, (4) the elephants.[27] The elephants are covered with strong armour, and their tusks are provided with

[27] *I.e.*, the *pattakâya*, *aśvakâya*, *rathakâya*, and *hastikâya* divisions.

sharp spurs. A leader in a car gives the command, whilst two attendants on the right and left drive his chariot, which is drawn by four horses abreast. The general of the soldiers remains in his chariot; he is surrounded by a file of guards, who keep close to his chariot wheels.

The cavalry spread themselves in front to resist an attack, and in case of defeat they carry orders hither and thither. The infantry by their quick movements contribute to the defence. These men are chosen for their courage and strength. They carry a long spear and a great shield; sometimes they hold a sword or sabre, and advance to the front with impetuosity. All their weapons of war are sharp and pointed. Some of them are these—spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins, and various kinds of slings.[28] All these they have used for ages.

13. *Manners, Administration of Law, Ordeals.*

With respect to the ordinary people, although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises. In their rules of government there is remarkable rectitude, whilst in their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness. With respect to criminals or rebels, these are few in number, and only occasionally troublesome. When the laws are broken or the power of the ruler violated, then the matter is clearly sifted and the offenders imprisoned. There is no infliction of corporal punishment; they are simply left to live or die, and are not counted among men. When the rules of propriety or

[28] Compare the weapons in the hands of soldiers represented in the Ajaṇṭâ frescoes.—Burgess, *Notes on the Buddhist Rock-Temples of Ajaṇṭâ*, &c., pp. 11, 20, 51, 67, 68, 72, 73, &c.

justice are violated, or when a man fails in fidelity or filial piety, then they cut his nose or his ears off, or his hands and feet, or expel him from the country or drive him out into the desert wilds. For other faults, except these, a small payment of money will redeem the punishment. In the investigation of criminal cases there is no use of rod or staff to obtain proofs (*of guilt*). In questioning an accused person, if he replies with frankness the punishment is proportioned accordingly; but if the accused obstinately denies his fault, or in despite of it attempts to excuse himself, then in searching out the truth to the bottom, when it is necessary to pass sentence, there are four kinds of ordeal used—(1) by water, (2) by force, (3) by weighing, (4) by poison.

When the ordeal is by water, then the accused is placed in a sack connected with a stone vessel and thrown into deep water. They then judge of his innocence (*truth*) or guilt in this way—if the man sinks and the stone floats he is guilty; but if the man floats and the stone sinks then he is pronounced innocent.

Secondly, by fire. They heat a plate of iron and make the accused sit on it, and again place his feet on it, and apply it to the palms of his hands; moreover, he is made to pass his tongue over it; if no scars result, he is innocent; if there are scars, his guilt is proved. In case of weak and timid persons who cannot endure such ordeal, they take a flower-bud and cast it towards the fire; if it opens, he is innocent; if the flower is burnt, he is guilty.

Ordeal by weight is this: A man and a stone are placed in a balance evenly, then they judge according to lightness or weight. If the accused is innocent, then the man weighs down the stone, which rises in the balance; if he is guilty, the man rises and the stone falls.

Ordeal by poison is this: They take a ram and make an incision in its right thigh, then mixing all sorts of poison with a portion of the food of the accused man, they place it in the incision made in the thigh (*of the ani-*

mal); if the man is guilty, then the poison takes effect and the creature dies; if he is innocent, then the poison has no effect, and he survives.

By these four methods of trial the way of crime is stopped.

14. *Forms of Politeness.*

There are nine methods of showing outward respect—(1) by selecting words of a soothing character in making requests; (2) by bowing the head to show respect; (3) by raising the hands and bowing; (4) by joining the hands and bowing low; (5) by bending the knee; (6) by a prostration;[29] (7) by a prostration on hands and knees; (8) by touching the ground with the five circles; (9) by stretching the five parts of the body on the ground.

Of these nine methods the most respectful is to make one prostration on the ground and then to kneel and laud the virtues of the one addressed. When at a distance it is usual to bow low;[30] when near, then it is customary to kiss the feet and rub the ankles (*of the person addressed*).

Whenever orders are received at the hands of a superior, the person lifts the skirts of his robes and makes a prostration. The superior or honourable person who is thus reverenced must speak gently (*to the inferior*), either touching his head or patting his back, and addressing him with good words of direction or advice to show his affection.

When a Śramaṇa, or one who has entered on the religious life, has been thus respectfully addressed, he simply replies by expressing a good wish (*vow*).

Not only do they prostrate themselves to show reverence, but they also turn round towards the thing reverenced in many ways, sometimes with one turn, sometimes with three: if from some long-cherished feeling there is a call for marked reverence, then according to the desire of the person.

29 To kneel on all-fours.—Wells Williams.
30 *K'i sang*, to bow to the ground.—W. W.

15. *Medicines, Funeral Customs, &c.*

Every one who falls sick fasts for seven days. During this interval many recover, but if the sickness lasts they take medicine. The character of these medicines is different, and their names also. The doctors differ in their modes of examination and treatment.

When a person dies, those who attend the funeral raise lamentable cries and weep together. They rend their garments and loosen their hair; they strike their heads and beat their breasts. There are no regulations as to dress for mourning, nor any fixed time for observing it.

There are three methods of paying the last tribute to the dead: (1) by cremation—wood being made into a pyre, the body is burnt; (2) by water—the body is thrown into deep flowing water and abandoned; (3) by desertion—the body is cast into some forest-wild, to be devoured by beasts.

When the king dies, his successor is first appointed, that he may preside at the funeral rites and fix the different points of precedence. Whilst living they give (*their rulers*) titles according to their character (*virtue*); when dead there are no posthumous titles.

In a house where there has been a death there is no eating allowed; but after the funeral they resume their usual (*habits*). There are no anniversaries (*of the death*) observed. Those who have attended a death they consider unclean; they all bathe outside the town and then enter their houses.

The old and infirm who come near to death, and those entangled in a severe sickness, who fear to linger to the end of their days, and through disgust wish to escape the troubles of life, or those who desire release from the trifling affairs of the world and its concerns (*the concerns of life*), these, after receiving a farewell meal at the hands of their relatives or friends, they place, amid the sounds of music, on a boat which they propel into the midst of

the Ganges, where such persons drown themselves. They think thus to secure a birth among the Dêvâs. Rarely one of these may be seen not yet dead on the borders (*of the river*).

The priests are not allowed to lament or cry for the dead; when a father or mother of a priest dies they recite their prayers, recounting (*pledging*) their obligations to them; reflecting on the past, they carefully attend to them now dead. They expect by this to increase the mysterious character of their religious merit.

16. *Civil Administration, Revenues, &c.*

As the administration of the government is founded on benign principles, the executive is simple. The families are not entered on registers, and the people are not subject to forced labour (*conscription*). The private demesnes of the crown are divided into four principal parts; the first is for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings; the second is for providing subsidies for the ministers and chief officers of state; the third is for rewarding men of distinguished ability; and the fourth is for charity to religious bodies, whereby the field of merit is cultivated (*planted*). In this way the taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate. Each one keeps his own worldly goods in peace, and all till the ground for their subsistence. These who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute. The merchants who engage in commerce come and go in carrying out their transactions. The river-passages and the road-barriers are open on payment of a small toll. When the public works require it, labour is exacted but paid for. The payment is in strict proportion to the work done.

The military guard the frontiers, or go out to punish the refractory. They also mount guard at night round the palace. The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of the service; they are promised certain payments

and are publicly enrolled. The governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land consigned to them for their personal support.

17. *Plants and Trees, Agriculture, Food, Drink, Cookery.*

The climate and the quality of the soil being different according to situation, the produce of the land is various in its character. The flowers and plants, the fruits and trees are of different kinds, and have distinct names. There is, for instance, the Amala fruit (*Ngán-mo-lo*), the Âmla fruit (*Ngán-mi-lo*), the Madhuka fruit (*Mo-tu-kia*), the Bhadra fruit (*po-ta-lo*), the Kapittha fruit (*kie-pi-ta*), the Amalâ fruit (*'O-mo-lo*), the Tinduka fruit (*Chin-tu-kia*), the Udumbara fruit (*Wu-tan-po-lo*), the Môcha fruit (*Mau-che*), the Nârikêla fruit (*Na-li-ki-lo*), the Panasa fruit (*Pan-na-so*). It would be difficult to enumerate all the kinds of fruit; we have briefly named those most esteemed by the people. As for the date (*Tsau*), the chestnut (*Lih*), the loquat (*P'i*), and the persimmon (*Thi*), they are not known. The pear (*Li*), the wild plum (*Nai*), the peach (*T'au*), the apricot (*Hang* or *Mui*), the grape (*Po-tau*), &c., these all have been brought from the country of Kaśmîr, and are found growing on every side. Pomegranates and sweet oranges are grown everywhere.

In cultivating the land, those whose duty it is sow and reap, plough and harrow (*weed*), and plant according to the season; and after their labour they rest awhile. Among the products of the ground, rice and corn are most plentiful. With respect to edible herbs and plants, we may name ginger and mustard, melons and pumpkins, the *Heun-to* (*Kaṇḍu?*) plant, and others. Onions and garlic are little grown; and few persons eat them; if any one uses them for food, they are expelled beyond the walls of the town. The most usual food is milk, butter, cream, soft sugar, sugar-candy, the oil of the mustard-seed, and all sorts of cakes made of corn are used as food. Fish,

mutton, gazelle, and deer they eat generally fresh, sometimes salted; they are forbidden to eat the flesh of the ox, the ass, the elephant, the horse, the pig, the dog, the fox, the wolf, the lion, the monkey, and all the hairy kind. Those who eat them are despised and scorned, and are universally reprobated; they live outside the walls, and are seldom seen among men.

With respect to the different kinds of wine and liquors, there are various sorts. The juice of the grape and sugar-cane, these are used by the Kshattriyas as drink; the Vaiśyas use strong fermented drinks;[31] the Śramaṇs and Brâhmaṇs drink a sort of syrup made from the grape or sugar-cane, but not of the nature of fermented wine.[32]

The mixed classes and base-born differ in no way (*as to food or drink*) from the rest, except in respect of the vessels they use, which are very different both as to value and material. There is no lack of suitable things for household use. Although they have saucepans and stew-pans, yet they do not know the steamer used for cooking rice. They have many vessels made of dried clay; they seldom use red copper vessels: they eat from one vessel, mixing all sorts of condiments together, which they take up with their fingers. They have no spoons or cups, and in short no sort of chopstick. When sick, however, they use copper drinking cups.

18. *Commercial Transactions.*

Gold and silver, *teou-shih* (native copper), white jade, fire pearls,[33] are the natural products of the country; there are besides these abundance of rare gems and various kinds of precious stones of different names, which are collected from the islands of the sea. These they exchange for other goods; and in fact they always barter in their com-

31 *Shun lo*, high-flavoured spirits.

32 Called, therefore, "not-wine-body," *i.e.*, non-alcoholic.

33 If *fo* is a mistake for *kiang*, as it probably is, the substance would be "amber."

mercial transactions, for they have no gold or silver coins, pearl shells, or little pearls.[34]

The boundaries of India and the neighbouring countries are herein fully described; the differences of climate and soil are briefly alluded to. Details referring to these points are grouped together, and are stated succinctly; and in referring to the different countries, the various customs and modes of administration are fully detailed.

LAN-PO [LAMGHÂN].

The kingdom of Lan-po[35] is about 1000 li in circuit, and on the north is backed by the Snowy Mountains; on three sides it is surrounded by the Black-ridge Mountains. The capital of the country is about 10 li in circuit. As for some centuries the royal family has been extinct, the chiefs have disputed for power among themselves, without the acknowledged superiority of any one in particular. Lately it has become tributary to Kapiśa. The country is adapted for the production of rice, and there are many forests of sugar-cane. The trees, though they produce many fruits, yet few are ripened. The climate is backward; the hoar-frosts are plenty, but not much snow. In common there is abundance and contentment. The men (*people*) are given to music. Naturally they are untrustworthy and thievish; their disposition is exacting one over the other, and they never give another the preference over themselves. In respect of stature they are little, but they are active and impetuous. Their garments are made of white linen for the most part, and what they

[34] This translation differs from Julien's. The text is probably corrupt.

[35] Lan-po corresponds with the present Lamghân, a small country lying along the northern bank of the Kâbul river, bounded on the west and east by the Alingar and Kunar rivers.—Cunningham. The Sanskrit name of the district is Lampaka, and the Lampâkas are said to be also called Murandas (*Mahâbh.*, vii. 4847; Reinaud, *Mém. s. l'Inde*, p. 353; and Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. p. 877, vol. iii. p. 136 f.). Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 42) places a tribe called Λαμπάται, Λαμβάται, or Λαμπᾶγαι in this district. The modern name is vulgarly pronounced Laghmân. See Baber's *Memoirs*, pp. 133, 136, 140 ff.; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 43.

wear is well appointed. There are about ten *saṅghârâmas*, with few followers (*priests*). The greater portion study the Great Vehicle. There are several scores of different Dêva temples. There are few heretics. Going south-east from this country 100 li or so, we cross a great mountain (*ridge*), pass a wide river, and so come to Na-kie-lo-ho [the frontiers of North India].

NA-KIE-LO-HO [NAGARAHÂRA].

The country of Nagarahâra (Na-kie-lo-ho) is about 600 li from east to west, and 250 or 260 li from north to south. It is surrounded on four sides by overhanging precipices and natural barriers. The capital is 20 li or so in circuit.[36] It has no chief ruler; the commandant and his subordinates come from Kapiśa. The country is rich in cereals, and produces a great quantity of flowers and fruits. The climate is moist and warm. Their manners are simple and honest, their disposition ardent and courageous. They think lightly of wealth and love learning. They cultivate the religion of Buddha, and few believe in other doctrines. The *saṅghârâmas* are many, but yet the priests are few; the *stûpas* are desolate and ruined. There are five Dêva temples, with about one hundred worshippers.[37]

[36] The situation of the town of Nagarahâra (the old capital of the Jalâlâbâd district) has been satisfactorily determined by Mr. W. Simpson (*J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 183). He places the site of the town in the angle formed by the junction of the Surkhar and Kâbul rivers, on their right banks. Both the direction and the distance from Lamghân (about twenty miles south-east) would place us on this spot. The mountains crossed by the pilgrim were the Siâh Kôh, and the river would be probably the Kâbul river at Darunta. The Sanskrit name—Nagarahâra—occurs in an inscription which was discovered by Major Kittoe in the ruined mound of Ghosrâwâ in the district of Bihâr (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. xvii. pt. i. pp. 492, 494, 498 f.) The district corresponds with the Νάγαρα Διονυσόπολις of Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 43). It is called the city of Dîpaṅkara by Hwui-lih (*Jul. Vie*, p. 78), just as he calls Hidda the city of "the skull-bone" (*l. c.*) Conf. Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. iii. p. 137.

[37] Worshippers or "men of different religious faith." The usual term for "non-believer" in Chinese is *wai-tau*, an "outside-religion man." This term corresponds with the Pâli *bâhiro*, used in the same way. The Buddhists are now spoken of by the Muhammadans as *Kaffir log*, "infidel people" (Simpson, *u. s.*, p. 186.

Three li to the east of the city there is a *stûpa* in height about 300 feet, which was built by Aśôka Râja. It is wonderfully constructed[38] of stone beautifully adorned and carved. Śâkya, when a Bôdhisattva, here met Dîpaṅkara[39] Buddha (*Jen-tang-fo*), and spreading out his deerskin doublet, and unbinding his hair and covering with it the muddy road, received a predictive assurance. Though the passed kalpa brought the overthrow of the world, the trace of this event was not destroyed; on religious (*fast*) days the sky rains down all sorts of flowers, which excite a religious frame of mind in the people, who also offer up religious offerings.

To the west of this place is a *Kia-lan* (*saṅghârâma*) with a few priests. To the south is a small *stûpa*: this was the place where, in old time, Bôdhisattva covered the mud (*with his hair*). Aśôka-râja built (*this stûpa*) away from the road.[40]

Within the city is the ruined foundation of a great *stûpa*. Tradition says that it once contained a tooth of Buddha, and that it was high and of great magnificence. Now it has no tooth, but only the ancient foundations remain.

By its side is a *stûpa* 30 feet or so in height; the old stories of the place know nothing of the origin of this fabric; they say only that it fell from heaven and placed itself here. Being no work of man's art, it is clearly a spiritual prodigy.

[38] The Chinese expression seems to refer to the successive layers of checkered stones peculiar to these topes. See W. Simpson's and also Mr. Swinnerton's account.—*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. viii. pp. 198 & 227 f.

[39] The incident referred to in the text, viz., the interview between Dipaṅkara Buddha and the Bôdhisattva Sumedha, is a popular one in Buddhist sculpture and mythology. There is a representation of it among fragments in the Lahor Museum; another representation is among the sculptures of the Kanheri caves (*Archæol. Sur. W. Ind, Rep.*, vol. iv. p. 66). The legend I translated from the Chinese (*J. R. A. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vi. pp. 377 ff). Fa-hien also refers to it (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 43). See also some remarks on this legend, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. xi. p. 146; and conf. Rhys David's *Buddh. Birth-Stories*, pp. 3 f.

[40] This is a difficult passage, and is probably corrupt. The phrase "*ts'ui-pi*," towards the end, may mean "in an out-of-the-way place." The reference is to the spot where predictive assurance was given to Sumêdha that he should become a Buddha.

To the south-west of the city about 10 li is a *stûpa*. Here Tathâgata, when living in the world, alighted, having left Mid-India and passed through the air for the sake of converting men. The people, moved by reverence, erected this building. Not far to the east is a *stûpa*; it was here Bôdhisattva met Dîpaṅkara Buddha and bought the flowers.[41]

About 20 li to the south-west of the city we come to a small stone ridge, where there is a *saṅghârâma* with a high hall and a storied tower made of piled-up stone. It is now silent and deserted, with no priests. In the middle is a *stûpa* 200 feet or so in height, built by Aśôka-râja.

To the south-west of this *saṅghârâma* a deep torrent rushes from a high point of the hill and scatters its waters in leaping cascades. The mountain sides are like walls; on the eastern side of one is a great cavern, deep and profound, the abode of the Nâga Gôpâla. The gate (*or* entrance) leading to it is narrow; the cavern is dark; the precipitous rock causes the water to find its way in various rivulets into this cavern. In old days there was a shadow of Buddha to be seen here, bright as the true form, with all its characteristic marks.[42] In later days men have not seen it so much. What does appear is only a feeble likeness. But whoever prays with fervent faith, he is mysteriously endowed, and he sees it clearly before him, though not for long.

In old times, when Tathâgata was in the world, this dragon was a shepherd who provided the king with milk and cream. Having on one occasion failed to do so, and having received a reprimand, he proceeded in an angry temper to the *stûpa* of "the predictive assurance," and

[41] He bought the flowers of a girl, who consented to sell them only on condition that she should ever hereafter be born as his wife. See the account in the "Legend of Dipaṅkara Buddha" (*J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. vi. pp. 377 ff.) The incident of the flowers remaining over the head as a "baldachin," is represented in the Lahor sculpture referred to above, note 39. See Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Worship*, pl. L.

[42] See note 5 p. 1, and p. 145, note 76.

there made an offering of flowers, with the prayer that he might become a destructive dragon for the purpose of afflicting the country and destroying the king. Then ascending the rocky side of the hill, he threw himself down and was killed. Forthwith he became a great dragon and occupied this cavern, and then he purposed to go forth and accomplish his original wicked purpose. When this intention had risen within him, Tathâgata, having examined what was his object, was moved with pity for the country and the people about to be destroyed by the dragon. By his spiritual power he came from Mid-India to where the dragon was. The dragon seeing Tathâgata, his murderous purpose was stayed, and he accepted the precept against killing, and vowed to defend the true law; he requested Tathâgata to occupy this cavern evermore, that his holy disciples might ever receive his (*the dragon's*) religious offerings.[43]

Tathâgata replied, "When I am about to die; I will leave you my shadow, and I will send five Arhats to receive from you continual offerings. When the true law is destroyed,[44] this service of yours shall still go on; if an evil heart rises in you, you must look at my shadow, and because of its power of love and virtue your evil purpose will be stopped. The Buddhas who will appear throughout this *Bhadra-kalpa*[45] will all, from a motive of pity, intrust to you their shadows as a bequest." Outside the gate of the Cavern of the Shadow there are two square stones; on one is the impression of the foot of Tathâgata, with a wheel-circle (*lun-siang*) beautifully clear, which shines with a brilliant light from time to time.

On either side of the Cavern of the Shadow there are

[43] This is evidently the meaning of the passage: the request was, *not* that the dragon might dwell in the cavern, but that Tathâgata would live there with his disciples. Fa-hian refers to this cave.

[44] The "true law" was to last 500 years; the "law of images" 1000 years.

[45] This period is that in which we now are, during which 1000 Buddhas are to appear.

several stone chambers; in these the holy disciples of Tathâgata reposed in meditation.

At the north-west corner of the cave of the shadow is a *stûpa* where Buddha walked up and down. Beside this is a *stûpa* which contains some of the hair and the nail-parings of Tathâgata.

Not far from this is a *stûpa* where Tathâgata, making manifest the secret principles of his true doctrine, declared the *Skandha-dhâtu-âyatanas* (*Yun-kiaï-king*).[46]

At the west of the Cave of the Shadow is a vast rock, on which Tathâgata in old time spread out his *kashâya*[47] robe after washing it; the marks of the tissue still exist.

To the south-east of the city 30 li or so is the town of Hi-lo (Hiḍḍa);[48] it is about 4 or 5 li in circuit; it is high in situation and strong by natural declivities. It has flowers and woods, and lakes whose waters are bright as a mirror. The people of this city are simple, honest, and upright. There is here a two-storied tower; the beams are painted and the columns coloured red.

[46] The symbol "*chu*" (*âyatana*) in this passage must be connected with the previous "*yun kiaï*." The *yun kiaï chu* are the eighteen *dhâtus*, for which see Childers' *Pâli Dict.* (*sub voc.*) Vide also the *S'urańgama Sûtra* (*Catena of Buddhist Scrip.*, p. 297 n. 2). There is no word in my text for *king*, given by Julien.

[47] *Kashâya* refers to the colour of the Buddhist upper robe, which was of brick-red or yellow colour (*kashaya*).

[48] The city of Hi-lo or Hidda (concerning which restoration, see V. de St. Martin's *Mém.*, *u. s.*, p. 304), about six miles south-east of Nagarahâra, is described by Fa-hian (cap. xiii.) The *Vihâra* of the skull-bone is there said to be placed within a square enclosure, and it is added, "though the heavens should quake and the earth open, this place would remain unmoved." Compare with this the remark of Hiuen Tsiang respecting Śvêtavâras (*sup.* p. 61) and its name of Τετραγωνις. It is curious, too, that this place (the neighbourhood of Hiḍḍa) is called Bêgrâm, and so also is Śvêtavâras (*i.e.*, Karsana or Tetragônis). Both Bêgrâm and Nagara appear to mean "the city." This town or Nagarahâra may be the Nyssa or Nysa of Arrian (lib. v. cap. i.) and Curtius (lib. viii. cap. x. 7), in which case there would be no need to derive Dionysopolis—the Nagara of Ptolemy—from Udyânapura, although, as General Cunningham remarks (*Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, p. 46), the name Ajûna, given to Nagarahâra (according to Masson) might well be corrupted from Ujjâna or Udyâna. Compare with the text the account found in Hwui-lih (*Vie*, p. 76). Conf. *Nouv. Jour. Asiatique*, tom. vii. pp. 338 f.; Masson, *Var. Jour.*, vol. iii. pp. 254 ff.; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 43, 105 f.

In the second storey is a little *stûpa*, made of the seven precious substances; it contains the skull-bone of Tathâgata; it is 1 foot 2 inches round; the hair orifices are distinct; its colour is a whitish-yellow. It is enclosed in a precious receptacle, which is placed in the middle of the *stûpa*. Those who wish to make lucky or unlucky presages (*marks*) make a paste of scented earth, and impress it on the skull-bone; then, according to their merit, is the impression made.

Again there is another little *stûpa*, made of the seven precious substances, which encloses the skull-bone of Tathâgata. Its shape is like a lotus leaf;[49] its colour is the same as that of the other, and it is also contained in a precious casket, sealed up and fastened.

Again, there is another little *stûpa*, made of the seven precious substances, in which is deposited the eyeball of Tathâgata, large as an *Âmra* fruit and bright and clear throughout; this also is deposited in a precious casket sealed up and fastened. The *Saṅghâṭî* robe of Tathâgata, which is made of fine cotton stuff of a yellow-red colour,[50] is also enclosed in a precious box. Since many months and years have passed, it is a little damaged. The staff[51] of Tathâgata, of which the rings are white iron (*tin?*) and the stick of sandalwood, is contained in a precious case (*a case made of a precious substance*). Lately, a king, hearing of these various articles that they formerly belonged to Tathâgata as his own private property, took them away by force to his own country and placed them in his palace. After a short time,[52] going to look at them, they were gone;

49 The *ho hwa* is the water-lily, but it is also a general name for mallows (Medhurst, *s. v.*) This bone is that of the *ushṇîsha* or top of the skull.

50 Such seems to be the meaning. Julien has taken it as though *kia-sha* referred to another garment, but it seems merely to denote the robe called *Saṅghâṭî*.

51 The religious staff, *khakkharam* or *hikkala*, was so called from the noise it made when shaken. Conf. *hikk*; Ch. *sek*; *Sek cheung*, an abbot's crosier or staff (Wells Williams). It is described in the *Sha-men-yih-yung* (fol. 14 a). See p. 47, *ante*.

52 Scarcely had an hour elapsed.

and after further inquiries he found they had returned to their original place. These five sacred objects (*relics*) often work miracles.

The king of Kapiśa has commanded five pure-conduct men (*Brâhmaṇs*) to offer continually scents and flowers to these objects. These pure persons, observing the crowds who came to worship incessantly, wishing to devote themselves to quiet meditation, have established a scale of fixed charges, with a view to secure order, by means of that wealth which is so much esteemed by men. Their plan, in brief, is this:—All who wish to see the skull-bone of Tathâgata have to pay one gold piece; those who wish to take an impression pay five pieces. The other objects[53] in their several order, have a fixed price; and yet, though the charges are heavy, the worshippers are numerous.

To the north-west of the double-storied pavilion is a *stûpa*, not very high or large, but yet one which possesses many spiritual (*miraculous*) qualities. If men only touch it with a finger, it shakes and trembles to the foundation, and the bells and the jingles moving together give out a pleasant sound.

Going south-east from this, crossing mountains and valleys for 500 li or so, we arrive at the kingdom of Kien-t'o-lo (Gandhâra).

KIEN-T'O-LO—GANDHÂRA.

The kingdom of Gandhâra is about 1000 li from east to west, and about 800 li from north to south. On the east it borders on the river Sin (Sindh). The capital of the country is called Po-lu-sha-pu-lo;[54] it is about 40 li

[53] The phrase *tsze chu*, which is of frequent occurrence in Buddhist composition, seems to mean "moreover" or "besides this."

[54] The country of Gandhâra is that of the lower Kâbul valley, lying along the Kâbul river between the Khoaspes (Kunar) and the Indus. It is the country of the Gandaræ of Ptolemy (*Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 1, 7). The capital was Purushapura now Peshâwar. The Gandarii are mentioned by Hekataios (*Fr.* 178, 179) and Herodotos (lib. iii. c. 91, lib. vii. c.

in circuit. The royal family is extinct, and the kingdom is governed by deputies from Kapiśa. The towns and villages are deserted, and there are but few inhabitants. At one corner of the royal residence[55] there are about 1000 families The country is rich in cereals, and produces a variety of flowers and fruits; it abounds also in sugar-cane, from the juice of which they prepare "the solid sugar." The climate is warm and moist, and in general without ice or snow. The disposition of the people is timid and soft: they love literature; most of them belong to heretical schools; a few believe in the true law. From old time till now this border-land of India has produced many authors of *śâstras*; for example, Nârâyaṇadêva,[56] Asaṅga Bôdhisattva, Vasubandhu Bôdhisattva, Dharmatrâta, Manôrhita, Pârśva the noble, and so on. There are about 1000 *saṅghârâmas*, which are deserted and in ruins. They are filled with wild shrubs,[57] and solitary to the last degree. The *stûpas* are mostly decayed. The heretical temples, to the number of about 100, are occupied pell-mell by heretics.

Inside the royal city, towards the north-east,[58] is an old foundation (*or* a ruinous foundation). Formerly this was the precious tower of the *pâtra* of Buddha. After the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha, his *pâtra* coming to this country, was

66), and the district of Gandaritis by Strabo (*Geog.*, lib. xv. c. 1, 26). See Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 125, 131; *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. v. p. 117; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. pp. 502 f., vol. ii. pp. 150, 854; *Pentapot*, pp. 15 f., 105; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xv. pp. 103, 106 f.; *Vishṇu-pur.*, vol. ii. pp. 169, 174, vol. iii. p. 319, vol. iv. p. 118; *Mahâbh.*, viii. 2055 f.; Troyer's *Râja-Taraṅginî*, tom. ii. pp. 316-321; Elliot, *Hist. Ind.*, vol. i. p. 48 n.; Bunbury, *Hist. Anc. Geog.*, vol. i. pp. 142, 238; Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 106 f. Pâṇini (iv. 2, 133) mentions the Gândhâra in the group Kachchhâdi.

[55] The *Kung shing* is the fortified or walled portion of the town, in which the royal palace stood.

[56] There is a symbol *puh* before this name, which, as Julien has remarked, is inserted by mistake. The Chinese equivalents for the names of these writers are as follows: Na-lo-yen-tin (Nârâyaṇadêva), Wu-ch'o-p'u-sa (Asaṅgha Bôdhisattva), Shi-shin-p'u-sa (Vasubandhu Bôdhisattva), Fa-kiu (Dharmatrâta), Ju-i (Manôrhita), Hie-tsun (Arya Pârśvika). All these, the text says, were born in Gandhâra.

[57] M. Julien has pointed out the error in the text and supplied this meaning.

[58] Julien has *north-west*.

worshipped during many centuries. In traversing different countries it has come now to Persia.[59]

Outside the city, about 8 or 9 li to the south-east, there is a pipala tree about 100 feet or so in height. Its branches are thick and the shade beneath sombre and deep. The four past Buddhas have sat beneath this tree, and at the present time there are four sitting figures of the Buddhas to be seen here. During the Bhadrakalpa, the 996 other Buddhas will all sit here. Secret spiritual influences guard the precincts of the tree and exert a protecting virtue in its continuance. Śâkya Tathâgata sat beneath this tree with his face to the south and addressed Ânanda thus:—"Four hundred years after my departure from the world, there will be a king who shall rule it called Kanishka (*Kia-ni-se-kia*); not far to the south of this spot he will raise a *stûpa* which will contain many various relics of my bones and flesh."

To the south of the Pippala tree is a *stûpa* built by King Kanishka; this king ascended the throne four hundred years after the *Nirvâṇa*,[60] and governed the whole of Jambudvîpa. He had no faith either in wrong or right (*crime or religious merit*), and he lightly esteemed the law of Buddha. One day when traversing a swampy grove (*bushy swamp*) he saw a white hare, which he followed as far as this spot, when suddenly it disappeared. He then saw a young shepherd-boy, who was building in the wood hard by a little *stûpa* about three feet high. The king said, "What are you doing?" The shepherd-boy answered and said, "Formerly Śâkya Buddha, by his divine wisdom, delivered this prophecy: 'There shall be a king in this victorious (*superior*) land who shall erect a *stûpa*, which shall contain a great portion of my bodily relics.' The sacred merits of the great king (*Kanishka*)

[59] For the wanderings of the *Pâtra* of Buddha (called in Chinese "the measure vessel," compare *graduale* and *grail*), see Fa-hian, pp. 36 f., 161 f.; Köppen, *Die Rel. des Buddha*, vol. i. p. 526; *J. R. A. S.*, vol. xi. p. 127; also consult Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. pp. 301, 310 f.

[60] See *ante*, p. 56, note 200, and *inf.* p 151, note 97.

in former births (*suh*), with his increasing fame, have made the present occasion a proper one for the fulfilment of the old prophecy relating to the divine merit and the religious superiority of the person concerned. And now I am engaged for the purpose of directing you to these former predictions."[61] Having said these words he disappeared.

The king hearing this explanation, was overjoyed. Flattering himself that he was referred to in the prophecy of the great saint, he believed with all his heart and paid reverence to the law of Buddha. Surrounding the site of the little *stûpa* he built a stone *stûpa*, wishing to surpass it in height, to prove the power of his religious merit. But in proportion as his *stûpa* increased the other always exceeded it by three feet, and so he went on till his reached 400 feet, and the circumference of the base was a li and a half. The storeys having reached to five, each 150 feet in height, then he succeeded in covering the other. The king, overjoyed, raised on the top of this *stûpa* twenty-five circlets of gilded copper on a staff, and he placed in the middle of the *stûpa* a peck of the *Śarîras* of Tathâgata, and offered to them religious offerings. Scarcely had he finished his work when he saw the little *stûpa* take its place at the south-east of the great foundation, and project from its side about half-way up.[62] The king was disturbed

[61] Or, to arouse you to a sense of your destiny (your previous forecast).

[62] Julien translates this differently—"he saw the little *stûpa* raise itself by the side of the other and exceed it by one-half." The passage is undoubtedly a difficult one, and rendered more so by a faulty text. To understand it, we must observe that the building was a tower of five storeys, each 150 feet in height. The small *stûpa* or tower was enclosed in the middle of the lower basement. Suddenly, when the large tower was finished, the smaller one changed its position, and came to the south-east angle of the great foundation—*i.e.*, of the lowest division or storey—and pierced through the wall of the larger building about half way up. Kanishka, ill at ease in the presence of this portent, ordered the greater building to be destroyed down to the second stage. On this being done the little tower again went back to the middle of the space enclosed by the basement of the larger one, and there overtopped it as before. So I understand the passage; and if this be so, the only alteration required in the text is in the last clause, where instead of *siu*, "little," I would substitute *ta*, "great," "it came out of, *i.e.*, towered above, the great *stûpa*."

at this, and ordered the *stûpa* to be destroyed. When they had got down to the bottom of the second storey, through which the other projected, immediately that one removed to its former place, and once more it surpassed in height the other. The king retiring said, "It is easy to commit errors in human affairs,[63] but when there is divine influence at work it is difficult to counteract it. When a matter is directed by spiritual power, what can human resentment effect?" Having confessed his fault, therefore, he retired.

These two *stûpas* are still visible. In aggravated[64] sickness, if a cure is sought, people burn incense and offer flowers, and with a sincere faith pay their devotions. In many cases a remedy is found.

On the southern side of the steps, on the eastern face of the great *stûpa*, there are engraved (*or* carved) two *stûpas*,[65] one three feet high, the other five feet. They are the same shape and proportion as the great *stûpa*. Again, there are two full-sized figures of Buddha, one four feet, the other six feet in height. They resemble him as he sat cross-legged beneath the *Bôdhi* tree. When the full rays of the sun shine on them they appear of a brilliant gold colour, and as the light decreases the hues of the stone seem to assume a reddish-blue colour. The old people say, "Several centuries ago, in a fissure of the stone foundation, there were some gold-coloured ants, the greatest about the size of the finger, the longest about a barleycorn in size. Those of the same species consorted together; by gnawing the stone steps they have left lines and marks as if engraved on the surface, and by the gold sand which they left (*as deposits*) they have caused the figures of Buddha to assume their present appearance."

63 Or, human affairs are changeable and deceptive.

64 The sense of *ying* in this passage is doubtful; it may mean "complicated" or "threatening (sickness)," or it may refer to complaints peculiar to children.

65 The expression *lo c'ho* would seem to mean that the *stûpas* were engraved, not *built*. The particular named as to steps leading up to the *stûpa* is significant, as illustrating the architectural appearance and character of these buildings.

On the southern side of the stone steps of the great *stûpa*[66] there is a painted figure of Buddha about sixteen feet high. From the middle upward there are two bodies, below the middle, only one. The old tradition says: In the beginning, there was a poor man who hired himself out to get a living; having obtained a gold coin, he vowed to make a figure of Buddha. Coming to the *stûpa*, he spoke to a painter and said, "I wish now to get a figure of Tathâgata painted, with its beautiful points of excellence;[67] but I only have one gold coin; this is little enough to repay an artist. I am sorry to be so hampered by poverty in carrying out my cherished aim."

Then the painter, observing his simple truth, said nothing about the price, but promised to set to work to furnish the picture.

Again there was a man, similarly circumstanced, with one gold coin, who also sought to have a picture of Buddha painted. The painter having received thus a gold piece from each, procured some excellent colours (*blue and vermilion*) and painted a picture. Then both men came the same day to pay reverence to the picture they had had done, and the artist pointed each to the same figure, telling them, "This is the figure of Buddha which you ordered to be done." The two men looking at one another in perplexity, the mind of the artist understanding their doubts, said, "What are you thinking about so long? If you are thinking about the money, I have not defrauded you of any part. To show that it is so there must be some spiritual indication on the part of the picture."

[66] This is the literal translation; it may mean "on the southern side of the steps," as though there were steps only on the eastern side of the *stûpa*; or it may, by license, mean "on the steps of the *stûpa*, its southern face," as though the steps referred to were on the southern face. But the literal translation is preferable, in which case we may assume that a flight of steps on the eastern side led up to the platform on which the tower (*stûpa*) was built, and that the figures referred to were engraved between the pilasters of the terrace on the north and south sides of the steps.

[67] Or, "a beautifully-marked figure of Tathâgata." The marks (*siang* or *lakshaṇa*) of Buddha are well known.—See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 616, and *ante*, p. 1, note 5.

Scarcely had he finished when the picture, by some spiritual power, divided itself (*from the middle upwards*), and both parts emitted a glory alike. The two men with joy believed and exulted.

To the south-west of the great *stûpa* 100 paces or so, there is a figure of Buddha in white stone about eighteen feet high. It is a standing figure, and looks to the north. It has many spiritual powers, and diffuses a brilliant light. Sometimes there are people who see the image come out of an evening and go round[68] the great *stûpa*. Lately a band of robbers wished to go in and steal. The image immediately came forth and went before the robbers. Affrighted, they ran away; the image then returned to its own place, and remained fixed as before. The robbers, affected by what they had seen, began a new life, and went about through towns and villages telling what had happened.

To the left and right of the great *stûpa* are a hundred little *stûpas* standing closely together,[69] executed with consummate art. Exquisite perfumes and different musical sounds at times are perceived, the work of Ṛishis, saints, and eminent sages; these also at times are seen walking round the *stûpas*.

According to the prediction of Tathâgata, after this *stûpa* has been seven times burnt down and seven times rebuilt, then the religion of Buddha will disappear. The record of old worthies says this building has already been destroyed and restored three times. When (*I*) first arrived in this country it had just been destroyed by a fire calamity. Steps are being taken for its restoration, but they are not yet complete.

To the west of the great *stûpa* there is an old *saṅghârâma* which was built by King Kanishka. Its double towers, connected terraces, storeyed piles, and deep chambers

[68] That is, circumambulate it, or perform the *pradakshiṇa*.

[69] The expression means, as M. Julien explains, arranged in order like the scales of a fish, that is, with regularity.

bear testimony to the eminence of the great priests who have here formed their illustrious religious characters (*gained distinction*). Although now somewhat decayed, it yet gives evidence of its wonderful construction. The priests living in it are few; they study the Little Vehicle. From the time it was built many authors of *Śâstras* have lived herein and gained the supreme fruit (*of Arhatship*). Their pure fame is wide-spread, and their exemplary religious character still survives.

In the third tower (*double-storeyed tower*) is the chamber of the honourable Pârśvika (Pi-lo-shi-po), but it has long been in ruins; but they have placed here a commemorative tablet to him. He was at first a master of the Brâhmaṇs (*or* a Brâhmaṇ doctor), but when eighty years of age he left his home and assumed the soiled robes (*of a Buddhist disciple*). The boys of the town ridiculed him, saying, "Foolish old man! you have no wisdom, surely! Don't you know that they who become disciples of Buddha have two tasks to perform, viz., to give themselves to meditation and to recite the Scriptures? And now you are old and infirm, what progress can you make as a disciple?[70] Doubtless you know how to eat (*and that is all*)!" Then Pârśvika, hearing such railing speeches, gave up the world[71] and made this vow, "Until I thoroughly penetrate[72] the wisdom of the three *Piṭakas* and get rid of the evil desire of the three worlds, till I obtain the six miraculous powers[73] and reach the eight deliverances (*vimokshas*), I will not lie down to rest (*my side shall not touch the sleeping mat*)." From that day forth the day was not enough for him to walk in meditation or to sit upright in deep thought. In the daytime he studied incessantly the doctrine of the

70 *Lit.*, in the pure streams of the high calling (*traces*).

71 Withdrew from "time and men." It may be, withdrew for a time from men.

72 Whilst I do not understand, &c.

73 The six miraculous or spiritual powers are the *abhijñâs*, so called; for which see Eitel's *Handbook*, s. v., or Childers, *Pali Dict.*, s. v. *abhiññâ*. Five are enumerated in the *Lotus*, cap. v. see pp. 291, 345, 372, 379, 820; *Introd.*, p. 263. For the *vimokshas* see *Lotus*, pp. 347, 824; Childers, *Pali Dict.*, s. v. *vimokho*. See note 88, p 149, *inf.*

sublime principles (*of Buddhism*), and at night he sat silently meditating in unbroken thought. After three years he obtained insight into the three piṭakas, and shook off all worldly desires,[74] and obtained the threefold knowledge.[75] Then people called him the honourable Pârśvika[76] and paid him reverence.

To the east of Pârśvika's chamber is an old building in which Vasubandhu[77] Bôdhisattva prepared the *'O-pi-ta-mo-ku-she-lun* (*Abhidharmakôsha Śâstra*);[78] men, out of respect to him, have placed here a commemorative tablet to this effect.

To the south of Vasubandhu's house, about fifty paces or so, is a second storied-pavilion in which Manorhita,[79] a master of *Śâstras*, composed the *Vibhâshâ Śâstra*. This learned doctor flourished in the midst of the thousand

[74] Desire of the three worlds.

[75] The *trividyâs*, the threefold knowledge, viz., of the impermanence of all things (*anitya*), of sorrow (*dukha*), and of unreality (*anâtmâ*).

[76] Pârśvika, Chin. Hie-ts'un, so named from *pârśva* (Chin. *hie*), "the side," from his vow, here related, not to lie on his side. He is reckoned the ninth or tenth Buddhist patriarch (according as Vasumitra, the seventh, is excluded or not); Edkins, *Chin. Buddh.*, p. 74; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. ii. p. 1202; Vassilief, pp. 48, 75 f. 203 f. 211; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv. p. 141.

[77] Vasubandhu (Fo-siu-fan-tho) translated Thien-sin and Shi-sin, according to northern accounts, the twenty-first patriarch of the Buddhist church, and younger brother of Asaṅga. But this succession of patriarchs is more than doubtful, for Budhidharma, who is represented as the twenty-eighth patriarch, arrived in China A.D. 520; but according to Max Müller, Vasubandhu flourished in India in the second half of the sixth century (*India*, p. 306). If this date can be established, many of the statements of dates found in the Chinese Buddhist books will have to be discredited (*inf.* p. 119, n. 1). Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. ii. p. 1205; Edkins, *Ch. Buddh.*, pp. 169, 278; Vassilief, pp. 214 ff., or *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv. pp. 142 f.

[78] This is a work frequently named in these records. It was written by Vasubandhu to refute the errors of the Vaibhâshikas, and was translated into Chinese by Paramârtha, A.D. 557–589. For an account of its origin see the Life of Buddha by Wong Pûh, § 195, in *J. R. A. S.*, vol. xx. p. 211; Edkins, *Ch. Buddh.*, p. 120; Vassilief, pp. 77 f. 108, 130, 220.

[79] Manôrhita, otherwise written Manorata, Manôrhata, or Manôratha (Jul., *Vie*, p. 405), also Manura. This is explained by the Chinese *Ju-i*, an expression used for the *Kalpavṛiksha* or "wishing tree," denoting power to produce whatever was wished; literally, "conformable (*hita*) to thought (*mana*, mind)." He is probably the same as Maṇirata (Vassilief, *Bouddhisme*, p. 219). He is reckoned the twenty-second patriarch.—Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. ii. p. 1206; Edkins, *Ch. Buddh.*, pp. 82–84; M. Müller, *India*, pp. 289, 302; and note 77 *ante*.

years[80] after the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha. In his youth he was devoted to study and had distinguished talent. His fame was wide spread with the religious, and laymen sought to do him hearty reverence. At that time Vikramâditya,[81] king of the country of Śrâvastî, was of wide renown. He ordered his ministers to distribute daily throughout India[82] five lakhs of gold coin; he largely (*everywhere*) supplied the wants of the poor, the orphan, and the bereaved. His treasurer, fearing that the resources of the kingdom would be exhausted, represented the case to the king, and said, "Mahârâja! your fame has reached to the very lowest of your subjects, and extends to the brute creation. You bid me add (*to your expenditure*) five lakhs of gold to succour the poor throughout the world. Your treasury will thus be emptied, and then fresh imposts will have to be laid (on

[80] This expression, "in the midst of, or during, the thousand years," has a particular reference to the period of 1000 years which succeeded the period of 500 years after Buddha's death. The 500 years is called the period of the "true law," the 1000 years "the period of images," *i.e.*, image-worship; after that came the period of "no law." The phrase "during the 1000 years," therefore, in these records, means that the person referred to lived during the middle portion of the second period, that is, about a thousand years after Buddha. There is a useful note in Wong Pûh's life of Buddha (§ 204, *J. R. A. S.*, vol. xx. p. 215) relating to this point, from which it appears that the accepted date of the *Nirvâṇa* in China at this time was 850 B.C. The period of 1000 years, therefore, would extend from 350 B.C. to 650 A.D. Wong Pûh uses the expression *ke-shi* "the latter age," for "the thousand years." Manôrhita is placed under Vikramâditya Harsha of Ujjain, and therefore lived about the middle of the 6th century A.D., according to M. Müller, *India*, p. 290.

[81] This is supposed to be the same as Vikramâditya or Harsha of Ujjayinî, according to Dr. J. Fergusson and Prof. M. Müller, the founder of the usual Saṁvat era, 56 B.C. The Chinese equivalent for his name is *chaou jih*, or "leaping above the sun," or "the upspringing light," "the dawn." As to the mode in which this era of Vikramâditya might have been contrived, see Fergusson (*J. R. A. S.*, N. S., vol. xii. p. 273). The starting-point from which these writers suppose it came into use is 544 A.D. The expression Vikramâditya of Śrâvastî, is the same as Vikramâditya of Ayôdhya (Oudh), where we are told (Vassilief, p. 219) he held his court. The *town* of Śrâvastî was in ruins even in Fa-hian's time (cap. xx.)

[82] "Throughout all the Indies." This passage may also be translated thus: "An envoy (*shi shan*) coming to India, he daily," &c. Julien refers it to one of his own envoys, but in any case the passage is obscure. Judging from the context, I think the meaning is, "he ordered his minister, in the next sentence called "his treasurer," to give throughout India on one day five lakhs for the poor."

the land cultivators), until the resources of the land be also exhausted; then the voice of complaint will be heard and hostility be provoked. Your majesty, indeed, will get credit for charity, but your minister[83] will lose the respect of all." The king answered, "But of my own surplus I (*wish to*) relieve the poor. I would on no account, for my own advantage, thoughtlessly burthen (*grind down*) the country." Accordingly he added five lakhs for the good of the poor. Some time after this the king was engaged chasing a boar. Having lost the track, he gave a man a lakh for putting him on the scent again. Now Manôrhita, the doctor of *Śâstras*, once engaged a man to shave his head, and gave him offhand a lakh of gold for so doing.[84] This munificent act was recorded in the annals by the chief historian. The king reading of it, was filled with shame, and his proud heart continually fretted about it,[85] and so he desired to bring some fault against Manôrhita and punish him. So he summoned an assembly of different religious persons whose talents were most noted,[86] to the number of one hundred, and issued the following decree: "I wish to put a check to the various opinions (*wanderings*) and to settle the true limits (*of inquiry*); the opinions of different religious sects are so various that the mind knows not what to believe. Exert your utmost ability, therefore, to-day in following out my directions." On meeting for discussion he made a second decree: "The doctors of law belonging to the heretics[87] are distinguished

[83] Such is plainly the meaning; the treasurer is speaking of himself. The antithesis requires it, "*kun shang, shan hia.*" M. Julien translates it as referring to all the subjects.

[84] M. Julien translates as follows: "Un jour le maître des *Çastras* Jou-i (Manôrhita) ayant envoyé un homme pour couper les cheveux au roi;" but in my text there is no word for "king," and the whole context seems to require another rendering. I translate the passage as referring to Manôrhita himself, who, although a writer of *Śâstras*, was also a prince (vid. Eitel, *s.v.*)

[85] *I.e.*, that Manôrhita should have equalled him in munificence, and that he should be held up as an example.

[86] "Whose virtuous deeds (*good qualities*) were high and profound." I find nothing about Brâhmaṇs in the text.

[87] Or it may be, "the unbelievers and the doctors of *śâstras* are both eminent," &c.

for their ability. The Shamans and the followers of the law (*of Buddha*) ought to look well to the principles of their sect; if they prevail, then they will bring reverence to the law of Buddha; but if they fail, then they shall be exterminated."[88] On this, Manôrhita questioned the heretics and silenced[89] ninety-nine of them. And now a man was placed (*sat on the mat to dispute with him*) of no ability whatever,[90] and for the sake of a trifling discussion (Manôrhita) proposed the subject of fire and smoke. On this the king and the heretics cried out, saying, "Manôrhita, the doctor of *Śâstras*, has lost the sense of right connection (*mistaken the order or sense of the phrase*); he should have named smoke first and fire afterwards: this order of things is constant." Manôrhita wishing to explain the difficulty, was not allowed a hearing; on which, ashamed to see himself thus treated by the people, he bit out his tongue and wrote a warning to his disciple Vasubandhu, saying, "In the multitude of partisans there is no justice; among persons deceived there is no discernment." Having written this, he died.

A little afterwards Vikramâditya-râja lost his kingdom and was succeeded by a monarch who widely patronised those distinguished for literary merit.[91] Vasubandhu, wishing to wash out the former disgrace, came to the king and said, "Mahârâja, by your sacred qualities you rule the empire and govern with wisdom. My old master, Manôrhita, was deeply versed in the mysterious doctrine. The former king, from an old resentment, deprived him of his high renown. I now wish to avenge the injury done to my master." The king, knowing that Manôrhita was a man of superior intelligence, approved of the noble project of Vasubandhu; he summoned the heretics who had discussed with Manôrhita. Vasubandhu having exhibited

[88] It ought probably to be rendered thus: "If they prevail, then I will reverence the law of Buddha; if they are defeated, I will utterly exterminate the priests."

[89] Made to retire.

[90] Or, who looked at him with a dispirited (*downcast*) air.

[91] This would appear to be Śîlâditya of Ujjain, spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang (Book xi.) as having lived about sixty years before his own time.

afresh the former conclusions of his master, the heretics were abashed and retired.

To the north-east of the *saṅghârâma* of Kanishka-râja about 50 li, we cross a great river and arrive at the town of Pushkalâvatî (Po-shi-kie-lo-fa-ti).[92] It is about 14 or 15 li in circuit; the population is large; the inner gates are connected by a hollow (*tunnel?*).[93]

Outside the western gate is a Deva temple. The image of the god is imposing and works constant miracles.

To the east of the city is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. This is the place where the four former Buddhas delivered the law (*preached*). Among former saints and sages many have come (*descended spiritually*) from Mid-India to this place to instruct all creatures (*things*). For example, Vasumitra,[94] doctor of *Śâstras*, who composed the *Chung-sse-fen-o-pi-ta-mo* (*Abhidharmaprakaraṇa-pâda*) *Śâstra* in this place.

To the north of the town 4 or 5 li is an old *saṅghârâma*, of which the halls are deserted and cold. There are very few priests in it, and all of them follow the teaching of

[92] Or Pushkarâvatî, the old capital of Gandhâra, said to have been founded by Pushkara or Pushkala, the son of Bharata and nephew of Râma (Wilson, *Vishṇu-pur.*, vol. iii. p. 319). The district is called Πευκελαωτις and Πευκελαιῆτις by Arrian (*Anab.*, lib. iv. c. 22, s. 9; *Ind.*, c. 4, s. 11), and the capital Πευκελαιῆτις or Πευκέλα (*Ind.*, c. 1, s. 8), while Strabo calls the city Πευκελαῖτις (lib. xv. c. 21 s. 27). Pliny has Peucolais (lib. vi. c. 21, s. 62) and the people Peucolaitæ (c. 23, s. 78). Dionysius Perigetis has Πευκαλâις (v. 1143), and the author of the *Periplus Mar. Æryth.* (s. 47) and Ptolemy Προκλαΐς (lib. vii. c. 1, s. 44; v. l. Ποκλαΐς). Alexander the Great besieged and took it from Astes (Hasti) and appointed Sangæus (Sañjaya) as his successor. It was probably at Hashtanagara, 18 miles north of Pêshâwar, on the Svât (Suastos), near its junction with the Kâbul (Kôphên or Kôphês), the great river which the traveller here crossed. See Baber's *Mem.*, pp. 136, 141, 251; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, pp. 49 f.; St. Martin, *Géog. de l'Inde*, p. 37; Bunbury, *Hist. Anc. Geog.*, vol. i. p. 498; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 185 f.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v. pp. 85 f., 330; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. i. p. 501, vol. iii. p. 139; Reinaud, *Mém. s. l'Inde*, p. 65.

[93] The phrase *leu yen* means the inner gates of a town or village (Medhurst, *s. v. Yen*), and *tung lin* means "deeply connected," or "are deep and connected." Julien translates it, "the houses rise in thick lines." The readings must be different.

[94] Vasumitra, in Chinese *Shi Yu*, friend of the world.—*Ch. Ed.* He was one of the chief of the 500 great Arhats who formed the council convoked by Kanishka. Vassilief, pp. 49 f., 58 f., 78, 107, 113, 222 f.; Edkins, *Ch. Buddh.*, pp. 72 f., 283; Burnouf, *Int.*, pp. 399, 505 f.

the Little Vehicle. Dharmatrâta, master of *Śâstras*, here composed the *Ts'a-o-pi-ta-ma-lun* (*Samyuktâbhidharma Sâstra*).[95]

By the side of the *śaṅghârâma* is a *stûpa* several hundred feet high, which was built by Aśôka-râja. It is made of carved wood and veined stone, the work of various artists. Śâkya Buddha, in old time when king of this country, prepared himself as a Bôdhisattva (*for becoming a Buddha*). He gave up all he had at the request of those who asked, and spared not to sacrifice his own body as a bequeathed gift (*a testamentary gift*). Having been born in this country a thousand times as king, he gave during each of those thousands births in this excellent country, his eyes as an offering.

Going not far east from this, there are two stone *stûpas*, each about 100 feet in height. The right-hand one was built by Brahmâ Dêva, that on the left by Śakra (*king of Dêvas*). They were both adorned with jewels and gems. After Buddha's death these jewels changed themselves into ordinary stones. Although the buildings are in a ruinous condition, still they are of a considerable height and grandeur.

Going north-west about 50 li from these *stûpas*, there is another *stûpa*. Here Śâkya Tathâgata converted the Mother of the demons[96] and caused her to refrain from

[95] According to the *Ch'uh-yau king* (*Udânavarga*), Dharmatrâta was uncle of Vasumitra. (See Beal, *Texts from the Buddhist Canon* (*Dharmapada*), p. 8; Rockhill's *Udânavarga*, p. xi.) There was another Dharmatrâta, according to Târânâtha (Rockhill, p. xi.), who was one of the leaders of the Vaibhâshika school, and also another Vasumitra, who commented on the *Abhidharma Kôsha* written by Vasubandhu, who lived probably in the fifth century A.D. But as the Chinese versions of the *Dharmapada* were made before Vasubandhu's time, and the second Vasumitra lived after Vasubandhu, for he commented on his work, it is highly probable that the Dharmatrâta alluded to in the text was the compiler of the Northern versions of the "Verses of the Law" (*Dharmapada*) known both in China and Tibet. Dharmatrâta, according to a note in the text, was erroneously called Dharmatara.

[96] The mother of the demons was, according to I-tsing (K. i. § 9), called Hâritî (Ko-li-ti), and was venerated by the Buddhists. "She had made a vow in a former birth to devour the children of Râjagṛha, and was accordingly born as a Yaksha, and became the mother of 500 children.

hurting men. It is for this reason the common folk of this country offer sacrifices to obtain children from her.

Going north 50 li or so from this, there is another *stûpa*. It was here Sâmaka Bôdhisattva[97] (*Shang-mu-kia*), walking piously, nourished as a boy his blind father and mother. One day when gathering fruits for them, he encountered the king as he was hunting, who wounded him by mistake with a poisoned arrow. By means of the spiritual power of his great faith he was restored to health through some medicaments which Indra (*Tien-ti*), moved by his holy conduct, applied to the wound.

To the south-east of this place[98] about 200 li, we arrive at the town Po-lu-sha.[99] On the north of this town is

To nourish these she each day took a child (boy or girl) of Râjagṛiha. People having told Buddha of it, he hid one of the Yaksha's children called "the loved one." The mother, having searched everywhere, at last found it by Buddha's side. On this the Lord addressed her as follows: "Do you so tenderly love your child? but you possess 500 such. How much more would persons with only one or two love theirs?" On this she was converted and became a Upâsikâ, or lay disciple. She then inquired how she was to feed her 500 children. On this Buddha said, "The Bhikshus who live in their monasteries shall every day offer you food out of their portion for nourishment." Therefore in the convents of the western world, either within the porch of the gates or by the side of the kitchen, they paint on the wall a figure of the mother holding a child, and below sometimes five, sometimes three others in the foreground. Every day they place before this image a dish of food for her portion of nourishment. She is the most powerful among the followers (*retinue*) of the four heavenly kings (Dêva-râjas). The sick and those without children offer her food to obtain their wishes. In China she is called *Kwei-tseu-mu*.—Julien, *Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 120 n. My translation of I-tsing, however, differs from Julien's. The Chalukyas and other royal families of the Dekhan claim to be descendants of Hâritî (*Hâritîputra*). The above account from I-tsing relates to the figure of Hâritî in the Varâha temple at Tâmralipti. Possibly this temple may have been a Châlukya foundation, for the Varâha (boar) was one of their principal insignia.

[97] This refers to Sâma, the son of Dukhula, in the *Sâmajâtaka*. He is called in Fa-hian *Shen* (for *Shen-ma*), and this equivalent is also given in the text. See *Trans. Int. Cong. Orient.* (1874), p. 135. The *Jâtaka* is represented among the Sâñchi sculptures (*Tree and Serp. Worship*, pl. xxxvi, fig. 1). For an account of it see Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 275; conf. *Man. Budh.*, p. 460. The story is also a Brahmanical one, occurring in the *Râmâyaṇa*.—*Ind. Ant.*, vol. i. pp. 37–39.

[98] That is, south-east from the *stûpa* of Sâmaka Bôdhisattva. I have not repeated the name of the place in this and other passages.

[99] Following the route described in the text, we are taken first 4 or 5 li to the north of Pushkalâvati, next a little way to the east, then 50

a *stûpa;* here it was Sudâna[100] the prince, having given in charity to some Brâhmaṇs the great elephant of his father the king, was blamed and banished. In leaving his friends, having gone out of the gate of the wall, it was here he paid adieu. Beside this is a *saṅghârâma*[101] with about fifty priests or so, who all study the Little Vehicle. Formerly Îśvara, master of *śâstras,* in this place composed the *O-pi-ta-mo-ming-ching-lun.*[102]

Outside the eastern gate of the town of Po-lu-sha is a *saṅghârâma* with about fifty priests; who all study the Great Vehicle. Here is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. In old times Sudâna the prince, having been banished from his home, dwelt in Mount Dantalôka.[103] Here a Brahmaṇ begged his son and daughter, and he sold them to him.

To the north-east of Po-lu-sha city about 20 li or so we come to Mount Dantalôka. Above a ridge of that mountain is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja; it was here the prince

li to the north-west, then 50 li to the north. It is from this point we are to reckon 200 li to the south-west to Po-lu-sha. M. V. de St. Martin (*Mémoire,* p. 309) substitutes 250 li for 200, and he then reckons from Pushkalâvatî. General Cunningham falls into the same mistake (*Anc. Geog.,* p. 52), and identifies Po-lu-sha with Palodheri, or the village of Pali, situated on a *dheri* or mound of ruins (*op. cit.,* p. 52). This would agree with Hiuen Tsiang's distance and bearing, that is, from the *stûpa* of Sâmaka, which was some 90 to 100 li to the north-north-east of Pushkalâvatî.

[100] That is, Visvântara, Visvaṅtara, or Vêssantara, the prince. His history is a popular one among Buddhists. See Spence Hardy's *Man. of Budhism.,* p. 118; Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Worship,* pl. xxxii.; Beal's *Fah-hian,* p. 194 n. 2; Burnouf, *Lotus,* p. 411; conf. *Kathâsarit.,* 113, 9; *Aitar. Brâhm.,* vii. 27, 34. The particulars given in the text and in Fa-hian led to the identification of pl. xxxii. in *Tree and Serp. Worship* with this history. The same *Jâtaka* is also found amongst the Amarâvatî sculptures, *op. cit.,* pl. lxv. fig. 1. With respect to the name Sudâna, the Chinese explanation (*good teeth*) is erroneous, as M. Julien has pointed out (p. 122 n.) Sudânta is the name of a Pratyêkabuddha mentioned in the *Trikâṇḍaśêsha,* i. 1, 13.

[101] So I translate the passage. M. Julien understands the number fifty to refer to the *saṅghârâmas.* But it would be an unusual circumstance to find fifty or more convents near one spot, nor does the text necessarily require it.

[102] Restored doubtfully by Julien to *Abhidharmaprakâśa-sâdhana Śâstra.* It was perhaps the *Saṁyukta-abhidharmahṛidaya Śâstra,* which Îśvara is said to have translated in 426 A.D. Îśvara's name is given in Chinese as *Tsŭ-tsaï,* "master," "lord," "self-existent."

[103] *Tan-ta-lo-kia,* which might also be restored to Dandarika. The Japanese equivalent given in the text for *lo* is *ra.* General Cunningham identifies this mountain with the *Montes Dædali* of Justin (*op. cit.,* p. 52.)

Sudâna dwelt in solitude. By the side of this place, and close by, is a *stûpa*. It was here the prince gave his son and daughter to the Brahmaṇ, who, on his part, beat them till the blood flowed out on the ground. At the present time the shrubs and trees are all of a deep red colour. Between the crags (*of the mountain*) there is a stone chamber, where the prince and his wife dwelt and practised meditation. In the midst of the valley the trees droop down their branches like curtains. Here it was the prince in old time wandered forth and rested.

By the side of this wood, and not far from it, is a rocky cell in which an old Ṛĭshi dwelt.

Going north-west from the stone cell about 100 li or so, we cross a small hill and come to a large mountain. To the south of the mountain is a *saṅghârama*, with a few priests as occupants, who study the Great Vehicle. By the side of it is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. This is the place which in old time was occupied by Ekaśṛĭnga Rishi.[104] This Ṛĭshi being deceived by a pleasure-woman, lost his spiritual faculties. The woman, mounting his shoulders, returned to the city.

To the north-east of the city of Po-lu-sha 50 li or so, we come to a high mountain, on which is a figure of the wife of Îśvara Dêva carved out of green (*bluish*) stone. This is Bhîmâ Dêvî.[105] All the people of the better class, and the lower orders too, declare that this figure was self-wrought. It has the reputation of working numerous miracles, and therefore is venerated (*worshipped*) by all, so that from every part of India men come to pay their vows and seek prosperity thereby. Both poor and rich assemble here from every part, near and distant. Those who wish to see the form of the divine spirit, being filled

[104] This story of Êkaśṛĭnga seems to be connected with the episode of Śṛĭnga in the *Râmâyaṇa*. It is constantly referred to in Buddhist books. See Eitel's *Handbook*, *s. v.*; *Catena of Buddh. Scrip.*, p. 260; *Romantic Legend*, p. 124; and compare the notice in Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 233; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 244, vol. ii. pp. 69, 140 f.

[105] Bhimâ is a form of Durgâ, probably = Si-wang-mu of the Chinese.

with faith and free from doubt, after fasting seven days are privileged to behold it, and obtain for the most part their prayers.[106] Below the mountain is the temple of Mahêśvara Dêva; the heretics who cover themselves with ashes[107] come here to offer sacrifice.

Going south-east from the temple of Bhîmâ 150 li, we come to U-to-kia-han-ch'a.[108] This town is about 20 li in circuit; on the south it borders on the river Sindh (Sin-to). The inhabitants are rich and prosperous. Here is amassed a supply of valuable merchandise, and mixed goods from all quarters.

To the north-west of U-to-kia-han-c'ha 20 li or so we come to the town of P'o-lo-tu-lo.[109] This is the place where the Ṛîshi Pâṇini, who composed the *Ching-ming-lun*[110] was born.

Referring to the most ancient times, letters were very numerous; but when, in the process of ages, the world was destroyed and remained as a void, the Dêvas of long life[111] descended spiritually to guide the people. Such was the origin of the ancient[112] letters and composition.

[106] The same thing is said about Kwan-yin (Avalôkitêśvara). For some account of the worship of Durgâ or Pârvatî, and of Kwan-yin or Avalôkitêśvara, as mountain deities, see *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xv. p. 333.

[107] That is, the Pâśupatas. Compare what Hiuen Tsiang says in reference to Kwan-yin or Avalôkitêśvara, viz., when he reveals himself on Mount Potaraka, he sometimes takes the form of Îśvara and sometimes that of a Pâśupata (book x. fol. 30). See also p. 60, n. 210 *ante*.

[108] Restored by Julien to Udakhâṇḍa; identified by V. St. Martin with Ohind. Its south side rests on the Indus. The distance is 150 li from the temple of Bhîmâ. If we actually project 150 li (30 miles) north-west from Ohind, it would bring us near Jamâlgarhi. About 40 li or 8 miles E.S.E. from it is Takht-i-Bhaï, standing on an isolated hill 650 feet above the plain. The vast quantities of ruins found in this place indicate that it was once a centre of religious worship. Is this the site of Po-lu-sha? Kapurdagarhi is 20 miles north-west from Ohind, and Takht-i-Bhaï 13 miles E.N.E. from Kapurdagarhi. See p. 135.

[109] The symbol *p'o* is for *so* (Jul.) The town is Salâtura, the birthplace of Pâṇini, who is known by the name of Śâlâturîya (Panini, iv. 3, 94). Cunningham identifies it with the village of Lahor, which he says is four miles *north-west* of Ohind.—*Geog.*, p. 57. Conf. Weber, *Hist. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 218, n.

[110] The *Vyâkaraṇam*.

[111] Or, the Dêvas who possessed long life.

[112] I understand the symbol *ku* in this passage to mean "old" or "ancient."

From this time and after it the source (*of language*) spread and passed its (*former*) bounds. Brahmâ Dêva and Śakra (*Devendra*) established rules (*forms* or *examples*) according to the requirements. Ṛĭshis belonging to different schools each drew up forms of letters. Men in their successive generations put into use what had been delivered to them; but nevertheless students without ability (*religious ability*) were unable to make use (*of these characters*). And now men's lives were reduced to the length of a hundred years, when the Ṛĭshi Pâṇini was born; he was from his birth extensively informed about things (*men and things*). The times being dull and careless, he wished to reform the vague and false rules (*of writing and speaking*)—to fix the rules and correct improprieties. As he wandered about asking for right ways,[113] he encountered Îśvara Dêva, and recounted to him the plan of his undertaking. Îśvara Dêva said, "Wonderful! I will assist you in this." The Ṛĭshi, having received instruction, retired. He then laboured incessantly and put forth all his power of mind. He collected a multitude of words, and made a book on letters which contained a thousand *ślôkas;* each *ślôka* was of thirty-two syllables. It contained everything known from the first till then, without exception, respecting letters and words. He then closed it and sent it to the king (*supreme ruler*), who exceedingly prized it, and issued an edict that throughout the kingdom it should be used and taught to others; and he added that whoever should learn it from beginning to end should receive as his reward a thousand pieces of gold. And so from that time masters have received it and handed it down in its completeness for the good of the world. Hence the Brâhmaṇs of this town are well grounded in their literary work, and are of high renown for their talents, well informed as to things (*men and things*), and of a vigorous understanding (*memory*).

In the town of So-lo-tu-lo is a *stûpa*. This is the

113 Or, asking for wisdom or knowledge.

spot where an Arhat converted a disciple of Pâṇini. Tathâgata had left the world some five hundred years, when there was a great Arhat who came to the country of Kaśmîr, and went about converting men. Coming to this place, he saw a Brahmachârin occupied in chastising a boy whom he was instructing in letters. Then the Arhat spake to the Brâhmaṇ thus: "Why do you cause pain to this child?" The Brâhmaṇ replied, "I am teaching him the *Shing-ming* (*Śabdavidyâ*), but he makes no proper progress." The Arhat smiled significantly,[114] on which the Brâhmaṇ said, "Shamans are of a pitiful and loving disposition, and well disposed to men and creatures generally; why did you smile, honoured sir? Pray let me know!"

The Arhat replied, "Light words are not becoming,[115] and I fear to cause in you incredulous thoughts and unbelief. No doubt you have heard of the Ṛishi Pâṇini, who compiled the *Śabdavidyâ Śâstra*, which he has left for the instruction of the world." The Brâhmaṇ replied, "The children of this town, who are his disciples, revere his eminent qualities, and a statue erected to his memory still exists." The Arhat continued: "This little boy whom you are instructing was that very (*Pâṇini*) Ṛishi. As he devoted his vigorous mind to investigate worldly literature, he only produced heretical treatises without any power of true reason in them. His spirit and his wisdom were dispersed, and he has run through the cycles of continued birth from then till now. Thanks to some remnant of true virtue, he has been now born as your attached child; but the literature of the world and these treatises on letters are only cause of use-

114 The symbol *yew*, according to Medhurst, means "to put forth vital energy;" *yew ne*, therefore, I take to denote "significance" or "meaning," The smile of Buddha or an Arhat was supposed to indicate prophetic insight or vision. The same meaning is attached to "a smile" in many of our own mediæval legends (vid. *Romantic History of Buddha*, p. 12 n.) Julien's "*se derida*" hardly meets the idea of the original.

115 "Light words," in the sense of trifling or unmeaning words, or words spoken lightly.

less efforts to him, and are as nothing compared to the holy teaching of Tathâgata, which, by its mysterious influences, procures both happiness and wisdom. On the shores of the southern sea there was an old decayed tree, in the hollows of which five hundred bats had taken up their abodes. Once some merchants took their seats beneath this tree, and as a cold wind was blowing, these men, cold and hungry, gathered together a heap of fuel and lit a fire at the tree-foot. The flames catching hold of the tree, by degrees it was burnt down. At this time amongst the merchant troop there was one who, after the turn of the night, began to recite a portion of the *Abhidharma Piṭaka*. The bats, notwithstanding the flames, because of the beauty of the sound of the law patiently endured the pain, and did not come forth After this they died, and, according to their works, they all received birth as men. They became ascetics, practised wisdom, and by the power of the sounds of the law they had heard they grew in wisdom and became Arhats as the result of merit acquired in the world. Lately the king, Kanishka, with the honourable Pârśvika, summoning a council of five hundred saints and sages in the country of Kaśmîr, they drew up the *Vibâshâ Śâstra*. These were the five hundred bats who formerly dwelt in that decayed tree. I myself, though of poor ability, am one of the number. It is thus men differ in their superior or inferior abilities. Some rise, others live in obscurity. But now, O virtuous one! permit your pupil (*attached child*) to leave his home. Becoming a disciple of Buddha, the merits we secure are not to be told."

The Arhat having spoken thus, proved his spiritual capabilities by instantly disappearing. The Brâhmaṇ was deeply affected by what he saw, and moved to believe. He noised abroad through the town and neighbourhood what had happened, and permitted the child to become a disciple of Buddha and acquire wisdom. Moreover, he

himself changed his belief, and mightily reverenced the three precious ones. The people of the village, following his example, became disciples, and till now they have remained earnest in their profession.

From U-to-kia-han-ch'a, going north, we pass over some mountains, cross a river, and travelling 600 li or so, we arrive at the kingdom of U-chang-na (Udyâna).

END OF BOOK II.

BOOK III.

Relates to eight countries, viz., (1) *U-chang-na,* (2) *Po-lu-lo,* (3) *Ta-ch'a-shi-lo,* (4) *Sang-ho-pu-lo,* (5) *Wu-la-shi,* (6) *Kia-shi-mi-lo,* (7) *Pun-nu-tso,* (8) *Ko-lo-chi-pu-lo.*

I. U-CHANG-NA (UDYÂNA).

THE country of U-chang-na[1] is about 5000 li in circuit; the mountains and valleys are continously connected, and the valleys and marshes alternate with a succession of high plateaux. Though various kinds of grain are sown, yet the crops are not rich. The grape is abundant, the

[1] Udyâna (Prâkṛit, Ujjâna), the *U-chang* of Fa-hian (cap. viii.), is so called because of its garden-like appearance. "Udyâna lay to the north of Peshâwar on the Swât river, but from the extent assigned to it by Hiuen Tsiang the name probably covered the whole hill-region south of the Hindu Kush and the Dard country from Chitral to the Indus."—Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 173; compare also Cunningham's remarks, *Geog. Anc. Ind.*, p. 81; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. i. p. 505, vol. iii. p. 138; and *Bactrian Coins*, (Eng. trans.) p. 96. It is described by Sung-yun as bordering on the T'sung-ling mountains to the north, and on India to the south. This writer gives a glowing description of the fertility and beauty of the valley and its neighbourhood (Beal's *Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 189). It was a flourishing centre of Buddhist worship. Fa-hian (cap. viii.) says "the law of Buddha is universally honoured." He tells us, moreover, that there were five hundred *saṅghârâmas* in the country, all belonging to the Little Vehicle; but in Hiuen Tsiang's time all the convents were desolate and ruined. We may therefore fix the persecution of Mahirakula (or Mihirakula), who was a contemporary of Balâditya, between the time of Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 400 and 630 A.D.) Balâditya and Mahirakula, indeed, are placed "*several centuries* before the time of Hiuen Tsiang" (*infra*); but we can scarcely suppose that Fa-hian would have described the country as he does if the persecution had happened before his time. The common statement is that Siṁha was the last patriarch of the North, and that he was killed by Mahirakula (see *Wong Pu*, § 179, in *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xx. p. 204). He is generally stated to be the 23d patriarch, and Bodhidharma, who was the 28th, certainly lived in A.D. 520, when he arrived in

sugar-cane scarce. The earth produces gold and iron, and is favourable to the cultivation of the scented (*shrub*) called Yo-kin (*turmeric*). The forests are thick and shady, the fruits and flowers abundant. The cold and heat are agreeably tempered, the wind and rain come in their season. The people are soft and effeminate, and in disposition are somewhat sly and crafty. They love learning yet have no application. They practise the art of using charms (*religious sentences as charms*).[2] Their clothing is white cotton, and they wear little else. Their language, though different in some points, yet greatly resembles that of India. Their written characters and their rules of etiquette are also of a mixed character as before. They greatly reverence the law of Buddha and are believers in the Great Vehicle.[3]

On both sides of the river Su-po-fa-su-tu,[4] there are some 1400 old *saṅghârâmas*. They are now generally waste and desolate; formerly there were some 18,000 priests in them, but gradually they have become less, till now there are very few. They study the Great Vehicle; they practise the duty of quiet meditation, and have pleasure in reciting texts relating to this subject, but have no great understanding as to them. The (*priests who*) practise the rules of morality lead a pure life and purposely prohibit

China from South India. If we allow an interval of 100 years between the 23d patriarch (Siṁha) and the 28th (Bôdhidharma), we should thus have the date of Mahirakula *cir.* 420 A.D., that is, just after Fa-hian's time. But in this case Vasubandhu, who was the 20th patriarch, must have flourished in the fourth century and not in the sixth, as Max Müller proposes (*India*, p. 290); *ante*, p. 105, n. 77. Mahirakula is, however, placed by Cunningham in A.D. 164–179, and Ârya Siṁha's death is usually placed in the middle of the third century A.D. Remusat, *Mél. Asiat.*, tome i. p. 124.

2 The employment of magical sentences is with them an art and a study, or a work of art. This country of Udyâna was the birthplace of Padma Sambhava, a great master of enchantments. Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 173.

3 Fa-hian says that in his days the people of this country were all followers of the Little Vehicle. Probably the re-introduction of Buddhist doctrine after the persecution had been effected by teachers of the Mahâyâna school.

4 That is, the Śubhavastu, the Swât river of the present day. It is named by Arrian the Σόαστος, and he says that it flows into the Κωφην at Peukalaitis. See note 24 *infra*.

the use of charms.[5] The schools[6] of the *Vinaya* traditionally known amongst them are the Sarvâstivâdins, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahîśâsakas, the Kâśyapîyas,[7] and the Mahâsaṅghikas: these five.[8]

There are about ten temples of Dêvas, and a mixed number of unbelievers who dwell in them. There are four or five strong towns. The kings mostly reign at Mungali (Mung-kie-li)[9] as their capital. This town is about 16 or 17 li in circuit and thickly populated. Four or five li to the east of Mungali is a great *stûpa*, where very many spiritual portents are seen. This is the spot where Buddha, when he lived in old time,[10] was the Ṛĭshi who practised patience (Kshânti-ṛĭshi), and for the sake of Kalirâja endured the dismemberment of his body.

To the north-east of the town of Mungali about 250 or 260 li, we enter a great mountain[11] and arrive at the foun-

[5] This translation differs from Julien's, but I understand Hiuen Tsiang to be alluding to the Hînayânists. "Those who follow the rules" (viz., of the *Vinaya*).

[6] The rules of the *Vinaya* are handed down and followed; they have (*or*, there are) five schools." The purport of the text is apparently to show that there was a traditional knowledge of thé old teaching to which Fa-hian refers. The new school, given to magic, had been introduced after the persecution; the old teaching was opposed to this, and the followers of that teaching resisted its use.

[7] Called in the text *Yin-kwong-pu*, "the drink-brightness school." See Eitel's *Handbook*, s. v. *Mahâkâśyapa*.

[8] These five schools belong to the Little Vehicle—(1) The Dharmagupta (Fa-mih-pu), (2) Mahiśâsaka (Fa-ti-pu), (3) Kâśyapîya (Yin-kwong-pu), (4) Sarvâstivâda (Shwo-yih-tsai-yeou-pu), (5) Mahâsaṅghika (Ta-chong-pu).

[9] Muṅgali or Maṅgala, probably the Mangora of Wilford's surveyor, Mogal Beg, and the Maṅglavor of General Court's map (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 82). According to V. de St. Martin (*Mém.*, p. 314), it should be Mangalâvor (Maṅgala-pura). It was on the left bank of the Swât river. See *J. A. S. Ben.*, vol. viii. pp. 311 f.; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. i. p. 138.

[10] *I.e.*, as a Bôdhisattva. The history of the Bôdhisattva when he was born at Kshântiṛĭshi is frequently met with in Chinese Buddhist books. The account will be found in Wong Pûh, § 76 (*J. R. A. S.*, vol. xx. p. 165). The name Kie-li (Kali) is interpreted in the original by "fight-quarrel." The lacuna which occurs in the text was probably the history of this Jin-jo-sien (Kshântiṛĭshi), who suffered his hands to be cut off by Kali-râja, and not only was not angry, but promised the king that he should be born as Kondinya and become one of his (Buddha's) first disciples (Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 198).

[11] "Enter a great mountain," *i.e.*, a mountainous range. There is no mention made of "traversing a valley," as in Julien.

tain of the Nâga Apalâla; this is the source of the river Su-po-fa-su-tu. This river flows to the south-west.[12] Both in summer and spring it freezes, and from morning till night snow-drifts are flying in clouds, the fine reflected colours of which are seen on every side.

This Nâga, in the time of Kâśyapa Buddha, was born as a man and was called King-ki (Gaṅgi). He was able, by the subtle influences of the charms he used, to restrain and withstand the power of the wicked dragons, so that they could not (*afflict the country*) with violent storms of rain Thanks to him, the people were thus able to gather in an abundance of grain. Each family then agreed to offer him, in token of their gratitude, a peck of grain as a yearly tribute. After a lapse of some years there were some who omitted to bring their offerings, on which Gaṅgi in wrath prayed that he might become a poisonous dragon and afflict them with storms of rain and wind to the destruction of their crops. At the end of his life he became the dragon of this country; the flowings of the fountain emitted a white stream which destroyed all the products of the earth.

At this time, Śâkya Tathâgata, of his great pity guiding the world, was moved with compassion for the people of this country, who were so singularly afflicted with this calamity. Descending therefore spiritually,[13] he came to this place, desiring to convert the violent dragon. Taking the mace of the Vajrapâṇi[14] spirit, he beat against the mountain side. The dragon king, terrified, came forth and paid him reverence. Hearing the preaching of the law by Buddha, his heart became pure and his faith was awakened. Tathâgata forthwith for-

[12] It may also be translated, "it branches off and flows to the south-west." The river is the Śubhavastu. See below, note 24, p. 126.

[13] The expression *kiáng shin*, to descend spiritually, is of frequent occurrence in Chinese Buddhist books; it corresponds to the Sanskrit *avatâra* or *avatârin*, to make an appearance.

[14] This may be otherwise translated, "he who holds the diamond spirit club, knocking," &c. The reference is to the thunderbolt of Indra. See Eitel's *Handbook*, s. voc. *Vadjrapâṇi*.

bad him to injure the crops of the husbandmen. Whereupon the dragon said, "All my sustenance comes from the fields of men; but now, grateful for the sacred instructions I have received, I fear it will be difficult to support myself in this way; yet pray let me have one gathering in every twelve years." Tathâgata compassionately permitted this. Therefore every twelfth year there is a calamity from the overflowing of the White River.

To the south-west of the fountain of the dragon Apalâla ('O-po-lo-lo), about 30 li on the north side of the river, there is a foot trace of Buddha on a great rock. According to the religious merit of persons, this impression appears long or short. This is the trace left by Buddha after having subdued the dragon. Afterwards men built up a stone residence (*over the impression*). Men come here from a distance to offer incense and flowers.

Following the stream downwards 30 li or so, we come to the stone where Tathâgata washed his robe. The tissues of the kashâya stuff are yet visible as if engraved on the rock.

To the south of the town of Mungali 400 li or so we come to Mount Hila (Hi-lo). The water flowing through the valley here turns to the west, and then flowing again eastward remounts (*towards its source*). Various fruits and flowers skirt the banks of the stream and face the sides of the mountains. There are high crags and deep caverns, and placid streams winding through the valleys: sometimes are heard the sounds of people's voices, sometimes the reverberation of musical notes. There are, moreover, square stones here like long narrow bedsteads,[15] perfected as if by the hand of men; they stretch in continuous lines from the mountain side down the valley. It was here Tathâgata dwelling in old days,

[15] The expression *t'ah yuen* may refer to the soft cushion of a bed, or it may have a technical meaning. Has the story arisen from the use of *prastara* for "bed" and "stone" alike?

by listening to half a *Gâtha* of the law was content to kill himself.[16]

Going south about 200 li from the town of Mungali, by the side of a great mountain, we come to the Mahâvana[17] *saṅghârâma.* It was here Tathâgata in old days practised the life of a Bôdhisattva under the name of Sarvadata-râja.[18] Fleeing from his enemy, he resigned his country and arrived secretly in this place. Meeting with a poor Brâhmaṇ who asked alms from him, and having nothing to give in consequence of his losing his country, he ordered him to bind him as a prisoner and take him to the king, his enemy, in order that he might receive a reward, which would be in the place of charity to him.

Going north-west from the Mahâvana *saṅghârâma* down the mountain 30 or 40 li, we arrive at the Mo-su *saṅghârâma.*[19] Here there is a *stûpa* about 100 feet or so in height.

By the side of it is a great square stone on which is the impress of Buddha's foot. This is the spot where Buddha in old time planted his foot, (*which*) scattered a kôṭi of rays of light which lit up the Mahâvana *saṅghârâma*, and then for the sake of Dêvas and men he recited the history of his former births (*Jâtakas*). Underneath this *stûpa* (*or* at the foot of it) is a stone of a yellow-white colour, which is always damp with an unctuous (*fatty*) moisture; this is where Buddha, when he was in old time practising the life of a Bôdhisattva, having heard the words of the true law, breaking a bone of his own body, wrote (*with the marrow*) the substance of a book containing the words he had heard.

[16] A *gâtha* is a verse of thirty-two syllables.—*Ch. Ed.* This story of Bôdhisattva sacrificing his life for the sake of a half-gâtha will be found in the *Mahâparinirvâṇa Sûtra* of the Northern School, K. xiv. fol. 11. I have translated it in *Trübner's Record.* See also *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. iv. p. 90; Upham, *Doctrines and Literature of Buddhism*, vol. iii. p. 306.

[17] In Chinese *Ta-lin*, "great forest."—*Ch. Ed.*

[18] The Chinese equivalents are *Sa-po-ta-ta*, which are explained by, *tsi-shi*, "he who gives all."

[19] For Mo-su-lo, Masûra.—Julien. Mo-su is explained in text to mean "lentils" (*masura*).

Going west 60 or 70 li from the Mo-su *saṅghârâma* is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja. It was here Tathâgata in old time, practising the life of a Bôdhisattva, was called Śivika (*or* Sibika) Râja.[20] Seeking the fruit of Buddhaship, he cut his body to pieces in this place to redeem a dove from the power of a hawk.

Going north-west from the place where he redeemed the dove, 200 li or so, we enter the valley of Shan-ni-lo-shi, where is the convent of Sa-pao-sha-ti.[21] Here is a *stûpa* in heigh 80 feet or so. In old time, when Buddha was Lord Śakra, famine and disease were prevalent everywhere in this country. Medicine was of no use, and the roads were filled with dead. Lord Śakra was moved with pity and meditated how he might rescue and save the people. Then changing his form, he appeared as a great serpent, and extended his dead body all along the void of the great valley, and called from the void to those on every side (*to look*). Those who heard were filled with joy, and running together hastened to the spot, and the more they cut the body of the serpent the more they revived, and were delivered both from famine and disease.

By the side of this *stûpa* and not far off is the great *stûpa* of Sûma. Here in old time when Tathâgata was Lord Śakra, filled with concern for the world, afflicted

[20] For the *S'ivi Jâtaka* see my *Abstract of Four Lectures*, pp. 33 seq. This story is a favourite one, and forms an episode in the *Mahâbhârata*, iii. 13275–13300; the same story of the hawk and pigeon is told of Uśînara in iii. 10560–10596. See also *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lx. and lxxxiii. fig. 1, pp. 194, 225. The figures of the dove and hawk, which are sometimes seen in other Buddhist sculptures, *e.g.*, Cunningham, *Bharhut Stûpa*, pl. xlv. 7, probably allude to this *jâtaka*. Conf. *Jour. Ceylon Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ii. (1853), pp. 5, 6; S. Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 277–279; Burgess, *Notes on Ajaṇṭâ Rock Temples*, p. 76; *Cave-Temples of India*, pp. 291, 315.

[21] The valley of Shan-ni-lo-shi may be restored to Sanirâja, "the giving king." There is a note in the original which explains Shi-pi-kia (Ṣivika) by the word "to give;" but Śivika is generally interpreted in Chinese Buddhist books by "silver-white," alluding perhaps to the "birch tree," with its silver-white bark, which is one of the meanings of *śivi*. The explanation "to give" ought to be referred to *sani*, in the compound Sanirâja. The name of the convent, Sa-pao-sha-ti, is explained in the text by *she-yo*—*serpent medicine*, and is restored by Julien to Sarpâushadi.

with every kind of disease and pestilence, with his perfect knowledge of the case, he changed himself into the serpent Sûma;[22] none of those who tasted his flesh failed to recover from their disease.

To the north of the valley Shan-ni-lo-shi, by the side of a steep rock, is a *stûpa*. Of those who, being sick, have come there to seek (*restoration*), most have recovered.

In old time Tathâgata was the king of peacocks;[23] on one occasion he came to this place with his followers. Being afflicted with tormenting thirst, they sought for water on every side without success. The king of the peacocks with his beak struck the rock, and forthwith there flowed out an abundant stream which now forms a lake. Those who are afflicted on tasting or washing in the water are healed. On the rock are still seen the traces of the peacock's feet.

To the south-west of the town of Mungali 60 or 70 li there is a great river,[24] on the east of which is a *stûpa* 60 feet or so in height; it was built by Shang-kiun (Uttarasêna). Formerly when Tathâgata was about to die, he addressed the great congregation and said: "After my *Nirvâṇa*, Uttarasêna-râja, of the country Udyâna (U-chang-na), will obtain a share of the relics of my body. When the kings were about to divide the relics equally, Uttarasêna-râja arrived after (*the others*); coming from a frontier country, he was treated with little regard by the others.[25] At this time the Dêvas published afresh the

[22] The serpent Sûma (*Su-mo-she*), translated by Julien, "serpent of water;" but I take Sûma to be a proper name. The serpent Sûma is probably another form of the Ahi, or cloud-snake of the *Vêda* (compare Tiele, *Outlines of the History of Anc. Nations*, p. 174). The Dêva of Adam's Peak, who has so much to do with the serpents converted by Buddha, is called Sumana.

[23] Mayûra-râja.

[24] The Subhavastu or Suvâstu (*Rig-Vêda*, viii. 19, 37; *Mahâbhâr.*, vi. 333), the Σόαστος of Arrian (*Ind.*, iv. 11), the Σουάστος of Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 42), and the modern Swât river, at the source of which the dragon Apalâla lived. Conf. Fah-hian, ch. viii.; *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 86; Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 277; Saint-Martin, *Géographie du Veda*, p. 44; *Mém Analitique s. la Carte, &c.*, pp. 63, 64; Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 336, n. 2; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. (2d ed.), p. 140; *J. A. S. Beng.*, vol. ix. p. 480; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 183, 190, 194; and *ante*, notes 4 and 12, pp. 120, 122.

[25] This may be also construed, "he was treated lightly on account of his rustic (frontier) appearance."

words of Tathâgata as he was about to die. Then obtaining a portion of relics, the king came back to his country, and, to show his great respect, erected this *stûpa*. By the side of it, on the bank of the great river, there is a large rock shaped like an elephant. Formerly Uttarasêna-râja brought back to his own land the relics of Buddha on a great white elephant. Arrived at this spot, the elephant suddenly fell down and died, and was changed immediately into stone. By the side of this the *stûpa* is built.

Going west of the town of Mungali 50 li or so, and crossing the great river, we come to a *stûpa* called Lu-hi-ta-kia (Rôhitaka); it is about 50 feet high, and was built by Aśôka-râja. In former days, when Tathâgata was practising the life of a Bôdhisattva, he was the king of a great country, and was called Ts'z'-li (*power of love*).[26] In this place he pierced his body, and with his blood fed the five Yakshas.

To the north-east of the town of Mungali 30 li or so is the Ho-pu-to-shi *stûpa*,[27] about 40 feet in height. In former days Tathâgata here expounded the law for the sake of men and Dêvas, to instruct (*enlighten*) and guide them. After Tathâgata had gone, from the earth suddenly arose (*this stûpa*); the people highly reverenced it, and offered flowers and incense without end.

To the west of the stone *stûpa*, after crossing the great river and going 30 or 40 li, we arrive at *Vihâra*, in which is a figure of Avalôkitêśvara Bôdhisattva.[28] Its spiritual

[26] *Ts'z' li*, restored by Julien to Maitribala; for this *Jâtaka* see R. Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 50.

[27] *Ho-pu-to* is for *adbhuta*, miraculous or unique (Ch. *k'i-te*). Julien suggests Adbhutâśma, the name of this *stûpa* of miraculous stone (*k'i-te-shi*), but it may be simply "a miraculous stone stûpa." The expression "stone stûpa" is a common one, and indeed occurs in the following section.

[28] Avalôkitêśvara, in Chinese the phonetic symbols are *'O-fo-lu-che-to-i-shi-fa-lo.* There is a note in the text explaining the meaning of this name to be "the looking or beholding god" (*Îśvara*, (*kwan*) or beholding god" (*Îśvara*, Ch. *tsz' tsai*, "self-existent"). The note adds that the old forms of translation, viz., *Kwong-shai-yin*, "luminous voice," *Kwan-shai-yin*, "beholding or regarding voice," *Kwan-shai-tsz'-tsai*, "beholding the world god," are all erroneous. But there is good reason for believing that the form *Kwan-shai-yin*, "be-

influences exhibit themselves in a mysterious way, and its miraculous powers (*evidences*) are manifested in an illustrious manner. The votaries of the law come together from every side, and offer it continual sacrifices (*presents*).

Going north-west 140 or 150 li from the statue of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhisattva, we come to the mountain of Lan-po-lu. The crest of this mountain has a dragon lake about 30 li or so in circuit. The clear waves roll in their majesty, the water pure as a bright mirror. In old days Pi-lu-tse-kia (Virûḍhaka-râja) having led his army to attack the Śâkyas, four of the tribe resisted the advance.[29] These were driven away by their clansmen, and each fled in a different direction. One of the Śâkyas, having left the capital of the country, and being worn out by travel, sat down to rest in the middle of the road.

There appeared now a wild goose, who, in his flight (*progress*), alighted before him; and because of his docile ways, he at last mounted on his back. The goose then flying away, took him to the side of this lake. By this mode of conveyance the Śâkya fugitive visited different kingdoms in various directions. Once having mistaken his way, he went to sleep by the side of the lake under

holding or attending to the voice of men," arose from a confusion of the "looking-down god" with a quality attributed to a similar deity of "hearing prayers" (Al Makah). (See *J. R. As. S.*, *N.S.*, vol. xv. p. 333 f.) It is singular, if the expression *Kwan-yin* is erroneous, that Hiuen Tsiang, or rather Hwui-lih, uses it so constantly in his biography (see *Vie*, pp. 88, 141, 146, 163, 172, and in the context); *ante*, p. 60, n. 210.

[29] For an account of this incident see below, Book vi. There is a corresponding account in the *Mahâvanso*, p. 55. "While Buddha yet lived, driven by the misfortunes produced by the war of Prince Viḍudhabho, certain members of the Śâkya line retreating to Himavanto discovered a delightful and beautiful location, well watered and situated in the midst of a forest of lofty bo and other trees, &c." The account then goes on to speak of the *peafowls* (*mayuros*), and from that to trace the origin of the Môriyan dynasty, to which Chandragupta belonged. The tale of the peacock bringing water from the rock, the serpent to which the dying people were to look, and the Môriyan line of kings, might perhaps justify some reference to the name of the people inhabiting this district, viz., the Yûzafzaïs, Yûzaf being the Oriental form of the name of Joseph (V. de St. Martin, *Mémoire*, p. 313, n. 3). Conf. Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sans. Lit.*, p. 285; *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, p. 336. The account of the Nâga maiden and the exiled wanderer (holy youth) which follows is also suggestive.

the shadow of a tree. At this time a young Nâga maiden was walking beside the lake, and suddenly espied the Śâkya youth. Fearing that she might not be able otherwise to accomplish her wish,[30] she transformed herself into a human shape and began to caress him. The youth, because of this, awoke affrighted from his sleep, and addressing her said, "I am but a poor wanderer worn out with fatigue; why then do you show me such tenderness?" In the course of matters the youth, becoming deeply moved, prayed her to consent to his wishes. She said, "My father and mother require to be asked and obeyed in this matter. You have favoured me with your affection, but they have not yet consented." The Śâkya youth replied, "The mountains and valleys (*surround us*) with their mysterious shades; where then is your home?" She said, "I am a Nâga maiden belonging to this pool. I have heard with awe of your holy tribe having suffered such things, and of your being driven away from home to wander here and there in consequence. I have fortunately been able, as I wandered, to administer somewhat to your comfort, and you have desired me to yield to your wishes in other respects, but I have received no commands to that effect from my parents. Unhappily, too, this Nâga body is the curse following my evil deeds."[31]

The Śâkya youth answered, "One word uttered from the ground of the heart and agreed to (*by us both*) and this matter is ended."[32] She said, "I respectfully obey your

[30] That is, to approach near and inquire or look upon him (*tang*). The word rendered "caress" in this passage means to smooth, or pat the head.

[31] This passage may be rendered literally thus: "How much rather, alas! since on account of accumulated misery I have received this Nâga (*serpent*) body." The expression *tsih ho*, "misery accumulated from evil deeds," corresponds with the phrase *tsih fuh*, "much happiness derived from good works." (See Wells Williams, *Tonic Dict.*, sub *tsik*, to gather or hoard up.) There is a passage following the above omitted in the text: "A man and beast are different in their ways (*of birth*); such a union has not been heard of."

[32] This may otherwise be translated: "One word permitted by you, my cherished desire is then accomplished." I take *suh sin* to be equal to *suh yuen*, a cherished desire; but the expression may also refer to the power of accumulated merit to effect

orders; let that follow whatever it be."[33] Then the Śâkya youth said, "By the power of my accumulated merit let this Nâga woman be turned into human shape." The woman was immediately so converted. On seeing herself thus restored to human shape she was overjoyed, and gratefully addressed the Śâkya youth thus: "By my evil deeds (*through the accumulation of evil deeds*), I have been compelled to migrate through evil forms of birth, till now happily, by the power of your religious merit, the body which I have possessed through many kalpas has been changed in a moment. My gratitude is boundless, nor could it be expressed if I wore my body to dust (*with frequent prostrations*). Let me but acquaint my father and mother; I will then follow you and obey you in all things."[34]

The Nâga maiden then returning to the lake addressed her father and mother, saying, "Just now, as I was wandering abroad, I lighted upon a Śâkya youth, who by the power of his religious merit succeeded in changing me into human form. Having formed an affection for me, he desires to marry me. I lay before you the matter in its truth."

The Nâga-râja was rejoiced to see his daughter restored to human form, and from a true affection to the holy tribe he gave consent to his daughter's request. Then proceeding from the lake, he expressed his deep gratitude to the Sâkya youth, and said, "You have not despised creatures of other kinds, and have condescended to those beneath you. I pray you come to my abode, and there receive my humble services."[35]

an object, the *sachcha kiriyâ* (*satya-krityâ*) of the Southern School of Buddhism. See Childers, *Pâli Dict.*, sub voc.; also *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 40.

[33] Julien translates this passage: "I am prepared to follow you." The meaning may also be, "only let that follow which you desire;" or, "only let that be accomplished which is the consequence of the past," *i.e.*, your past deeds.

[34] The literal translation of this passage is: "Desiring to make returns for this goodness, grinding my body to dust, I should not yet thank you enough. My heart desires to follow you in your travels; one thing restrains me, the propriety of things; let me," &c. Instead of "obey you," the word *li* may refer to ceremonial or marriage rites.

[35] Literally, "sweepings and bathings."

The Śâkya youth having accepted the Nâga-râja's invitation, went forthwith to his abode. On this all the family of the Nâga received the youth with extreme reverence, and desired to delight his mind by an excess of feasting and pleasure; but the youth, seeing the dragon forms of his entertainers, was filled with affright and disgust, and he desired to go. The Nâga-râja detaining him said, "Of your kindness depart not. Occupy a neighbouring abode; I will manage to make you master of this land and to obtain a lasting fame. All the people shall be your servants, and your dynasty shall endure for successive ages."

The Śâkya youth expressed his gratitude, and said, "I can hardly expect your words to be fulfilled." Then the Nâga-râja took a precious sword and placed it in a casket covered with white camlet, very fine and beautiful, and then he said to the Śâkya youth, "Now of your kindness go to the king and offer him this white camlet as a tribute. The king will be sure to accept it as the offering of a remote (*distant*) person; then, as he takes it, draw forth the sword and kill him. Thus you will seize his kingdom. Is it not excellent?"

The Śâkya youth receiving the Nâga's directions, went forthwith to make his offering to the king of U-chang-na (Udyâna). When the king was about to take the piece of white camlet, then the youth took hold of his sleeve, and pierced him with the sword. The attendant ministers and the guards raised a great outcry and ran about in confusion. The Śâkya youth, waving the sword, cried out, "This sword that I hold was given me by a holy Nâga wherewith to punish the contumelious and subdue the arrogant." Being affrighted at the divine warrior, they submitted, and gave him the kingdom. On this he corrected abuses and established order; he advanced the good and relieved the unfortunate; and then with a great cortége he advanced towards the Nâga palace to acquaint him with the completion of his undertaking;

and then taking his wife he went back to the capital. Now the former demerits of the Nâga girl were not yet effaced, and their consequences still remained. Every time he went to rest by her side, from her head came forth the ninefold crest of the Nâga. The Śâkya prince, filled with affright and disgust, hitting on no other plan, waited till she slept, and then cut off (*the dragon's crest*) with his sword. The Nâga girl, alarmed, awoke and said, "This will bring no good hereafter to your posterity; it will not be ineffectual in slightly afflicting me during my life, and your children and grandchildren will all suffer from pains in the head." And so the royal line of this country are ever afflicted with this malady, and although they are not all so continually, yet every succession brings a worse affliction. After the death of the Śâkya youth his son succeeded under the name of Uttarasêna (U-ta-lo-si-na).

Just after Uttarasêna had come to power his mother lost her sight. Tathâgata, when he was going back from the subjugation of the Nâga Apalâla, descended from space and alighted in this palace. Uttarasêna was out hunting, and Tathâgata preached a short sermon to his mother. Having heard the sermon from the mouth of the holy one, she forthwith recovered her sight. Tathâgata then asked her, "Where is your son? he is of my family." She said, "He went out hunting for a while this morning, but he will soon be back." When Tathâgata with his attendants were bent on going, the king's mother said, "Of my great fortune I have borne a child belonging to the holy family; and Tathâgata of his great compassion has again come down to visit my house as connected with him. My son will soon return; oh, pray remain for a short time!" The Lord of the World said, "This son of yours belongs to my family; he need only hear the truth to believe it and understand it. If he were not my relative I would remain to instruct his heart, but now I go. On his return, tell him that Tathâgata has gone from this to Kuśinagara (Keu-shi), where between the *Sâla* trees he is about to

die, and let your son come for a share of the relics to honour them."

Then Tathâgata with all his attendants took flight through the air and went. Afterwards Uttarasêna-râja, whilst engaged in the chase, saw, a long way off, his palace lighted up as if with a fire. Being in doubt about it, he quitted the chase and returned. On seeing his mother with her sight restored he was transported with joy, and addressed her, saying, "What fortunate circumstance has occurred to you during my short absence that you should have got your sight again as of old time?" The mother said, "After you had gone out Tathâgata came here, and after hearing him preach I recovered my sight. Buddha has gone from here to Kuśinagara; he is going to die between the *Sâla* trees. He commands you to go quickly to the spot to get some of his relics."

The king having heard these words, uttered cries of lamentation, and fell prostrate on the ground motionless. Coming to himself, he collected his cortége and went to the twin-trees, where Buddha had already died. Then the kings of the other countries treated him scornfully, and were unwilling to give him a share of the much-prized relics they were taking to their own countries. On this a great assembly of Dêvas acquainted them with Buddha's wishes, on which the kings divided the relics equally, beginning with him.

Going north-west from the town of Mung-kia-li, crossing a mountain and passing through a valley, we reascend the Sin-tu river.[36] The roads are craggy and steep; the mountains and the valleys are dark and gloomy. Sometimes we have to cross by ropes, sometimes by iron chains stretched (*across the gorges*). There are foot-bridges (*or* covered ways) suspended in the air, and flying bridges across the chasms, with wooden steps let into the ground for climbing the steep embankments. Going thus 1000 li or

[36] That is, we strike on the Indus river, and ascend it against its course.

so, we reach the river valley of Ta-li-lo,[37] where stood once the capital of U-chang-na. This country produces much gold and scented turmeric. By the side of a great *saṅghârâma* in this valley of Ta-li-lo is a figure of Maitrêya[38] Bôdhisattva, carved out of wood. It is golden coloured, and very dazzling in appearance, and possesses a secret spiritual power (*of miracle*). It is about 100 feet high, and is the work of the Arhat Madhyântika.[39] This saint by his spiritual power caused a sculptor to ascend into the Tushita (Tu-si-to) heaven, that he might see for himself the marks and signs (*on the person of Maitrêya*); this he did three times, till his task was finished. From the time of the execution of this image the streams of the law (*religious teaching*) began to flow eastward.

Going east from this, after climbing precipices and crossing valleys, we go up the course of the Sin-tu river; and then, by the help of flying bridges and footways made

[37] Ta-li-lo, or Dâril or Dârail, a valley on the right or western bank of the Indus (long. 73° 44′ E.), watered by a river Daril, containing half-a-dozen towns, and occupied by Dârdus or Dards, from whom it received its name (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 82). It is perhaps the same as the To-li of Fa-hian. Conf. Cunningham in *J. A. S. Ben.*, vol. xvii. pt. ii. p. 19; and *Ladak*, pp. 2, 46 f. Julien has Talila.

[38] Maitrêya is the "Buddha to come." He is supposed now to be dwelling as a Bôdhisattva in the fourth Dêvalôka heaven called Tushita (Hardy, *Man. Budh.*, p. 25; Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 96, 606). This heaven is the place of desire for Buddhists like Hiuen Tsiang, who constantly prayed on his death-bed for the happiness of being born there. The short Chinese inscription lately found at Buddha Gayâ is occupied chiefly with aspirations after this heaven (*J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xiii. pp. 552 f.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. x. p. 193). It is a belief opposed to the "paradise of the west" (*Sukhâvatî*), which probably is of foreign origin.

[39] Madhyântika, according to the Northern School of Buddhism, was a disciple of Ânanda (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, xi.), converted shortly before the death of the latter. In Tibetan he is called *Ni-mahi-gung*. See *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx. p. 92. By some he is reckoned as one of the first five patriarchs, and placed between Ânanda and Śâṇavâsa, but others do not reckon him among them. At Banâras the people were annoyed at the number of Bhikshus, and Madhyântika, taking ten thousand of them, flew through the air to Mount Uśira, in Kaśmîr, which he converted to Buddhism. See Vassilief, pp. 35, 39, 45, 225; Köppen, vol. i. pp. 145, 189 f. The *Mahâwaṅso* (p. 71) speaks of a Majjhima who, after the third Buddhist synod, was sent to Kaśmîr and the Himavanta country to spread the Buddhist faith. (See also Oldenberg, *Dîpavaṁśa*, viii. 10.) Fa-hian (chap. vii.) says this image was carved about 300 years after the *Nirvâṇa*.

of wood across the chasms and precipices, after going 500 li or so, we arrive at the country of Po-lu-lo (Bolor).

Po-lu-lo (Bolor.)

The country of Po-lu-lo[40] is about 4000 li in circuit; it stands in the midst of the great Snowy Mountains. It is long from east to west, and narrow from north to south. It produces wheat and pulse, gold and silver. Thanks to the quantity of gold, the country is rich in supplies. The climate is continually cold. The people are rough and rude in character; there is little humanity or justice with them; and as for politeness, such a thing has not been heard of. They are coarse and despicable in appearance, and wear clothes made of wool. Their letters are nearly like those of India, their language somewhat different. There are about a hundred *saṅghârâmas* in the country, with something like a thousand priests, who show no great zeal for learning, and are careless in their moral conduct. Leaving this country and returning to U-to-kia-han-cha (Uḍakhâṇḍa),[41]

[40] According to Cunningham, Bolor is the modern Balti, Baltistân, or Little Tibet (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 84). Marco Polo also mentions a country called Bolor, but he places it E.N.E. from the Pamir plateau (Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 187). Bolor may have included both Balti and the mountains adjoining the southern margin of Pamir. Indeed the Chinese included Chitral to the northern boundary of Swât under this term (Yule). Sung Yun refers to this country (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 187). For other references see Yule (*op. cit.*, p. 188). Although Hwui-lih says nothing about this visit to Bolor, yet the use of the symbol *king* shows that Hiuen Tsiang personally visited the country. Marco Polo says of the people, "they are indeed an evil race." He also calls them "savage idolaters" (*op. cit.*, chap. xxxii.) Ptolemy (*Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 13, 3) places the Βῦλται at the foot of the Imaus mountains, in Little Tibet or Baltistân. This district was noted for its gold in very early times (conf. Herodotos, lib. iii. cc. 102, 105; Strabo, lib. ii. c. 1, 9; lib. xv. c. 1, 37; Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, lib. v. c. 4; *Indika*, c. 5; and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv. pp. 225 ff.

[41] There seems little doubt that this should be identified with Ohind or Wahand on the right bank of the Indus, about 16 miles above Atak. Albîrûnî calls it Wayhand, the capital of Kandahâr (Gandhâra). V. St. Martin, *Mem.*, *u. s.*, p. 310; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. p. 474 n.; Reinaud, *Fragm. Arab. et Pers.*, p. 114; *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 196, 276; Court, *J. A. S. Ben.*, vol. v. p. 395; Cunningham, *ib.*, vol. xvii. p. 130, and *Anc. Geog.*, pp. 55 f.; Benfey, *Indien*, p. 115; Elliot, *Hist. Ind.*, vol. i. pp. 48, 63, 445; vol. ii. pp. 28, 33, 150, 426, 438 f.; and *ante*, p. 114, n. 108.

we cross at the south the river Sin-tu. The river is about 3 or 4 li in width, and flows south-west. Its waters are pure and clear as a mirror as they roll along with impetuous flow. Poisonous Nâgas and hurtful beasts occupy the caverns and clefts along its sides. If a man tries to cross the river carrying with him valuable goods or gems or rare kinds of flowers or fruits, or especially relics of Buddha, the boat is frequently engulphed by the waves.[42] After crossing the river we arrive at the kingdom of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo (Takshaśilâ).

TA-CH'A-SHI-LO (TAKSHAŚILÂ).

The kingdom of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo[43] is about 2000 li in circuit, and the capital is about 10 li in circuit. The royal family being extinct, the nobles contend for power by force. Formerly this country was in subjection to Kapiśa, but latterly it has become tributary to Kia-shi-

[42] So we find on his return journey Hiuen Tsiang lost his books and flowers, and was nearly drowned in crossing the river about this spot (see Hwui-lih, K. v.; *Vie*, p. 263).

[43] On the return journey, Hiuen Tsiang makes the distance from Takshaśilâ to the Indus three days' journey N.W. (Hwui-lih, *Vie*, p. 263). Fa-hien makes it seven days' journey from Gandhâra (cap. xi.); Sung-yun also places it three days to the east of the Indus (Beal's *Bud. Pilgrims*, p. 200). General Cunningham places the site of the city near Shah-dheri, one mile to the north-east of Kâla-ka-sarai, where he found the ruins of a fortified city, and was able to trace the remains of no less than fifty-five *stûpas*—of which two were as large as the great Mânikyâla tope—twenty-eight monasteries, and nine temples (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 105). The classical writers notice the size and wealth of the city of Τάξιλα (Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, lib. v. c. 8; Strabo, *Geog.*, lib. xv. c. 1, 17, and 28; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, lib. vi. c. 17, 62, and c. 23; Ptolemy, *Geog.*, lib. vii. 1, 45; Dionysius Perig., 1141). Apollonius and Damis are said also to have visited Taxila about A.D. 45. Philostratus describes the carvings and pictures of a temple near the town, representing scenes from the conflict of Porus with Alexander (cap. 20, p. 71, ed. Olearii, 1709). For further remarks on the ruins and antiquities see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 f. M. V. de St. Martin, relying on the measurements given by Pliny derived from the records of Alexander's expedition, places Taxila at Hasan-Abdal, eight miles north-west of Shah-dheri (vid. *Mémoire*, p. 319); conf. Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, p. 196; *J. R. A. S.*, vol. v. p. 118; Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 322 f., 332, 361; *Lotus*, pp. 689 f.; Bunbury, *Hist. Anc. Geog.*, vol. i. pp. 443, 499. It is frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature, *e.g.*, *Mahâbh.*, i. 682, 834; *Râmâyaṇa*, iv. 53, śl. 23; *Bṛih. Saṁh.*, x. 8, and xiv. 26; Pâṇini, iv. 2, 82 and 3, 93.

mi-lo (Kaśmîr). The land is renowed for its fertility, and produces rich harvests. It is very full of streams and fountains. Flowers and fruits are abundant. The climate is agreeably temperate. The people are lively and courageous, and they honour the three gems. Although there are many *saṅghârâmas*, they have become ruinous and deserted, and there are very few priests; those that there are study the Great Vehicle.

North-west of the capital about 70 li is the tank of the Nâga-râja Êlâpatra (I-lo-po-to-lo);[44] it is about 100 paces round, the waters are pure and sweet; lotus flowers of various colours, which reflect different tints in their common beauty (*garnish the surface*); this Nâga was a Bhikshu who anciently, in the time of Kâśyapa Buddha, destroyed an Êlâpatra tree. Hence, at the present time, when the people of that country ask for rain or fine weather, they must go with the Shamans to the side of the tank, and then cracking their fingers (*or*, in a moment), after praying for the desired object, they obtain it.

Going 30 li or so to the south-east of the Nâga tank, we enter a gorge between two mountains, where there is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. It is about 100 feet in height. This is where Śâkya Tathâgata delivered a prediction, that when Maitrêya, Lord of the World, appeared hereafter, there should also appear of themselves four great gem treasures, and that in this excellent land there should be one. According to tradition, we find that whenever there is an earthquake, and the mountains on every side are shaken, all round this sacred spot (*treasure*) to the distance of 100 paces there is perfect stillness. If men are

44 The story of the Naga-râja Êlâpatra is a favourite one in Chinese Buddhist books. See *Romantic Hist. of Buddha*, p. 276 ff. (*Stûpa of Bharhut*, p. 27). Cunningham identifies the tank of Êlâpatra with the fountain of Hasan Abdal called Bâbâ-Wali. In the legend referred to above we are told that the Nâga stretched his body from Takshaśilâ to Banâras (compare the sculpture). In this case we should be led to Hasan Abdal as the site of Takshaśilâ. This Nâga is mentioned in Brahmanical literature also as the son of Kaśyapa and Kadrû. *Mahâbhârata*, i. 1551; *Harivaṁśa*, 228, 12821; *Vishṇu-purâṇa* (Hall's ed.), vol. ii. pp. 74, 285, 287, and vol. v. p. 251.

so foolish as to attempt to dig into the place (*or* ground surrounding it), the earth shakes again, and the men are thrown down headlong.

By the side of the *stûpa* is a *saṅghârâma* in ruins, and which has been for a long time deserted and without priests.

To the north of the city 12 or 13 li is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. On feast-days (*religious commemoration days*) it glows with light, and divine flowers fall around it, and heavenly music is heard. According to tradition, we find in late times there was a woman whose body was grievously afflicted with leprosy. Coming to the *stûpa* secretly, she offered worship in excess and confessed her faults. Then seeing that the vestibule (*the open court in front of the stûpa*) was full of dung and dirt, she removed it, and set to work to sweep and water it and to scatter flowers and perfumes; and having gathered some blue lotus flowers, she covered the ground with them. On this her evil leprosy left her, and her form became lovely, and her beauty doubled, whilst from her person there came the famed scent of the blue lotus, and this also is the reason of the fragrance of this excellent place. This is the spot where Tathâgata formerly dwelt when he was practising the discipline of a Bôdhisattva; he was then the king of a great country and was called Chen-ta-lo-po-la-po (Chandraprabha); he cut off his head, earnestly seeking the acquirement of *Bôdhi*: and this he did during a thousand successive births, (*for the same object and in the same place*).[45]

By the side of the *stûpa* of the "sacrificed head" is a *saṅghârâma*, of which the surrounding courts are deserted and overgrown; there are (*nevertheless*) a few priests. It

[45] This legend was the origin of the name Taksha-śirâ, "the severed head," given to the place, as noticed by Fa-hian and Sung-yun. The legend will be found in Râjéndralâl Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, pp. 310, viii. "The man" for whose sake he gave his head, as stated by Sung-yun (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 200) and by Fa-hian (cap. xi.) was the wicked Brâhman Rudrâksha.

was here in old days the master of *śâstras* Kumâralabdha,[46] belonging to the school of *Sûtras* (Sâutrântikas),[47] composed several treatises.

Outside the city to the south-east, on the shady[48] side of a mountain,[49] there is a *stûpa*, in height 100 feet or so; this is the place where they put out the eyes of Ku-lang-na (for *Ku-na-lang-na*, Kunâla), who had been unjustly accused by his step-mother; it was built by Aśôka-râja.

When the blind pray to it (*or* before it) with fervent faith, many of them recover their sight. This prince (Kunâla) was the son of the rightful queen. His person was graceful and his disposition loving and humane. When the queen-royal was dead, her successor (*the step-queen*) was dissolute and unprincipled. Following her wild and foolish preference, she made proposals to the prince; he, when she solicited him, reproached her with tears, and departed, refusing to be guilty of such a crime. The step-mother, seeing that he rejected her, was filled with wrath and hatred; waiting for an interval when she was with the king, she addressed him[50] thus: "To whom should your majesty intrust the government of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo but to your own son? The prince is renowned for his humanity and obedience; because of his attachment to the good his fame is in every mouth." The king listening to her seducing words,[51] agreed willingly with the vile plot, and forthwith gave orders to his eldest son in these

[46] In Chinese *Tong-shau*, youth-receiving; the phonetic symbols are *Ku-mo-lo-lo to.*

[47] The Sautrântika school of Buddhism was, according to Vassilief (*Buddhisme*, p. 233), founded by Dharmottara or Utaradharma; it was one of the two principal branches of the Hînayâna, or Little Vehicle, of Buddhism; the other branch being the Vaibhâshika school. On their tenets see Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, vol. i. pp. 391 f.; Köppen, *Die Relig. d. Buddha*, vol. i. pp. 151 f.; Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 109, 397 f.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. p. 460; Vassilief, pp. 34, 38, 48, 63 f., 114 f., 268, 273–286, 321.

[48] That is, on the northern side.

[49] Or, a south mountain; but probably *nan* is redundant.

[50] The text requires some such expression as "winningly" or "when on easy terms with the king" she addressed him thus.

[51] The text implies that he was gratified to accede to the terms of this plot of the adulteress, or this adulterous (*kien*) plot.

words: "I have received my royal inheritance in succession, and I desire to hand it down to those who follow me; my only fear is lest I should lose aught of it and so dishonour my ancestors. I now confide to you the government of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo.[52] The affairs of a country are of serious importance; the feelings of men are contradictory; undertake nothing rashly, so as to endanger your authority; verify the orders sent you; my seal is the impression of my teeth; here in my mouth is my seal. There can be no mistake."

On this the prince, receiving his orders, went to establish order. And so months passed on, yet the step-mother's hatred did but increase. Accordingly she wrote a dispatch and sealed it with red wax, and then, waiting till the king was asleep, she stamped it secretly with his tooth impression, and sent it off by a messenger with all dispatch as a letter of accusation. His ministers having read the letter,[53] were confused, and looked at one another with dismay.

The prince then asked them what moved them so. They said, "The Mahârâja has sent a dispatch accusing the prince, and ordering both his eyes to be put out, and that he be taken with his wife to the mountains,[54] and there left to die. Although this order has come, we dare not obey it; but we will ask afresh for directions, and keep you bound till the reply comes."[55]

The prince said, "My father, if he has ordered my death, must be obeyed; and the seal of his teeth is a sure sign of the truth of the order. There can be no error." Then he ordered a Chaṇḍâla to pluck out his eyes; and

[52] About fifty years after Alexander's campaign the people of Takshaśilâ rebelled against Bindusâra, king of Magadha, who sent his eldest son, Susima, to besiege the place. On his failure the siege was intrusted to Aśôka, his younger son, to whom the people at once submitted. Here Aśôka dwelt as viceroy of the Panjâb during his father's lifetime, and here on the occasion of another revolt he placed his son Kuṇâla, the hero of the legend in the text. Conf. Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 163, 357, 360; *J. A. S. Ben.*, vol. vi. p. 714.

[53] Having perused the letter on their knees.

[54] To the mountain valleys.

[55] Awaiting the sentence or punishment.

having thus lost his sight, he wandered forth to beg for his daily support. As he travelled on far away, he came to his father's capital town. His wife said to him,[56] "There is the royal city." "Alas!" he said, "what pain I endure from hunger and cold. I was a prince; I am a beggar. Oh, that I could make myself known and get redress for the false charge formerly brought against me!"[57] On this he contrived to enter the king's inner bureau, and in the after part of the night he began to weep, and with a plaintive voice, accompanied with the sound of a lute,[58] he sang a mournful song.

The king, who was in an upper chamber,[59] hearing these wonderful strains full of sadness and suffering, was surprised, and inquired. "From the notes of the lute and the sound of the voice I take this to be my son; but why has he come here?"

He immediately said to his court attendant, "Who is that singing so?"

Forthwith he brought the blind man into his presence and placed him before the king. The king, seeing the prince, overwhelmed with grief, exclaimed, "Who has thus injured you? Who has caused this misery, that my beloved son should be deprived of sight? Not one of all his people can he see. Alas! what an end to come to![60] O heavens! O heavens! what a misfortune is this!"[61]

The prince, yielding to his tears, thanked (his father) and replied, "In truth,[62] for want of filial piety have I thus been

[56] Kunâla's wife was called Chin-kin-man, pure-gold-garland (Kâñchanamâlâ). The stepmother's name was Tishyarakshitâ, and his mother's Padmavatî (Lien-hwa). His name is also spelt Kuṇâla.

[57] This may be otherwise rendered: "Would that I could obtain a hearing, so as to vindicate myself completely from the former accusation." Julien translates it: "I will expose anew my past faults."

[58] A *vînâ*.

[59] A high tower or pavilion.

[60] Or it may simply mean, "how was this brought about?"

[61] Julien translates it, "how virtue has degenerated." The symbol *tih*, however, need not be rendered "virtue;" it refers to the reversal of fortune or condition.

[62] The sense of the passage seems to require the force of *ching* to be, "Do you not know?" or "You are aware that my punishment is due to a charge of filial disobedience."

punished by Heaven. In such a year and such a month and such a day suddenly there came a loving order (*or an order from my mother*). Having no means of excusing myself, I dared not shrink from the punishment." The king's heart, knowing that the second wife had committed this crime, without any further inquiry caused her to be put to death.[63]

At this time in the *saṅghârâma* of the *Bôdhi* tree[64] there was a great Arhat called Ghôsha (Kiu-sha). He had the fourfold power of "explanation without any difficulties."[65] He was completely versed in the *Trividyâs.*[66] The king taking to him his blind son, told him all the matter, and prayed that he would of his mercy restore him to sight. Then that Arhat, having received the king's request, forthwith addressed to the people this order: "To-morrow I desire to declare the mysterious principle (*of the law*); let each person come here with a vessel in his hands to hear the law and receive in it his tears." Accordingly, they came together from every side (*far and near*), both men and women, in crowds. At this time the Arhat preached on the twelve *Nidânas,*[67] and there was not one of those who heard the sermon but was moved to tears. The tears were collected in the vessels, and then, when his sermon was finished, he collected all these tears in one golden vessel, and then, with a strong affirmation, he said, "What I have said is gathered from the most mysterious of Buddha's doctrines; if this is not true, if there be error in what I have said, then let things remain as they are; but if it is otherwise, I desire that this blind

[63] This story is also given by Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 362 f.

[64] The *saṅghârâma* of the *Bôdhi* tree was the convent built on the site of the Buddha Gayâ temple.

[65] For this fourfold power of unimpeded explanation consult Childers' *Pâli Dict. s. v. patisambhidâ*, also Eitel, *Handbook s. v. pratisaṁvid.* Julien has an instructive note on this point. Conf. Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 839.

[66] For the *trividyâs* consult Eitel, *sub voc.*; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 372; Julien, *Mém. s. l. Cont. Occid.*, tome i. p. 160; and *ante*, p. 105, n. 75.

[67] See Burnouf, *Introd. au Buddh.*, pp. 52, 432, 574, 577 f.; *Lotus*, p. 380; Hardy, *East. Mon.*, pp. 6, 193, 301.

man may recover his sight after washing his eyes with these tears."[68]

After finishing this speech he washed his eyes with the water, and lo! his sight was restored.

The king then accused the ministers (*who had executed the order*) and their associates. Some he degraded, others he banished, others he removed, others he put to death. The common people (*who had participated in the crime*) he banished to the north-east side of the Snowy Mountains, to the middle of the sandy desert.

Going south-east from this kingdom, and crossing the mountains and valleys about 700 li, we come to the kingdom of Săng-ho-pu-lo (Siṁhapura).

SANG-HO-PU-LO [SIMHAPURA].

The kingdom of Săng-ho-pu-lo[69] is about 3500 or 3600 li in circuit. On the west it borders on the river Sin-tu. The capital is about 14 or 15 li in circuit; it borders on the mountains. The crags and precipices which surround it cause it to be naturally strong. The ground is not highly cultivated, but the produce is abundant. The climate is cold, the people are fierce and value highly the quality of courage; moreover, they are much given to deceit. The country has no king or rulers, but is in dependence on Kaśmîr. Not far to the south of the capital is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. The decorations

[68] There is a similar story told by Aśvaghôsha; the Ghôsha of the text, however, must not be confused with him.

[69] The distance from Takshaśilâ to Siṁhapura being 700 li, or about 140 miles, we should expect to find it near Taki or Narasiṅha (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, map vi.). But the capital is described as being surrounded by mountain crags, which will not apply to the plain country of Taki. For the same reason the town of Sangohi, which M. V. de St. Martin refers to, cannot be the place in question. General Cunningham identifies it with Ketâs or Ketaksh, the holy tanks of which are still visited by crowds of pilgrims from all parts of India (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 124). If this be so, the distance may probably include the *double* journey. The expression used by Hwui-lih (*kan*) seems to imply this. According to the subsequent account, Hiuen Tsiang went to Siṁhapura as an excursion, and returned to Takshaśilâ. He probably went with Jain pilgrims who were visiting this *tîrtha*, or holy place.

are much injured: spiritual wonders are continually connected with it. By its side is a *saṅghârâma*, which is deserted and without priests.

To the south-east of the city 40 or 50 li is a stone *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja; it is 200 feet or so in height. There are ten tanks, which are secretly connected together, and on the right and left (*of the walks joining them*) are covered stones (*balustrades*) in different shapes and of strange character. The water of the tanks is clear, and the ripples are sometimes noisy and tumultuous. Dragons and various fishes [70] live in the clefts and caverns bordering on the tanks or hide themselves [71] in the waters. Lotus flowers of the four colours cover the surface of the limpid water. A hundred kind of fruits surround them, and glisten with different shades. The trees are reflected deep down in the water, and altogether it is a lovely spot for wandering forth.

By the side there is a *saṅghârâma*, which for a long time has been without priests. By the side of the *stûpa*, and not far off, is the spot where the original teacher of the white-robed heretics [72] arrived at the knowledge of the principles he sought, and first preached the law. There is an inscription placed there to that effect. By the side of this spot is a temple of the Dêvas. The persons who frequent it subject themselves to austerities; day and night they use constant diligence without relaxation. The laws of their founder are mostly filched

[70] The text has dragon-fishes, or dragons (serpents) and fishes, the tribes of the water.

[71] Or disport themselves in the stream.

[72] This refers to the Śvêtâmbaras, a sect of the Jains; Colebrooke (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 381) says that "this is a less strict order, and of more modern date and inferior note compared with the Digambaras" (noticed below, note 74). The Jainas were very influential about the time of Pulikêśî (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 194); Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. iv. pp. 97 f., 756 f. Whether the Jains preceded or succeeded the Buddhists, it is curious to have this testimony of Hiuen Tsiang that their original teacher arrived at enlightenment and first preached the law in this place, viz., Siṁhapura, and that there was an inscription placed here to that effect. Conf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ii. pp. 14 f., 134 f., 193 f., 258 f.

from the principles of the books of Buddha. These men are of different classes, and select their rules and frame their precepts accordingly.[72] The great ones are called Bhikshus; the younger are called Srâmaṇêras. In their ceremonies and modes of life they greatly resemble the priests (*of Buddha*), only they have a little twist of hair on their heads, and they go naked.[74] Moreover, what clothes they chance to wear are white. Such are the slight differences which distinguish them from others. The figure of their sacred master[75] they stealthily class with that of Tathâgata; it differs only in point of clothing;[76] the points of beauty are absolutely the same.

From this place going back to the northern frontiers of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo, crossing the Sin-tu[77] river and going south-east 200 li or so, we pass the great stone gates where formerly Mahâsattva, as a prince,[78] sacrificed his body to feed

[73] Julien translates this passage thus: "On these laws (viz., of Buddha) he depended in framing his precepts and rules." This may perhaps be correct, but the plain translation of the passage is: "According to (*their*) classes, they frame (or possibly, "he framed") their laws, and arrange their regulations and precepts."

[74] The Digambaras, or "sky-clad," are another division of the Jainas, and are identical with the Nirgranthas. Hiuen Tsiang appears to confuse these with the "white-clad." For an account of the Digambara Jainas, see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. vii. p. 28; and vol. viii. p. 30, for the argument as to the relative antiquity of the Buddhist and Jaina sects; also conf. vol. i. p. 310; Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 485 ff.; Vassilief, pp. 52, 70, 275.

[75] The text has *tin-sse*, heavenly master; but if *tin* be a mistake for *ta*, it would be their *great* master, viz., Mahâvîra.

[76] That is, the statues are alike, except that the Jaina ones are naked. This only applies to those of the Digambara Jainas. For these statues, see Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, pp. 485–590 and pl. xcv.; Burgess, *Arch. Sur. West. India Reports*, vol. v. pp. 43–50, 51, 58. From this interesting allusion to the Jainas it is evident that Hiuen Tsiang regarded them as dishonest separatists from Buddhism. The "points of beauty" referred to in the text are the thirty-two superior signs (*siang*), and the eighty inferior (*ho*), for which see references in note 5, p. 1, *ante*.

[77] It may be either that Hiuen Tsiang went back to Ohind, and so crossed and recrossed the Indus, or that he calls the Suhân (Sushôma, Σώανος) river by this name. The distance from Hasan Abdal to Mânikyâla (the body-offering spot) is just 40 miles (200 li), according to Cunningham's map (No. vi., *Anc. Geog. of India*).

[78] The incident of feeding the tigress is narrated in Hardy's *Manual of Budhism*, pp. 93, 94; but there it is said that the Bôdhisattva was a Brâhman; here he is called a prince. The rock or gate where he practised asceticism was called Munda or Eraka (*op. cit. ibid*).

a hungry Wu-t'u (*Ôtu*, a cat).[79] To the south of this place 40 or 50 paces there is a stone *stûpa*. This is the place where Mahâsattva, pitying the dying condition of the beast,[80] after arriving at the spot, pierced his body with a bamboo splinter, so as to nourish the beast with his blood. On this the animal, taking the blood, revived. On this account all the earth and the plants at this place are dyed with a blood colour,[81] and when men dig the earth they find things like prickly spikes. Without asking whether we believe the tale or not, it is a piteous one.

To the north of the body-sacrifice place there is a stone *stûpa* about 200 feet high, which was built by King Aśôka. It is adorned with sculptures and tastefully constructed (*built*). From time to time spiritual indications[82] are apparent. There are a hundred or so small *stûpas*, provided with stone niches for movable images (*or* stone movable niches) around this distinguished spot.[83] Whatever sick there are who can circumambulate it are mostly restored to health.

To the east of the *stûpa* there is a *saṅghârâma*, with about 100 priests given to the study of the Great Vehicle.

Going east from this 50 li or so, we come to an isolated mountain, where there is a *saṅghârâma* with about 200 priests in it. They all study the Great Vehicle.

[79] The compound *wu-t'u*, which is translated by Julien "a tiger" without explanation, is probably the Sanskrit *ôtu*, a cat.

[80] "Pitying the exhausted condition of the hungry beast." The original implies that the beast had no strength and was dying from hunger. There is no reference to the tiger-cubs, nor is the number *seven* mentioned either here or by Fa-hian. For a full account of the legend and the ruins about Manikyâla, see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 153 ff., and conf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi. pp. 347 f., &c.

[81] This *stûpa* has been identified by General Cunningham with that marked No. 5 on his plan of Manikyâla (*Arch. Survey*, vol. ii. pl. lxii. p. 153). The clay is even now of a red colour.

[82] "It is resplendent with divine brightness or glory."

[83] Julien translates it "this funereal monument," but the symbol *yung* means "lustrous," referring, no doubt, to the glory which surrounded the *stûpa*.

Fruits and flowers abound here, with fountains and tanks clear as a mirror. By the side of this convent is a *stûpa* about 300 feet in height. Here Tathâgata dwelt in old time, and restrained a wicked Yaksha from eating flesh.

Going from this kingdom about 500 li or so along the mountains in a south-easterly direction, we come to the country of Wu-la-shi (Uraśa).

Wu-la-shi [Uraśa].

The kingdom of Wu-la-shi (Uraśa)[84] is about 2000 li in circuit; the mountains and valleys form a continuous chain. The fields fit for cultivation are contracted as to space. The capital is 7 or 8 li in circuit; there is no king, but the country is dependent on Kaśmîr. The soil is fit for sowing and reaping, but there are few flowers or fruits. The air is soft and agreeable; there is very little ice or snow. The people have no refinement; the men are hard and rough in their disposition, and are much given to deceit. They do not believe in the religion of Buddha.

To the south-west of the capital 4 or 5 li is a *stûpa* about 200 feet or so in height, which was built by Aśôka-râja. By its side is a *saṅghârâma*, in which there are but a few disciples, who study the Great Vehicle.[85]

Going south-east from this, crossing over mountains and treading along precipices, passing over chain bridges, after 1000 li or so, we come to the country of Kia-shi-mi-lo[86] (Kaśmîr).

[84] Uraśâ appears as the name of a city in the *Mahâbhârata* under the form Uragâ (ii. 1027; and *Raghuv.* vi. 59), probably by a slip (see Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. ii. p. 155, n. 1); in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* (v. 216) it is Uraśâ, the capital of Uraśa—mentioned in Pâṇini (iv. 1, 154 and 178, and Urasâ in iv. 2, 82, and iv. 3, 93). Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 45) calls the country Ἄρσα or Οὐάρσα, and its towns Ἰθάγουρος and Τάξιλα (v. l. Ταξίαλα), placing it between the upper waters of the Bidaspes and Indus, that is, in the Hazâra country. Conf. Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 103; *J. A. S. Beng.*, vol. xvii. pt. ii. pp. 21, 283; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. ii. p. 175.

[85] Julien has "Little Vehicle."

[86] Formerly written Ki-pin by mistake.—*Ch. Ed.*

KIA-SHI-MI-LO [KAŚMÎR].

The kingdom of Kaśmîr[87] is about 7000 li in circuit, and on all sides it is enclosed by mountains. These mountains are very high. Although the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and contracted. The neighbouring states that have attacked it have never succeeded in subduing it. The capital of the country on the west side is bordered by a great river. It (*the capital*) is from north to south 12 or 13 li, and from east to west 4 or 5 li. The soil is fit for producing cereals, and abounds with fruits and flowers. Here also are dragon-horses and the fragrant turmeric, the *fŏ-chü*,[88] and medicinal plants.

The climate is cold and stern. There is much snow but little wind. The people wear leather doublets and clothes of white linen. They are light and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. As the country is protected by a dragon, it has always assumed superiority among neighbouring people. The people are handsome in appearance, but they are given to cunning. They love learning and are well instructed. There are both heretics and believers among them. There are about 100 *saṅghârâmas* and 5000 priests. There are four *stûpas* built by Aśôka-râja. Each of these has about

[87] Kaśmîr in early times appears to have been a kingdom of considerable extent. The old name is said to have been Kâśyapapura, which has been connected with the Κασπάπυρος of Hekataios (*Frag.* 179, and Steph. Byzant.), πόλις Γανδαρικὴ Σκυθῶν ἀκτή, said to have been in or near Πακτϋικὴ and called Κασπάτυρος by Herodotos (lib. iii. c. 102, lib. iv. c. 44), from which Skylax started on his voyage down the Indus. Ptolemy has Κασπειρία and its capital Κάσπειρα (lib. vii. c. 1, 42, 47, 49; lib. viii. c. 26, 7), possibly for Κάσμειρα. The name Kaśmîr is the one used in the *Mahâbhârata*, Pâṇini, &c. The character ascribed to the people by the Chinese pilgrim, is quite in accord with that given to them by modern travellers (see Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir*, vol. ii. p. 142 f.) For further information see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. pp. 50-53; and conf. Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 136 f.; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xv. p. 117; Köppen, *Die Relig. d. Buddha*, vol. ii. pp. 12 f. 78; Remusat, *Nouv. Mél. Asiat.*, tome i. p. 179; Vassilief, p. 40; *J. A. S. Ben.*, vol. vii. p. 165, vol. xxv. pp. 91-123; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. pp. 177 f.; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, pp. 90 ff.; Troyer's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, tome ii. pp. 293 ff.; Humboldt's *Cent. Asien*, vol. i. p. 92. The "great river" is the Vitastâ.

[88] Lentilles de verre.—Jul.

a pint measure of relics of Tathâgata. The history of the country says: This country was once a dragon lake. In old times the Lord Buddha was returning to the middle kingdom (*India*) after subduing a wicked spirit in U-chang-na (Udyâna), and when in mid-air, just over this country, he addressed Ânanda thus: "After my *Nirvâṇa*, the Arhat Madhyântika will found a kingdom in this land, civilise (*pacify*) the people, and by his own effort spread abroad the law of Buddha."

In the fiftieth year after the *Nirvâṇa*, the disciple of Ânanda, Madhyântika (Mo-t'ien-ti-kia) the Arhat—having obtained the six spiritual faculties[89] and been gifted with the eight *Vimôkshas*[90]—heard of the prediction of Buddha. His heart was overjoyed, and he repaired to this country. He was sitting tranquilly in a wood on the top of a high mountain crag, and exhibited great spiritual changes. The dragon beholding it was filled with a deep faith, and requested to know what he desired. The Arhat said, "I request you to give me a spot in the middle of the lake just big enough for my knees."[91]

On this the dragon withdrew the water so far, and gave him the spot. Then by his spiritual power the Arhat increased the size of his body, whilst the dragon king kept back the waters with all his might. So the lake became dry, and the waters exhausted. On this the Nâga, taking his flight, asked for a place.[92]

The Arhat (*then said*), "To the north-west of this is a pool about 100 li in circuit; in this little lake you and your posterity may continue to dwell." The Nâga said, "The lake and the land being mutually transferred, let me then be allowed to make my religious offerings to you." Madhyântika said, "Not long hence I shall enter on the *Nirvâṇa* without remnants (*anupadhiśêsha*); although I should wish to allow your request, how can I do it?"

[89] *Shaḍabhijña*. See *ante*, note 73, p. 104.

[90] See references in note 73, p. 104.

[91] *I.e.*, to sit.

[92] This is an abrupt combination; it means asked for a place "to live in."

The Nâga then pressed his request in this way: "May 500 Arhats then ever receive my offerings till the end of the law?[93] After which (*I ask to be allowed*) to return to this country to dwell (*in it*) as a lake." Madhyântika granted his request.

Then the Arhat, having obtained this land by the exercise of his great spiritual power, founded 500 *saṅghârâmas*. He then set himself to procure by purchase from surrounding countries a number of poor people who might act as servitors to the priests. Madhyântika having died, these poor people constituted themselves rulers over the neighbouring countries. The people of surrounding countries despising these low-born men, would not associate with them, and called them Krityas[94] (Ki-li-to). The fountains now have begun to bubble up (*in token of the end of the law having come*).

In the hundredth year after the *Nirvâṇa* of Tathâgata, Aśôka, king of Magadha, extended his power over the world, and was honoured even by the most distant people. He deeply reverenced the three gems, and had a loving regard for all living things.[95] At this time there were 500 Arhats and 500 schismatical priests, whom the king honoured and patronised without any difference. Among the latter was a priest called Mahâdêva, a man of deep learning and rare ability; in his retirement he sought a true renown; far thinking, he wrote treatises the principles of which were opposed to the holy doctrine. All who heard of him resorted to his company and adopted his views. Aśôka-râja, not knowing either holy or common

[93] *I.e.*, till religion be done with.

[94] In Chinese *Maï-te*, "bought people" (Sans. *krîta*). In the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* it is said that "unregenerate *tribes*, barbarians and other Śûdras, will rule over the banks of the Indus and the regions of the Dârvikâ, of the Chandrabhâgâ and of Kaśmîra" (Wilson, in Hall's ed., vol. iv. p. 223), and the *Bhâgavata* has a similar statement, calling the "unregenerate" "other outcasts not enlightened by the *Vêdas*" (*ib.* p. 224). See p. 156, n. 119 *infra.*

[95] *Sse-sing*, the four *varṇa* or castes, or the four classes of living beings, according to the Chinese, produced (1) from eggs, (2) embryos (animals and men), (3) moisture, and (4) by transformation

men,[96] and because he was naturally given to patronise those who were seditious, was induced to call together an assembly of priests to the banks of the Ganges, intending to drown them all.

At this time the Arhats having seen the danger threatening their lives, by the exercise of their spiritual power flew away through the air and came to this country and concealed themselves among the mountains and valleys. Aśôka-râja having heard of it, repented, and confessing his fault, begged them to return to their own country; but the Arhats refused to do so with determination. Then Aśôka-râja, for the sake of the Arhats, built 500 *saṅghârâmas,* and gave this country as a gift to the priesthood.

In the four-hundredth year[97] after the *Nirvâna* of Tathâgata, Kanishka, king of Gandhâra, having succeeded to the kingdom, his kingly renown reached far, and he brought the most remote within his jurisdiction. During his intervals of duty he frequently consulted the sacred books of Buddha; daily he invited a priest to enter his palace and preach the law, but he found the different views of the schools so contradictory that he was filled with doubt, and he had no way to get rid of his uncertainty. At this time the honoured Pârśva said, "Since Tathâgata left the world many years and months have elapsed. The different schools hold to the treatises of their several masters. Each keeps to his own views, and so the whole body is torn by divisions."

The king having heard this, was deeply affected and gave way to sad regrets. After awhile he spoke to Pârśva and said, "Though of no account personally, yet, thanks to the remnant of merit which has followed me through successive births since the time of the Holy One till now,

[96] *I.e.*, the difference between them.

[97] That is, 300 years after Aśôka (B.C. 263–224), or about A.D. 75. Hiuen Tsiang places Aśôka only 100 years after Buddha, while in Aśôka's own inscriptions the Teacher is placed 221 years before the first of Aśôka's reign. The *Avadâna Śataka* supports this, placing the king *two* hundred years after Buddha. Conf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi. pp. 149 f.; Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 385; Max Müller's *India, &c.*, p. 306.

I have come to my present state. I will dare to forget my own low degree, and hand down in succession the teaching of the law unimpaired. I will therefore arrange the teaching of the three *piṭakas* of Buddha according to the various schools." The honourable Pârśva replied, "The previous merit of the great king has resulted in his present distinguished position.[98] That he may continue to love the law of Buddha is what I desire above all things.

The king then summoned from far and near a holy assembly (*issued an edict to assemble the holy teachers*).

On this they came together from the four quarters, and, like stars, they hurried together for myriads of li, men the most distinguished for talents and for holiness of life. Being thus assembled, for seven days offerings of the four necessary things were made, after which, as the king desired that there should be an arrangement of the law, and as he feared the clamour of such a mixed assembly (*would prevent consultation*), he said, with affection for the priests, "Let those who have obtained the holy fruit (*as Arhats*) remain, but those who are still bound by worldly influences [99] let them go!" Yet the multitude was too great. He then published another order: "Let those who have arrived at the condition of 'freedom from study' remain, and those who are still in a condition of learners go."[100] Still there were a great multitude who remained. On this the king issued another edict: "Those who are in possession of the three enlightenments and have the six spiritual faculties [101] may remain; the others can go."[102] And

[98] Literally, "the great king in previous conditions (*suh*) having planted a good root—*or*, the root of virtue—has in consequence attained much happiness *or* merit."

[99] The world-influences or bonds refer to the *klêśas*. The five *klêśas* are (1) desire, (2) hate, (3) ignorance, (4) vanity, (5) heresy. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 443 f. Or the reference may be to the five *nîvaraṇas*, for which see Childers, *Pali Dict.* sub voc.

[100] In a note on this passage Julien explains that the first class, *Wu-hio*, designates the Arhats; the second, *Hio-jin*, those studying to become Śramaṇas.

[101] For the *trividyâs* and the *shaḍabhijñas* see *ante*, n. 73 and 75, pp. 104, 105, and note 66, p. 142.

[102] There is a phrase here used, *tsz' chu*, of frequent occurrence in Buddhist books. It means, "with these exceptions,"—*his exceptis*.

yet there was a great multitude who remained. Then he published another edict: "Let those who are acquainted both with the three *Piṭakas* and the five *vidyâs*[103] remain; as to others, let them go." Thus there remained 499 men. Then the king desired to go to his own country,[104] as he suffered from the heat and moisture of this country. He also wished to go to the stone grot[105] at Râjagṛiha, where Kâśyapa had held his religious assembly (*convocation*). The honourable Pârśva and others then counselled him, saying, "We cannot go there, because there are many heretical teachers there, and different *śâstras* being brought under consideration, there will be clamour and vain discussion. Without having right leisure for consideration, what benefit will there be in making (*fresh*) treatises?[106] The mind of the assembly is well affected towards this country; the land is guarded on every side by mountains, the Yakshas defend its frontiers, the soil is rich and productive, and it is well provided with food. Here both saints and sages assemble and abide; here the spiritual Ṛishis wander and rest."

The assembly having deliberated, they came to this resolution: "We are willing to fall in with the wishes of the king." On this, with the Arhats, he went from the spot where they had deliberated to another, and there founded a monastery, where they might hold an assembly (*for the purpose of arranging*) the Scriptures and composing the *Vibhâshâ Śâstra*.[107]

[103] The five *vidyâs* (*Wu-ming*) are (1) *Śabdavidyâ*, the treatise on grammar; (2) *Adhyâtmavidyâ*, the treatise on inner principles or esoteric doctrines; (3) *Chikitsâvidyâ*, the treatise on medicine, magic formulas, and occult sq ence (Eitel); (4) *Hêtuvidyâ*, the treatise on causes; (5) *Śilapasthânavidyâ*, the treatise on the sciences, astronomy, meteorology, and mechanical arts. See *ante*, p. 78, note 24.

[104] So I translate it. Literally it would be "the king had a desire for his own country;" *i.e.*, for the highlands of Gandhâra.

[105] The phrase may mean a stone, *i.e.*, structural, house; or a stone chamber—a cave. It is generally supposed to have been a cave—the Saptaparṇa cave.

[106] Or, what use in holding discussions?

[107] This passage, which is unusually confused, may be translated also thus: "On this he went with the Arhats from that place, and came (*to a place where*) he founded

At this time the venerable Vasumitra (Shi-Yu) was putting on his robes outside the door (*about to enter*) when the Arhats addressed him and said, "The bonds of sin (the *klêśas*) not loosed, then all discussion is contradictory and useless. You had better go, and not dwell here."

On this Vasumitra answered, "The wise without doubt regard the law in the place of[108] Buddha, appointed for the conversion of the world, and therefore you[109] reasonably desire to compile true (*orthodox*) *śâstras*. As for myself, though not quick, yet in my poor way I have investigated the meaning of words. I have also studied with earnestness the obscure literature of the three *piṭakas* and the recondite meaning of the five *vidyâs*; and I have succeeded in penetrating their teaching,[110] dull as I am."

The Arhats answered, "It is impossible; but if it is as you say, you can stand by a little and presently get the condition of 'past learning.' Then you can enter the assembly; at present your presence is not possible."

Vasumitra answered, "I care for the condition of 'past learning' as little as for a drop of spittle; my mind seeks only the fruit of Buddha;[111] I do not run after little quests [*little sideways*]. I will throw this ball up into the air, and before it comes to earth I shall have got the holy condition [*fruit*] of 'past learning.'"

Then all the Arhats roundly scolded him, saying, "'Intolerably arrogant' is your right title. The fruit of 'past learning' is the condition praised by all the Buddhas. You are bound to acquire this condition and scatter the doubts of the assembly."

a monastery and collected the three *Piṭakas*. Being about to compose the *Pi-p'o-sha-lun* (*Vibhâshâ Śâstra*), then," &c.

[108] That is, taking the place of, or standing in the stead of, Buddha.

[109] The assembly or convocation desires, &c. Or it may be translated thus: "Having collected the general, or right sense, you are now about to compose an orthodox treatise" (*i.e.*, the *Vibhâshâ Śâstra*).

[110] This at least seems to be the sense of the passage, but the force of the phrase *ch'hin in* is doubtful.

[111] That is, I seek only the condition of a Buddha.

Then Vasumitra cast the ball into the air; it was arrested by the Dêvas, who, before it fell, asked him this question: "In consequence of obtaining the fruit of Buddha, you shall succeed Maitrêya in his place (*in the Tushita heaven*); the three worlds shall honour you, and the four kinds of creatures (*all flesh*) shall look up to you with awe. Why then do you seek this little fruit?"

Then the Arhats, having witnessed all this, confessed their fault, and with reverence asked him to become their president. All difficulties that occurred in their discussion were referred to him for settlement. These five hundred sages and saints first composed in ten myriads of verses the *Upadêśa Śâstra* to explain the *Sûtra Piṭaka.*[112] Next they made in ten myriads of verses the *Vinaya Vibhâshâ Śâstra* to explain the *Vinaya Piṭaka;* and afterwards they made in ten myriad of verses the *Abhidharma Vibhâshâ Śâstra*[113] to explain the *Abhidharma Piṭaka.* Altogether they composed thirty myriad of verses in six hundred and sixty myriad of words, which thoroughly explained the three *Piṭakas.* There was no work of antiquity[114] to be compared with (*placed above*) their productions; from the deepest to the smallest question, they examined all,[115] explaining all minute expressions, so that their work has become universally known and is the resource of all students who have followed them.

[112] This definition of the *Upadêśa* (*U-po-ti-sho*) *Śâstra*, viz., a treatise to explain the *Sûtra Piṭaka* (*Su-ta-la-t'sang*), confirms the explanation generally given of the whole class of works so named. Burnouf (*Introd. Bud. Ind.*, p. 58) regards the term as equivalent to "instruction" or "explanation of esoteric doctrine." In Nêpâl the word is applied to the Tantra portion of the Buddhist writings. It is also used as an equivalent for *Abhidharma.* The *Upadêśa* class of books is the twelfth in the duodecimal division of the Northern School (Eitel, *Handbook*, s. voc.)

[113] *'O-pi-ta-mo-pi-po-sha-lun.* This work is generally called the *Abhidharma-mahâvibhâshâ Śâstra.* It was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsiang. It is said to be a commentary on Kâtyâyaniputra's *Jñânaprasthâna Śâstra*, belonging to the Sarvâstivâda class of books. It is in forty-three chapters (*vargas*), and consists of 438,449 Chinese characters. See Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1263.

[114] Thousand ancient; but is *tsien* an error?

[115] Literally, "branches and leaves were investigated; shallow and deep places fathomed."

Kanishka-râja forthwith ordered these discourses to be engraved on sheets of red copper. He enclosed them in a stone receptacle, and having sealed this, he raised over it a *stûpa* with the Scriptures in the middle. He commanded the Yakshas[116] to defend the approaches to the kingdom, so as not to permit the other sects to get these *śâstras* and take them away, with the view that those dwelling in the country might enjoy the fruit of this labour.[117]

Having finished this pious labour, he returned with his army to his own capital.[118]

Having left this country by the western gate, he turned towards the east and fell on his knees, and again bestowed all this kingdom on the priesthood.

After Kanishka's death the Kritîya race again assumed the government, banished the priests, and overthrew religion.[119]

The king of Himatala,[120] of the country of To-hu-lo (Tukhâra), was by descent of the Śâkya race.[121] In the six-hundredth year after the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha, he succeeded to the territory of his ancestor, and his heart was

[116] The Yakshas are supernatural beings employed to guard treasure or keep the way to a treasure. Sometimes they are regarded as malevolent beings, but not so necessarily. See General Cunningham, *Stûpa of Bharhut*, p. 20 ff. They are represented in this work as keeping the four gates of the *stûpa*.

[117] "With a view that they who wished to study them should in the country (*chung*) receive instruction." I cannot follow M. Julien's translation. He seems to regard the *stûpa* as a *saṅghârâma* or convent in which instruction was given; and he makes Kanishka give himself to study.

[118] That is, to the capital of Gandhâra.

[119] "The law of Buddha." The Kritîyas or Krityas are defined to be "demons who dig out corpses," or explained as "serfs" (persons bought, *krîta*). They are said to be either Yakshakrityas or Manushakrityas, the former being shaped like Yakshas, the latter like human beings. The Manushakrityas were those domestic slaves whom Madhyântika introduced into Kaśmîr (Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.) See also Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, p. 93; and *ante*, note 94, p. 150.

[120] Himatala, defined in the text as *Sue-shan-hia*, "under the snowy mountains" (see *ante*, p. 42, n. 139).

[121] He was descended from one of the Śâkya youths who were driven from their country for resisting the invasion of Virûḍhaka, the account of which will be found in the sixth book. Hiuen Tsiang's date places him about 280 A.D. (note 97, *ante*).

deeply imbued with affection for the law of Buddha.[122] Hearing that the Kritîyas had overthrown the law of Buddha, he assembled in his land the most warlike (*courageous*) of his knights, to the number of three thousand, and under the pretence of being merchants laden with many articles of merchandise and with valuable goods, but having secretly concealed on their persons warlike instruments, they entered on this kingdom, and the king of the country received them as his guests with special honour. He[123] then selected five hundred of these, men of great courage and address, and armed them with swords and provided them with choice merchandise to offer to the king.

Then the king of Himatala, flinging off his cap,[124] proceeded towards the throne; the king of the Kritîyas, terrified, was at a loss what to do. Having cut off the king's head, (*the king of Himatala*) said to the officers standing below, "I am the king of Himatala, belonging to Tukhâra. I was grieved because this low-caste ruler practised such outrages; therefore I have to-day punished his crimes; but as for the people, there is no fault to be found with them." Having banished the ministers in charge of the government to other states and pacified this country, he commanded the priests to return, and built a *saṅghârâma*, and there settled them as in old time. Then he left the kingdom by the western gate (*pass*), and when outside he bowed down with his face to the east, and gave in charity to the priesthood (*the kingdom*).

As for the Kritîyas, as they had more than once been put down by the priests and their religion overturned, in lapse of time their enmity had increased so that they hated the law of Buddha. After some years

[122] "He planted his heart in the law of Buddha, and the streams of his affection flowed into the sea of the law."

[123] That is, the king of Himatala.

[124] If the symbol in the text is intended for *ch'hang*, it should be translated "flinging away his robe," that is, the robe (or web of rich cloth) that concealed the sword. If it be *maou*, then it would be "flinging away his cap."

they came again into power. This is the reason why at the present time this kingdom is not much given to the faith and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought.

About 10 li to the south-east of the new city and to the north of the old city,[125] and on the south of a great mountain, is a *saṅghârâma* with about 300 priests in it. In the *stûpa* (*attached to the convent*) is a tooth of Buddha in length about an inch and a half, of a yellowish-white colour; on religious days it emits a bright light. In old days the Kritîya race having destroyed the law of Buddha, the priests being dispersed, each one selected his own place of abode. On this occasion one Śramaṇa, wandering throughout the Indies to visit and worship the relics of Buddha (*traces of the Holy One*) and to exhibit his sincere faith, after a while came to hear that his native country was pacified and settled. Forthwith he set out on his return, and on his way he met with a herd of elephants rushing athwart his path through the jungle and raising a trumpeting tumult. The Śramaṇa having seen them, climbed up a tree to get out of their way; then the herd of elephants rushed down to drink[126] at a pool and to cleanse themselves with the water; then surrounding the tree, they tore its roots, and by force dragged it to the ground. Having got the Śramaṇa, they put him on the back of one, and hurried off to the middle of a great forest, where was a sick elephant wounded (*swollen with a sore*), and lying on the ground

[125] General Cunningham says Abu Rihân calls the capital Adishṭan, which is the Sanskrit Adhishṭhâna or "chief town;" and that is the present city of Śrînagar, which was built by Râja Pravarasêna about the beginning of the sixth century, and was therefore a comparatively new place at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit. The "old capital" was about two miles to the south-east of Takht-i-Sulimân, and is now called Pândrêthân, a Kaśmiri corruption of Purânâdhishṭhâna, or "the old chief city."—*Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 93. Conf. Troyer's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, tome i. p. 104, t. iii. pp. 336–357; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xv. p. 19; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. p. 912. The mountain is Hariparvata or Hörparvat, now Takht-i-Sulimân.

[126] Not to drink, but to draw in the water and use it for cooling themselves.

at rest. Taking the hand of the priest, it directed it to the place of the hurt, where a rotten (*broken*) piece of bamboo had penetrated. The Śramaṇa thereupon drew out the splinter and applied some medicinal herbs, and tore up his garment to bind the foot with it. Another elephant taking a gold casket, brought it to the sick elephant, who having received it gave it forthwith to the Śramaṇa. The Śramaṇa opening it, found in the inside Buddha's tooth. Then all the elephants surrounding him, he knew not how to get away. On the morrow, being a fast-day, each elephant brought him some fruit for his mid-day meal. Having finished eating, they carried the priest out of the forest a long way (*some hundred li*), and then they set him down, and, after salutation paid, they each retired.

The Śramaṇa coming to the western borders of the country, crossed a rapid river; whilst so doing the boat was nearly overwhelmed, when the men, consulting together, said, "The calamity that threatens the boat is owing to the Śramaṇa; he must be carrying some relics of Buddha, and the dragons have coveted them."

The master of the ship having examined (*his goods*), found the tooth of Buddha. Then the Śramaṇa, raising up the relic, bowed his head, and called to the Nâgas and said, "I now intrust this to your care; not long hence I will come again and take it." Then declining to cross the river,[127] he returned to the bank and departed. Turning to the river he sighed and said, "Not knowing how to restrain these Nâga creatures has been the cause of my calamity." Then going back to India, he studied the rules of restraining dragons, and after three years he returned towards his native country, and having come to the river-side he built and appointed there an altar. Then the Nâgas brought the casket of Buddha's tooth and gave it to the Śramaṇa; the Śramaṇa took it and brought it to this *saṅghârâma* and henceforth worshipped it.

[127] That is, he did not land on the other side, but went back in the boat.

Fourteen or fifteen li to the south of the *saṅghârâma* is a little *saṅghârâma* in which is a standing figure of Avalôkitêśvara Bôdhisattva. If any one vows to fast till he dies unless he beholds this Bôdhisattva, immediately from the image it comes forth glorious in appearance.

South-east of the little *saṅghârâma* about 30 li or so, we come to a great mountain, where there is an old (*ruined*) *saṅghârâma*, of which the shape is imposing and the masonry strong. But now it is in ruins; there is only left one angle where there is a small double tower. There are thirty priests or so, who study the Great Vehicle. This is where of old Saṅghabhadra, a writer of *śâstras*, composed the *Shun-ching-li-lun*[128] (*Nyâyânusâra Śâstra*); on the left and the right of the *saṅghârâma* are *stûpas* where are enshrined the relics (*śarîras*) of great Arhats. The wild beasts and mountain apes gather flowers to offer as religious oblations. Throughout the year they continue these offerings without interruption, as if it were a traditional service. Many miraculous circumstances occur in this mountain. Sometimes a stone barrier is split across; sometimes on the mountain-top there remain the traces of a horse; but all things of this sort are only mistaken traces of the Arhats and Śrâmaṇêras, who in troops frequent this spot, and with their fingers trace these figures, as if riding on horses or going to and fro (*on foot*), and this has led to the difficulty in explaining these marks.[129]

Ten li to the east of the *saṅghârâma* of Buddha's tooth, between the crags of a mountain to the north,[130] is a small

[128] The *śâstra* composed by Seng-kia-po-t'o-lo (Saṅghabhadra) was called in the first instance *Kiu-she-po-lun*, or "the *śâstra* which destroys the *kôsha* like hail" (*karakâ*). This title was employed to denote the power of the treatise to overturn the *Abhidharma-kôsha Śâstra* composed by Vasubandhu. The title was afterwards changed by Vasubandhu himself to *Nyâyânusâra Śâstra* (*Shun-ching-li-lun*). See Book iv. *infra*.

[129] This passage, which is obscure, seems to mean that the Śrâmaṇêras who follow the Arhats, or the Śrâmaṇêras who are Arhats (for it appears from one of Aśvaghôsha's sermons (*Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 120) that a Śrâmaṇêra may arrive at this condition), amuse themselves by tracing figures of horses on the rocks, and therefore such traces have no meaning beyond this.

[130] That is, as it seems, a range of mountains called the *Northern Range*.

saṅghârâma. In old days the great master of *śâstras* called So-kin-ta-lo (Skandhila) composed here the treatise called *Chung-sse-făn-pi-p'o-sha.*[131]

In the little convent is a *stûpa* of stone about 50 feet high, where are preserved the *śarîras* of the bequeathed body of an Arhat.

In former times there was an Arhat whose bodily size was very great, and he eat and drank as an elephant. People said in raillery, "He knows well enough how to eat like a glutton, but what does he know of truth or error?" The Arhat, when about to pass to *Nirvâṇa*, addressing the people round him, said, "Not long hence I shall reach a condition of *anûpadhiśesa* (*without a remnant*).[132] I wish to explain how I have attained to the excellent law."[133] The people hearing him again laughed together in ridicule. They all came together in an assembly to see him put to shame.[134] Then the Arhat spoke thus to the people: "I will tell you how, for your advantage, my previous conditions of life and the causes thereof. In my former birth I received, because of my desert, the body of an elephant, and I dwelt in Eastern India, in the stable of a king. At this time this country possessed a Shaman who went forth to wander through India in search of the holy doctrine of Buddha, the various *sûtras* and *śâstras* Then the king gave me to the Shaman. I arrived in this country carrying on my back the books of Buddha. Not long after this I died suddenly. The merit I had obtained by carrying these sacred books eventuated in my being born as a man, and then again I died as a mortal.[135] But,

[131] Restored by Julien to *Vibhâshâ-prakaraṇa-pâda Śâstra.* Conf. *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. iv. tom. xiv. No. 713; Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue*, Nos. 1277 and 1292.

[132] *Wou-yu-ni-pan*, that is, a condition of freedom from the *skandhas.* Childers (*Pâli Dict.*, p. 526). It means perfect or complete *Nirvâṇa.* See below, note 135.

[133] I wish to relate the steps (*groundwork*) by which this body (*i.e.*, *I myself*) arrived at this excellent condition, or law.

[134] Julien regards this phrase (*tch shih*) as equivalent to "success or non-success." It seems, however, more agreeable to the context to translate it as here—to see him "get loss," *i.e.*, disgraced.

[135] I died "with remains;" that is, I died, but was destined to be re-

thanks to the merit I possessed, I soon (*was born in the same condition, and*) assumed the coloured clothes of a hermit. I diligently set after the means of putting off (*the shackles of existence*), and gave myself no repose. Thus I obtained the six supernatural powers and cut off my connection with the three worlds. However, when I eat I have preserved my old habits, but every day I moderate my appetite, and only take one-third of what my body requires as nourishment." Although he thus spoke, men were still incredulous. Forthwith he ascended into the air and entered on the *Samâdhi* called *the brilliancy of flame.* From his body proceeded smoke and fire,[136] and thus he entered *Nirvâṇa*; his remains (*bones*) fell to the earth, and they raised a *stûpa* over them.

Going north-west 200 li or so of the royal city, we come to the *saṅghârâma* called "Mai-lin."[137] It was here the master of *śâstras* called Pûrṇa[138] composed a commentary on the *Vibhâshâ Śâstra.*

To the west of the city 140 or 150 li there is a great river, on the borders of which, to the north, resting on the southern slope of a mountain, is a *saṅghârâma* belonging to the Mahâsaṁghika (Ta-chong-pu) school, with about 100 priests. It was here in old time that Fo-ti-la (Bôdhila),[139] a master of *śâstras*, composed the treatise *Tsih-chin-lun.*[140]

From this going south-west, and crossing some mountains and traversing many precipices, going 700 li or so, we come to the country Pun-nu-tso (Punach).

born, not having got rid of the *skandhas*, or "conditions of individual existence." In Note 132 above, we find just the opposite phrase, "*Wou yu*," *i.e.*, "without remains." Julien has omitted this passage.

[136] This kind of miracle is frequently named in Buddhist books. See *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 1353 ff.

[137] I adopt *maï lin* from Julien. In my text the symbol appears to be *shang*, but there may be a misprint. Julien doubtfully restores *mai-lin* to Vikrîtavana.

[138] In Chinese, Yuen-mun.

[139] I have adopted this restoration from Julien. The Chinese symbols might also be restored to Buddhatara.

[140] The *Tsih-chin-lun* is restored by Julien doubtfully to *Tattvasañchaya Sâstra.* This treatise belonged to the Mahâsaṅghika collection.

PUN-NU-TSO [PUNACH].

This kingdom[141] is about 2000 li in circuit, with many mountains and river-courses, so that the arable land is very contracted. The seed is sown, however, at regular intervals, and there are a quantity of flowers and fruits. There are many sugar-canes, but no grapes. Amalas,[142] Udumbaras, Môchas, &c., flourish, and are grown in large quantities like woods; they are prized on account of their taste. The climate is warm and damp. The people are brave. They wear ordinarily cotton clothing. The disposition of the people is true and upright; they are Buddhists.[143] There are five *saṅghârâmas*, mostly deserted. There is no independent ruler, the country being tributary to Kaśmîr. To the north of the chief town is a *saṅghârâma* with a few priests. Here there is a *stûpa* which is celebrated for its miracles.

Going south-east from this 400 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Ho-lo-she-pu-lo (Râjapuri).

HO-LO-SHE-PU-LO [RÂJAPURI].

This kindgom[144] is about 4000 li in circuit; the capital town is about 10 li round. It is naturally very strong, with many mountains, hills, and river-courses, which cause the arable land to be contracted. The produce therefore is small. The climate and the fruits of the soil are like those of Pun-nu-tso. The people are quick and hasty; the country has no independent ruler, but is subject to Kaśmîr. There are ten *saṅghârâmas*, with a very small number of priests. There is one temple of Dêvas, with an enormous number of unbelievers.

141 Punacha, or Punach, is described by Cunningham (*Anc. Geog.*, 128) as a small state, called Punats by the Kaśmîris, bounded on the west by the Jhelam, on the north by the Pir Pañchâl range, and on the east and south-east by the small state of Râjaurî.

142 An-mo-lo is *Myrobalan emblica*, and Meu-che, the plantain.

143 They have faith in the three gems.

144 Identified by Cunningham with the petty chiefship of Râjauri or Râjapuri, south of Kaśmîr and south-east of Punach (*op. cit.*, p. 129).

From the country of Lan-po till this, the men are of a coarse appearance, their disposition fierce and passionate, their language vulgar and uncultivated, with scarce any manners or refinement. They do not properly belong to India, but are frontier people, with barbarous habits.

Going south-east from this, descending the mountains and crossing a river, after 700 li we come to the kingdom of Tsih-kia (Ṭakka).

END OF BOOK III.

BOOK IV.

Relates to fifteen countries, viz., (1) *Tseh-kia;* (2) *Chi-na-po-ti;* (3) *Che-lan-t'o-lo;* (4) *K'iu-lu-to;* (5) *She-to-t'u-lo;* (6) *Po-li-ye-to-lo;* (7) *Mo-t'u-lo;* (8) *Sa-t'a-ni-shi-fa-lo;* (9) *Su-lo-kin-na;* (10) *Mo-ti-pu-lo;* (11) *Po-lo-ki-mo-pu-lo;* (12) *Kiu-pi-shwong-na;* (13) *'O-hi-chi-ta-lo;* (14) *Pi-lo-shan-na;* (15) *Kie-pi-ta.*

1. KINGDOM OF TSEH-KIA (ṬAKKA).

THIS kingdom[1] is about 10,000 li in circuit. On the east it borders on the river Pi-po-che (Vipâśâ);[2] on the west it borders on the Sin-tu river. The capital of the country is about 20 li in circuit. The soil is suitable for rice and produces much late-sown corn. It also produces gold,

[1] Ṭakkadêśa, the country of the Bâhîkas, is named in the *Râja-taraṅgiṇî* (v. 150), and said to be a part of the kingdom of Gurjjara, which Râja Alakhâna was obliged to cede to Kaśmîr between the years 883 A.D. and 901 A.D. (Cunningham, *Geog.*, 149). The Ṭakkas were a powerful tribe living near the Chenâb, and were at one time the undisputed lords of the Panjâb. The kingdom of Tsih-kia is probably, therefore, that of the Ṭakkas. *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xv. pp. 108 f.; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. i. p. 973. Julien restores it to Tchêka. It seems that Hiuen Tsiang kept to the south-west from Râjapuri, and crossed the Chenâb after two days' march near the small town of Jammu or Jambu (perhaps the Jayapura of Hwui-lih), and then pressed on the next day to the town of Śâkala, where he arrived the day after. The distance would thus be about 700 li, or 140 miles (Cunningham's *Anc. Geog.*, map vi., compared with Elphinstone's map (*India*); on this last map the trade route is so marked). In the translation of Hwui-lih, M. Julien has made the distance from Râjapuri to Tchêka to be 200 li (p. 96); it should be 700 li, as in the original. He has also translated *how jih* by to-morrow (lendemain), instead of *the day after the morrow.*

[2] The Vipâśâ or Vipât, the Biyas river, the most eastern of the five rivers of the Panjâb, the Hyphasis (Ὕφασις) of Arrian (*Anab.*, lib. vi. c. 8, *Ind.*, cc. 2, 3, 4; Diodoros, lib. xvii. c. 93). Pliny (lib. vii. c. 17, 21) and Curtius (lib. ix. c. 1) call it Hypasis, and Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. i. 26, 27) has Βιβάσις, while Strabo has Ὕπανις. It rises in the Himâlaya, and, after a course of about 220 miles, joins the Satlaj south-east of Amṛitsar.

silver, the stone called *teou*,[3] copper and iron. The climate is very warm, and the land is subject to hurricanes. The people are quick and violent, their language coarse and uncultivated. For clothing they wear a very shining white fabric which they call *kiau-che-ye* (*Kauśêya*, silk), and also morning-red cloth (*chau hia*),[4] and other kinds. Few of them believe in Buddha; many sacrifice to the heavenly spirits (*Dêvas and spirits*). There are about ten *saṅghârâmas* and some hundreds of temples. There were formerly in this country many houses of charity (*goodness* or *happiness—Puṇyaśâlâs*) for keeping the poor and the unfortunate. They provided for them medicine and food, clothing and necessaries; so that travellers were never badly off.

To the south-west of the capital about 14 or 15 li we come to the old town of Śâkala[5] (She-kie-lo). Although

[3] The *teou-shih*, of which such frequent mention is made by Hiuen Tsiang, is said to be a compound of equal parts of copper and calamine (silicate of zinc). See Julien *in loc.*, n. 2. Medhurst (*Dict.* s. v.) calls it "native copper."

[4] The *chau-hia* robe. This may mean either court-red or morning-red; it may refer to its colour, but more probably to its lightness. We should have expected a phonetic combination in this name, as in the preceding, viz., *Kauśêya*, but *chau-hia* has no phonetic value, although it might be compared with the Sanskrit *sûksh(ma)*.

[5] Śâkala. Pâṇini (iv. 2, 75) has Sâṅkala, the Σάγγαλα of Arrian (*Anab. Alex.*, lib. v. c. 22), and probably the same place as Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. i. 46) designates by Σαγαλα ἡ καὶ Εὐθυδημία. Śâkala occurs in the *Mahâbhârata* (ii. 1196, viii. 2033) as the capital of the Madras. Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 559 f.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i. pp. 22 f.; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 196 f.; *As. Res.*, vol. xv. pp. 107 f.; *J. A. S. Ben.*, vol. vi. pp. 57 f.; Lassen, *Zeitsch. f. d. K. d. Morg.*, vol. i. p. 353, vol. iii pp. 154 f., 212; *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 801. Śâkala has been identified by General Cunningham with Sâṅglawâla-Tiba, to the west of the Râvî (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 180). The capital of the country is not named by Hiuen Tsiang. It appears from Hwui-lih that the pilgrim went straight to Śâkala, and did not visit the capital. He places it 14 or 15 li to the north-east of Śâkala. Although the route taken is differently described in "the Life" and in the *Si-yu-ki*, yet in the main it is sufficiently clear. After leaving Râjapuri the pilgrim travels south-west for two days, and, crossing the Chenâb, he lodged for one night in a temple belonging to the heretics just outside Jayapura. The second day after leaving this town (direction not given) he arrived at Śâkala. Proceeding a little way to the eastward of a town called Nârasiṁha (the situation of which is not given, but was probably a short distance east of Śâkala), he was robbed by brigands and lodged in a neighbouring village; starting from which on the next day, he passed the frontiers of the kingdom of Takka, and reached a large town with many thousand

its walls are thrown down, the foundations are still firm and strong. It is about 20 li in circuit. In the midst of it they have built a little town of about 6 or 7 li in circuit; the inhabitants are prosperous and rich. This was the old capital of the country. Some centuries ago there was a king called Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo (Mahirakula),[6] who established his authority in this town and ruled over India. He was of quick talent, and naturally brave. He subdued all the neighbouring provinces without exception.[7] In his intervals of leisure he desired to examine the law of Buddha, and he commanded that one among the priests of superior talent[8] should wait on him. Now it happened that none of the priests dared to attend to his command. Those who had few desires and were content, did not care about distinction; those of superior learning and high renown despised the royal bounty (*glitter*). At this time there was an old servant in the king's household who had long worn the religious garments. He was of distinguished ability and able to enter on discussion, and was very eloquent. The priests put him forward in answer to the royal appeal. The king said, "I have a respect for the law of Buddha, and I

inhabitants. This was probably Lahor, the old Lohâwar (the Râvî was evidently the boundary *de facto* of Ṭakka). He remained here one month, and then proceeding eastward, he arrived at the capital of a country Chînapati, 500 li from Śâkala. This was probably the large old town of Patti, 10 miles to the west of the Biyas river. About 10 miles south-west of this (the *Si-yu-ki* has 500 *li* by mistake for 50) was a monastery; this would place us at the point of the confluence of the Biyas and Satlaj rivers. The question to be settled is whether at this point there is a mountain or a hill round which for a distance of 20 li monasteries and *stûpas* could be grouped. General Cunningham speaks of this neighbourhood as constituting the sandy bed of the Biyas river (*op. cit.*, p. 201). But, at any rate, such a situation agrees with the next measurement of 140 or 150 li to Jâlaṅdhar. We should thus have a total of 660 li (132 miles) eastward from Śâkala to Jâlaṅdhara, which is as nearly as possible correct as projected on General Cunningham's map (*op. cit.* No. vi.)

[6] For Mahirakula, see *ante*, Book iii. n. 1. The interpretation of the name is given by the Chinese editor as *Ta-tso*, *i.e.*, "great tribe or family;" but *mahira* or *mihira* signifies "the sun;" it should therefore be "the family of the sun."

[7] The kingdoms of the neighbouring districts all submitted to him.

[8] Or "eminent virtue;" but *tih* (virtue) refers to general gifts or endowments.

invited from far any renowned priest (*to come and instruct me*), and now the congregation have put forward this servant to discuss with me. I always thought that amongst the priests there were men of illustrious ability; after what has happened to-day what further respect can I have for the priesthood?" He then issued an edict to destroy all the priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the law of Buddha, and leave nothing remaining.

Bâlâditya[9]-râja, king of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha and tenderly nourished his people. When he heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mahirakula (Ta-tso), he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Then Mahirakula raised an army to punish his rebellion. Bâlâditya-râja, knowing his renown, said to his ministers, "I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them (*their troops*); by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass."

Having said this, he departed from his palace and wandered through the mountains and deserts. Being very much beloved in his kingdom, his followers amounted to

[9] Bâlâditya, explained by *yeou jih*, *i.e.*, the young sun or the rising sun. Julien translates it too literally, "le soleil des enfants." Julien has observed and corrected the mistake in the note, where the symbol is *wan* for *yeou*. With respect to the date of Bâlâditya, who was contemporary with Mahirakula who put Siṁha, the twenty-third Buddhist patriarch, to death, we are told that he was a grandson of Buddhagupta (Hwui-lih, p. 150, Julien's trans.), and according to General Cunningham (*Archæolo. Survey*, vol. ix. p. 21) Buddhagupta was reigning approximately A.D. 349, and his silver coins extend his reign to A.D. 368. His son was Tathâgatagupta, and his successor was Bâlâditya. Allowing fifty years for these reigns, we arrive at 420 A.D. for the end, probably, of Bâlâditya's reign. This, of course, depends on the initial date of the Gupta period; if it is placed, as Dr. Oldenberg (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. x. p. 321) suggests, A.D. 319, then the reign of Buddhagupta will have to be brought down 125 years later, and he would be reigning 493 A.D.; in this case Bâlâditya would be on the throne too late for the date of Siṁha, who was certainly many years before Buddhadharma (the twenty-eighth patriarch), who reached China A.D. 520. The earlier date harmonises with the Chinese records, which state that a Life of Vasubandhu, the twenty-first patriarch, was written by Kumârajiva A.D. 409, and also that a history of the patriarchs down to Siṁha, whom we place hypothetically about 420 A.D., was translated in China A.D. 472; both these statements are possible if the date proposed be given to Bâlâditya.

many myriads, who fled with him and hid themselves in the islands[10] of the sea.

Mahirakula-râja, committing the army to his younger brother, himself embarked on the sea to go attack Bâlâditya. The king guarding the narrow passes, whilst the light cavalry were out to provoke the enemy to fight, sounded the golden drum, and his soldiers suddenly rose on every side and took Mahirakula alive as captive, and brought him into the presence (*of Bâlâditya*).

The king Mahirakula being overcome with shame at his defeat, covered his face with his robe. Bâlâditya sitting on his throne with his ministers round him, ordered one of them to tell the king to uncover himself as he wished to speak with him.

Mahirakula answered, "The subject and the master have changed places; that enemies should look on one another is useless; and what advantage is there in seeing my face during conversation?".

Having given the order three times with no success, the king then ordered his crimes to be published, and said, "The field of religious merit connected with the three precious objects of reverence is a public[11] blessing; but this you have overturned and destroyed like a wild beast. Your religious merit is over, and unprotected by fortune you are my prisoner. Your crimes admit of no extenuation and you must die."

At this time the mother of Bâlâditya was of wide celebrity on account of her vigorous intellect and her skill in casting horoscopes. Hearing that they were going to kill Mahirakula, she addressed Bâlâditya-râja and said, "I have understood that Mahirakula is of remarkable beauty and vast wisdom. I should like to see him once."

Bâlâditya-râja (Yeou-jih) ordered them to bring in Mahirakula to the presence of his mother in her palace. Then she said, "Alas! Mahirakula, be not ashamed! Worldly

[10] It may be translated, "an island of the sea."

[11] Belonging to the world or creatures born in the world.

things are impermanent; success and discomfiture follow one another according to circumstances. I regard myself as your mother and you as my son; remove the covering from your face and speak to me."

Mahirakula said, "A little while ago I was prince of a victorious country, now I am a prisoner condemned to death. I have lost my kingly estate and I am unable to offer my religious services;[12] I am ashamed in the presence of my ancestors and of my people. In very truth I am ashamed before all, whether before heaven or earth. I find no deliverance.[13] Therefore I hide my face with my mantle." The mother of the king said, "Prosperity or the opposite depends on the occasion; gain and loss come in turn. If you give way to events (*things*), you are lost; but if you rise above circumstances, though you fall, you may rise again. Believe me, the result of deeds depends on the occasion. Lift the covering from your face and speak with me. I may perhaps save your life."

Mahirakula, thanking her, said, "I have inherited a kingdom without having the necessary talent for government, and so I have abused the royal power in inflicting punishment; for this reason I have lost my kingdom. But though I am in chains, yet I desire life if only for a day. Let me then thank you with uncovered face for your offer of safety." Whereupon he removed his mantle and showed his face. The king's mother said, "My son is well-favoured;[14] he will die after his years are accomplished." Then she said to Bâlâditya, "In agreement with former regulations, it is right to forgive crime and to love to give life. Although Mahirakula has long accumulated sinful actions, yet his remnant of merit is not altogether exhausted. If you kill this man, for twelve

[12] The ancestral sacrifices.

[13] Perhaps a better translation would be: "In truth I am ashamed; whether I cast my eyes downward or upward, in heaven or earth I am unable to find deliverance."

[14] This is an obscure sentence; Julien translates it "have a care for yourself: you must accomplish the term of your life."

years you will see him with his pale face before you. I gather from his air that he will be the king of a small country; let him rule over some small kingdom in the north."

Then Bâlâditya-râja, obeying his dear mother's command, had pity on the prince bereft of his kingdom; gave him in marriage to a young maiden and treated him with exteme courtesy. Then he assembled the troops he had left and added a guard to escort him from the island.

Mahirakula-râja's brother having gone back, established himself in the kingdom. Mahirakula having lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts, and going northwards to Kaśmîr, he sought there an asylum. The king of Kaśmîr received him with honour, and moved with pity for his loss, gave him a small territory and a town to govern. After some years he stirred up the people of the town to rebellion, and killed the king of Kaśmîr and placed himself on the throne. Profiting by this victory and the renown it got him, he went to the west, plotting against the kingdom of Gandhâra. He set some soldiers in ambush and took and killed the king. He exterminated the royal family and the chief minister, overthrew the *stûpas,* destroyed the *saṅghârâmas,* altogether one thousand six hundred foundations. Besides those whom his soldiers had killed there were nine hundred thousand whom he was about to destroy without leaving one. At this time all the ministers addressed him and said, "Great king! your prowess has gained a great victory, and our soldiers are no longer engaged in conflict. Now that you have punished the chief, why would you charge the poor people with fault? Let us, insignificant as we are, die in their stead."

The king said, "You believe in the law of Buddha and greatly reverence the mysterious law of merit. Your aim is to arrive at the condition of Buddha, and then you will declare fully, under the form of *Jâtakas,*[15] my evil

[15] That is to say, when they had arrived at the condition of omniscience they would in future ages declare how Mahirakula was suffering

deeds, for the good of future generations. Now go back to your estates, and say no more on the subject."

Then he slew three ten myriads of people of the first rank by the side of the Sin-tu river; the same number of the middle rank he drowned in the river, and the same number of the third rank he divided among his soldiers (*as slaves*). Then he took the wealth of the country he had destroyed, assembled his troops, and returned. But before the year was out he died.[16] At the time of his death there was thunder and hail and a thick darkness; the earth shook and a mighty tempest raged. Then the holy saints said in pity, "For having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has now fallen into the lowest hell,[17] where he shall pass endless ages of revolution."[18]

In the old town of Śâkala (She-ki-lo) is a *saṅghârâma* with about 100 priests, who study the Little Vehicle. In old days Vasubandhu (Shi-t'sin) Bodhisattva composed in this place the treatise called *Shing-i-tai* (*Paramârthasatya Śâstra*).

By the side of the convent is a *stûpa* about 200 feet high; on this spot the four former Buddhas preached the law, and here again are the traces of their walking to and fro (*king-hing*).

To the north-west of the *saṅghârâma* 5 or 6 li is a *stûpa* about 200 feet high built by Aśôka-raja. Here also the four past Buddhas preached.

About 10 li to the north-east of the new capital we come to a *stûpa* of stone about 200 feet in height, built by Aśôka. This is where Tathâgata, when he was going

under some form of birth or other, in consequence of his evil deeds. This was one of the methods of Buddha's teaching.

[16] The expression *tsu lo* means "to wither away like a falling leaf."

[17] The lowest hell is the Wu-kan-ti-yuh, the hell without interval (*avîchi*), *i.e.*, without interval of rest, a place of incessant torment. It is the lowest of the places of torment. See *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 59.

[18] This may also mean that his torments even then, *i.e.*, after this punishment, would not be finished. The Buddhist idea of the suffering in *Avîchi* was not connected with its eternal duration. See Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.

northward on his work of conversion, stopped in the middle of the road. In the records of India (*In-tu-ki*) it is said, "In this *stûpa* are many relics; on holidays they emit a bright light."

From this[19] going east 500 li or so, we come to Chi-na-po-ti (Chînapati) country.

CHI-NA-PO-TI (CHÎNAPATI).[20]

This country is about 2000 li in circuit, The capital is about 14 or 15 li round. It produces abundant harvests;[21] the fruit trees are thinly scattered. The people are contented and peaceful; the resources of the country are abundant. The climate is hot and humid; the people are timid and listless. They are given to promiscuous study, and there are amongst them believers and the contrary. There are ten *saṅghârâmas* and eight Dêva temples.

Formerly, when Kanishka-râja was on the throne, his fame spread throughout the neighbouring countries, and his military power was recognised by all. The tributary princes[22] to the west of the (*Yellow*) River, in recognition of his authority, sent hostages to him. Kanishka-râja having received the hostages, he treated them with marked attention. During the three seasons of the year

[19] That is, from Śâkala; not from the large city (Lahor) on the frontiers of Takka, as V. de St. Martin states (*Mémoire*, p. 330).

[20] The country of Chînapati appears to have stretched from the Râvî to the Satlaj. General Cunningham places the capital at Chinê or Chinigari, 11 miles north of Amṛitsar (*Arch. Survey*, vol. xiv. p. 54). This situation does not agree with the subsequent bearings and distances. It is, for example, some 60 miles (300 li) north-west from Sultânpur (Tâmasavana) instead of 10 miles (50 li): moreover, Jâlandhara bears south-east from Chinê instead of north-east, and the distance is nearly 70 miles instead of 28 or 30. The situation of the large and very old town called Patti or Pati, 10 miles to the west of the Biyas river and 27 to the north-east of Kasûr, appears to suit the measurements and bearings as nearly as possible (*Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 200). It is unfortunate, however, that the distances in General Cunningham's maps in the *Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, and the volume of the *Arch. Survey* do not agree.

[21] Literally, sowing and reaping are rich and productive.

[22] I translate it thus after Julien, as there is some obscurity in the text. It might, perhaps, be rendered "the united tribes of the Fan people." The Fan were Tibetans or associated tribes.

he appointed them separate establishments, and afforded them special guards of troops.[23] This country was the residence of the hostages during the winter. This is the reason why it is called Chînapati,[24] after the name of the residence of the hostages.

There existed neither pear nor peach in this kingdom and throughout the Indies until the hostages planted them, and therefore the peach is called *Chînâni*, and the pear is called *Chînarâjaputra*.[25] For this reason the men of this country have a profound respect for the Eastern land. Moreover (*when they saw me*) they pointed with their fingers, and said one to another, "This man is a native of the country of our former ruler.[26]

To the south-east of the capital 500[27] li or so, we come to the convent called Ta-mo-su-fa-na (*dark forest, i.e.*, Tâmasavana). There are about 300 priests in it, who study the docrine of the Sarvâstivâda school. They (*the congregation*) have a dignified address, and are of conspicuous virtue and pure life. They are deeply versed in the teaching of the Little Vehicle. The 1000 Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa will explain, in this country, to the assembly of the Dêvas the principles of the excellent law.

Three hundred years after the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha the

[23] Literally, "four soldiers stood on guard," *i.e.*, they had four soldiers outside their quarters to protect them.

[24] Rendered in a note "*Tang fung*, *i.e.*, "lord of China;" this seems to show that *Pati* is the right restoration of *po-ti* (compare Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. of India*, vol. xiv. p. 54). The fact of the name China being given to this country on account of the hostages confirms the restoration of *Charaka* to *Serika*, *ante*, Book i. p. 57, n. 203.

[25] Cunningham remarks that there can be no doubt of the introduction of the China peach, as in the north-west of India it is still known by that name (*op. cit.*, p. 54).

[26] That is, of Kanishka and his associates. They belonged to the Gushân tribe of the Yueï-chi, who came originally from the borders of China. See *ante*, p. 56, n. 200.

[27] In the life of Hiuen Tsiang by Hwui-lih, the distance given from the capital of Chînapati to the convent of "the dark forest" is 50 li (Book ii. p. 102, Julien's translation). This is probably the correct distance: the 500 li in the text is an error of the copyist. The convent is fixed by General Cunningham at Sûltanpur or Dalla Sûltanpur. It is one of the largest towns in the Jâlandhara Doab (*op. cit.*, p. 55).

master of *śâstras* called Kâtyâyana composed here the *Fa-chi-lun* (*Abhidharmajñâna-prasthâna Śâstra*).[28]

In the convent of *the dark forest* there is a *stûpa* about 200 feet high, which was erected by Aśôka-râja. By its side are traces of the four past Buddhas, where they sat and walked. There is a succession of little *stûpas* and large stone houses facing one another, of an uncertain number; here, from the beginning of the kalpa till now, saints who have obtained the fruit (*of Arhats*) have reached *Nirvâṇa*. To cite all would be difficult. Their teeth and bones still remain. The convents gird the mountain[29] for about 20 li in circuit, and the *stûpas* containing relics of Buddha are hundreds and thousands in number; they are crowded together, so that one overshadows the other.

Going north-east from this country, 140 or 150 li, we come to the country of Che-lan-ta-lo (Jâlaṅdhara).

CHE-LAN-T'O-LO (JÂLAṄDHARA).

This kingdom[30] is about 1000 li from east to west, and about 800 li from north to south. The capital is 12 or 13 li in circuit. The land is favourable for the cultiva-

[28] This work was translated into Chinese by Saṅghadêva and another in A.D. 383. Another translation was made by Hiuen Tsiang A.D. 657. If the usual date of Buddha's *Nirvâṇa* be adopted (viz., 400 years before Kanishka), Kâtyâyana would have flourished in the first century or about 20 B.C. See Weber, *Sansk. Liter.*, p. 222. His work was the foundation of the *Abhidharma-mahâvibhâshâ S'âstra*, composed during the council under Kanishka. (See Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue of Buddhist Tripiṭ.*, No. 1263).

[29] There is probably a false reading in the text, either (1) *Shan*, a mountain, is a mistake for *saṅg*, which would give us *sang-kia-lan*, "saṅghârâma," instead of *kia-lan*, or else (2) *shan* is for *yau*, a very common misprint. In the first case the translation would then be "the teeth and bones still exist around the saṅghârâma;" or, if the second reading be adopted, the rendering would be "the teeth and bones still exist all round, *from* (*yau*) the *kia-lan*, for a circuit of 20 li," &c. Perhaps the first correction is preferable. I am satisfied the reading, as it is, is corrupt.

[30] Jâlaṅdhara, a well-known place in the Panjâb (lat. 31° 19′ N., long. 75° 28′ E.) We may therefore safely reckon from it in testing Hiuen Tsiang's figures. From Sultânpur to Jâlaṅdhara is as nearly as possible 50 miles north-east. Hiuen Tsiang gives 150 or 140 li in the same direction. Assuming the capital of Chinapati to be 50 li north-west of Sultânpur, that distance and bearing would place us on the right bank of the Biyâs river, near the old town of Patti.

tion of cereals, and it produces much rice. The forests are thick and umbrageous, fruits and flowers abundant. The climate is warm and moist, the people brave and impetuous, but their appearance is common and rustic. The houses are rich and well supplied. There are fifty convents, or so; about 2000 priests. They have students both of the Great and Little Vehicle. There are three temples of Dêvas and about 500 heretics, who all belong to the Pâśupatas (*cinder-sprinkled*).

A former king of this land showed great partiality for the heretics, but afterwards, having met with an Arhat and heard the law, he believed and understood it. Therefore the king of Mid-India, out of regard for his sincere faith, appointed him sole inspector of the affairs of religion (*the three gems*) throughout the five Indies. Making light of party distinctions (*this or that*), with no preference or dislike, he examined into the conduct of the priests, and probed their behaviour with wonderful sagacity. The virtuous and the well-reported of, he reverenced and openly rewarded; the disorderly he punished. Wherever there were traces of the holy one (*or*, ones), he built either *stûpas* or *saṅghârâmas*, and there was no place within the limits of India he did not visit and inspect.

Going north-east from this, skirting along some high mountain passes and traversing some deep valleys, follow-

Reckoning back to Śâkala, the distance (Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, map vi.) is just 100 miles north of west. Hiuen Tsiang gives 500 li west. From this it seems that the computation of *five* li to the mile is, in this part of India at least, a safe one. For a full account of Jâlaṅdhara and its importance, see Cunningham (*op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff.) It is sometimes stated that the council under Kanishka was held in the Jâlaṅdhara convent, that is, the Tâmasavana Saṅghârâma (V. de St. Martin, *Mémoire*, p. 333 n.) The fact that Kâtyâyana lived and wrote in this establishment, and that the great work of the council was to write a commentary on his *śâstra*, would so far be in accord with the statement. Hiuen Tsiang on his return journey was accompanied to Jâlaṅdhara by Udita, the king of North India, who made this his capital (*Vie*, p. 260). Shortly after this a Shaman, Yuan-chiu, from China stopped here four years, studying Sanskrit with the Mung king, perhaps the same Udita (*J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 563). The way through Kapiśa was shortly after this time (664 A.D. occupied by the Arabs (*op. cit.*, p. 564).

ing a dangerous road, and crossing many ravines, going 700 li or so, we come to the country of K'iu-lu-to (Kulûta).

K'IU-LU-TO (KULÛTA).

This country[31] is about 3000 li in circuit, and surrounded on every side by mountains. The chief town is about 14 or 15 li round. The land is rich and fertile, and the crops are duly sown and gathered. Flowers and fruits are abundant, and the plants and trees afford a rich vegetation. Being contiguous to the Snowy Mountains, there are found here many medicinal (*roots*) of much value. Gold, silver, and copper are found here—fire-drops (*crystal*) and native copper (*teou*). The climate is unusually cold, and hail or snow continually falls. The people are coarse and common in appearance, and are much afflicted with goitre and tumours, Their nature is hard and fierce; they greatly regard justice and bravery. There are about twenty *saṅghârâmas*, and 1000 priests or so. They mostly study the Great Vehicle; a few practise (*the rules of*) other schools (*nikâyas*). There are fifteen Dêva temples: different sects occupy them without distinction.

Along the precipitous sides of the mountains and hollowed into the rocks are stone chambers which face one another. Here the Arhats dwell or the Ṛishis stop.

In the middle of the country is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. Of old the Tathâgata came to this country with his followers to preach the law and to save men. This *stûpa* is a memorial of the traces of his presence.

Going north from this, along a road thick with dangers and precipices, about 1800 or 1900 li, along mountains and valleys, we come to the country of Lo-u-lo (Lahul).[32]

North of this 2000 li or so, travelling by a road dan-

[31] Kulûta, the district of Kulu in the upper valley of the Biyâs river. It is also called Kôlûka and Kôlûta, —*Râmây.*, iv. 43, 8; *Bṛih. Saṁh.*, xiv. 22, 29; Wilson, *Hind. Theat.*, vol. ii. p. 165; Saint-Martin, *Étude sur la Géog. Grec.*, pp. 300 f. The present capital is Sultânpur (Cunningham). The old capital was called Nagara or Nagarkôṭ.

[32] Lahul, the Lho-yal of the Tibetans.

gerous and precipitous, where icy winds and flying snow (*assault the traveller*), we come to the country of Mo-lo-so (called also San-po-ho).[33]

Leaving the country of K'iu-lu-to and going south 700 li or so, passing a great mountain and crossing a wide river, we come to the country of She-to-t'u-lo (Śatadru).

SHE-TO-T'U-LU (ŚATADRU).

This country[34] is about 2000 li from east to west, and borders on a great river. The capital is 17 or 18 li in circuit. Cereals grow in abundance, and there is very much fruit. There is an abundance of gold and silver found here, and precious stones. For clothing the people wear a very bright silk stuff; their garments are elegant and rich. The climate is warm and moist. The manners of the people are soft and agreeable; the men are docile and virtuous. The high and low take their proper place. They all sincerely believe in the law of Buddha and show it great respect. Within and without the royal city there are ten *saṅghârâmas*, but the halls are now deserted and cold, and there are but few priests. To the south-east of the city 3 or 4 li is a *stûpa* about 200 feet high, which was built by Aśôka-râja. Beside it are the traces where the four past Buddhas sat or walked.

Going again from this south-west about 800 li, we come to the kingdom of Po-li-ye-to-lo (Pâryâtra).

[33] This country is also called San-po-ho (Sampaha?).—*Ch. Ed.* The suggestion of General Cunningham that Mo-lo-so should be read Marpo (Mo-lo-po, St. Martin, *Mém.*, p. 331) is quite admissible. *Mo-lo* is equal to *mar*, and the symbol *so* is often mistaken for *po*. The province of Ladâk is called Mar-po, or the "red district," from the colour of the soil. The distance given by Hiuen Tsiang viz., 4600 li from Jâlaṅdhara, is no doubt much in excess of the straight route to Ladâk, but as he went no further than Kulûta himself, the other distances, viz., 1900 + 2000 li, must have been gathered from hearsay. Doubtless the route would be intricate and winding.

[34] Śatadru—also spelt Śutudrî, Śatudrî, and Śitadrus, "flowing in a hundred branches"—the name of the Satlaj (Gerard's *Koonawur*, p. 28). It is the Hesidrus (or Hesudrus?) of Pliny (*H. N.*, lib. vi. c. 17, 21) and the Ζαράδρος or Ζαδάδρης of Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 27, 42). See Lassen *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 57. It also appears to have been the name of a kingdom of which Sarhind was probably the chief town, referred to in the text.

Po-li-ye-to-lo (Pâryâtra).

This country[35] is about 3000 li in circuit, and the capital about 14 or 15 li. Grain is abundant and late wheat. There is a strange kind of rice grown here, which ripens after sixty days.[36] There are many oxen and sheep, few flowers and fruits. The climate is warm and fiery, the manners of the people are resolute and fierce.[37] They do not esteem learning, and are given to honour the heretics. The king is of the Vaiśya caste; he is of a brave and impetuous nature, and very warlike.

There are eight *saṅghârâmas*, mostly ruined, with a very few priests, who study the Little Vehicle. There are ten Dêva temples with about 1000 followers of different sects.

Going east from this 500 li or so, we come to the country of Mo-t'u-lo (Mathurâ).

Mo-t'u-lo (Mathurâ).

The kingdom of Mo-t'u-lo[38] is about 5000 li in circuit. The capital is 20 li round. The soil is rich and fertile, and fit for producing grain (*sowing and reaping*). They give principal care to the cultivation of *'An-mo-lo (trees)*,

[35] Pâryâtra is said in the next section to be 500 li (100 miles) west of Mathurâ or Muttra. This would favour the restoration of the Chinese *Po-li-ye-to-lo* to Virâta or Bairât. The distance and bearing from Sarhind, however, given in the text, do not agree with this. Bairât is some 220 miles south of Sarhind.

[36] Julien states (p. 206, n. 3) that this is a species of "dry rice" or "mountain rice," called *Tchen-tch'ing-tao*, which, according to a Chinese account, ripens in this period of time.

[37] The people of Virâta were always famous for their valour; hence Manu directs that the van of an army should be composed of men of Matsya or Virâta (amongst others). Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 341.

[38] Mathurâ, on the Yamunâ, in the ancient Śûrasênaka district, lat. 27° 28′ N., long. 77° 41′ E. For a description of the Buddhist remains discovered in the neighbourhood of this city, see Cunningham, *Archæol. Surv. of India*, vol. i. pp. 231 ff., and vol. iii. p. 13 ff.; Growse's *Mathurâ* (2d ed.), pp. 95–116; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi. pp. 216 f. It is the Μέθορα of Arrian (*Ind.*, c. 8) and Pliny (*H. N.*, lib. vi. c. 19, s. 22), and the Μόδουρα ἡ τῶν θεων of Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 49). Conf. Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. i. p. 158; *Bṛih. Saṁh.*, iv. 26, xvi. 17; Pâṇini, iv. 2, 82; Burnouf, *Intr.*, pp. 130, 336.

which grow in clusters[39] like forests. These trees, though called by one name, are of two kinds; the small species, the fruit of which, when young, is green, and becomes yellow as it ripens; and the great species, the fruit of which is green throughout its growth.

This country produces a fine species of cotton fabric and also yellow gold. The climate is warm to a degree. The manners of the people are soft and complacent. They like to prepare secret stores of religious merit.[40] They esteem virtue and honour learning.

There are about twenty *saṅghârâmas* with 2000 priests or so. They study equally the Great and the Little Vehicles. There are five Dêva temples, in which sectaries of all kinds live.

There are three *stûpas* built by Aśôka-râja. There are very many traces[41] of the four past Buddhas here. There are also *stûpas* to commemorate the remains of the holy followers of Śâkya Tathâgata, to wit, of Śâriputra (She-li-tseu), of Mudgalaputra (Mo-te-kia-lo-tseu), of Pûrṇamaitrâ-yaṇîputra (Pu-la-na-meï-ta-li-yen-ni-fo-ta-lo), of Upâli (Yeu-po-li), of Ânanda ('O-nan-to), of Râhula (Lo-hu-lo), of Mañjuśrî (Man-chu-sse-li), and *stûpas* of other Bôdhisattvas. Every year during the three months in which long fasts are observed,[42] and during the six fast-days of each month, the priests resort to these various *stûpas* and pay mutual compliments; they make their religious offerings, and bring many rare and precious objects for presents. According to their school they visit the sacred object (*figure*) of their veneration. Those who study the *Abhidharma* honour Śâriputra; those who practise meditation honour Mudgalaputra; those who recite the *sûtras* honour Pûrṇamai-

[39] I have translated the phrase *ka-chin*, "in clusters;" literally it would be "family clusters." The Amala or Âmalaka is a kind of Myrobalan, *Emblica officinalis*, *Gaertn* (Petersb. *Dict.*) or *Phyllanthus emblicà* (Wilson).

[40] The phrase in the text denotes that the merit acquired is mysterious or for the future world.

[41] "Bequeathed traces;" not necessarily foot-marks, but any mark or trace.

[42] The 1st, 5th, and 9th month—Julien.

trâyaṇîputra;[43] those who study the *Vinaya* reverence Upâli. All the Bhikshuṇîs honour Ânanda, the Śrâmaṇêras[44] honour Râhula; those who study the Great Vehicle reverence the Bôdhisattvas. On these days they honour the *stûpas* with offerings. They spread out (*display*) their jewelled banners; the rich (*precious*) coverings (*parasols*) are crowded together as network; the smoke of incense rises in clouds; and flowers are scattered in every direction like rain; the sun and the moon are concealed as by the clouds which hang over the moist valleys. The king of the country and the great ministers apply themselves to these religious duties with zeal.[45]

To the east of the city about 5 or 6 li we come to a mountain *saṅghârâma*.[46] The hill-sides are pierced (*widened*) to make cells (for the priests). We enter it[47]

[43] A native of Śûrpâraka, in Western India, for whom see Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 426, 503, *Lotus*, p. 2; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi. pp. 236, 294; Hardy, *Man. Budh.*, pp. 58, 267 f.; Beal, *Catena*, pp. 287, 344; Edkins, *Chin. Buddh.*, p. 290; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx. pp. 61, 427.

[44] Those not yet fully ordained; or, literally, those who have not yet taken on them all the rules, *i.e.*, of the *Pratimôksha*. The Śrâmaṇêras, or young disciples (novices), are referred to; they are called *anupasampanna*, not fully ordained. See Childers' *Pali Dict.* sub voc.

[45] Literally, "prepare good (*fruit*) by their zeal (*careful attention*).

[46] This passage is obscure and unsatisfactory. In the first place, the bearing from the city must be wrong, as the river Jamnâ washes the eastern side of the city for its whole length. If *west* be substituted for *east*, we are told by General Cunningham (*Arch. Survey of India*, vol. iii. p. 28) that the Chaubâra mounds, about one mile and a half from the town in that direction, have no hollows such as Hiuen Tsiang describes. If *north* be substituted for *east*, the Katrâ mound is not a mile from the town. But in the second place, the Chinese text is obscure. I do not think we can translate *yih shan kia lan*—literally "one-mountain-*saṅghârâma*"—by "a saṅghârâma situated on a mountain." There is the same phrase used in connection with the Tâmasavana convent (*supra*, p. 174). I have supposed that *shan* in that passage is a misprint. General Cunningham remarks (*Archæol. Survey*, vol. xiv. p. 56), that Hiuen Tsiang *compares* this monastery to a mountain: if this were so, the text would be intelligible; but I can find no such statement. If the text is not corrupt, the most satisfactory explanation I can offer is that the mounds which seem to abound in the neighbourhood of Mathurâ (and also the high mound at Sultânpur) had been used by the early Buddhist priests as "mountain-convents," that is, the mounds had been excavated, as the sides of mountains were, for dwelling-places. It is possible, also, to make *yi shan* a proper name for *Ekaparvata*; the passage would then read "5 or 6 li to the east of the city is the Ekaparvataka monastery."

[47] The word used in the text (*yin*) favours another rendering, viz., "the valley being the gates."

through a valley, as by gates. This was constructed by the honourable Upagupta.[48] There is in it a *stûpa* containing the nail-parings of the Tathâgata.

To the north of the *saṅghârâma*, in a cavern (*or* between two high banks), is a stone house about 20 feet high and 30 feet wide. It is filled with small wooden tokens (*slips*) four inches long.[49] Here the honourable Upagupta preached; when he converted a man and wife, so that they both arrived at (*confronted*) the fruit of Arhatship, he placed one slip (*in this house*). He made no record of those who attained this condition if they belonged to different families or separate castes (*tribes*).

Twenty-four or five li to the south-east of the stone house there is a great dry marsh, by the side of which is a *stûpa*. In old days the Tathâgata walked to and fro in this place. At this time a monkey holding (*a pot of*) honey offered it to Buddha. Buddha hereupon ordered him to mingle it with water, and to distribute it everywhere among the great assembly.[50] The monkey, filled

[48] Upagupta (Yu-po-kiu-to, in Chinese Kin-hu, and in Japanese Uvakikta), a Śûdra by birth, entered on a monastic life when seventeen years old, became an Arhat three years later, and conquered Mâra in a personal contest. He laboured in Mathurâ as the fourth patriarch. (Eitel, *Handbook*, s. voc.) The personal contest alluded to is related fully as an *Avadâna* by Aśvaghôsha in his sermons: Mâra found Upagupta lost in meditation, and placed a wreath of flowers on his head. On returning to consciousness, and finding himself thus crowned, he entered again into *samâdhi*, to see who had done the deed. Finding it was Mâra, he caused a dead body to fasten itself round Mâra's neck. No power in heaven or earth could disentangle it. Finally Mâra returned to Upagupta, confessed his fault, and prayed him to free him from the corpse. Upagupta consented on condition that he (Mâra) would exhibit himself under the form of Buddha "with all his marks." Mâra does so, and Upagupta, overpowered by the magnificence of the (supposed) Buddha, falls down before him in worship. The tableau then closes amid a terrific storm. Upagupta is spoken of as "a Buddha without marks" (*Alakshaṇako Buddhaḥ*).—Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 336, n. 4. See also *Fo-sho-hing-tsan king*, p. xii. He is not known to the Southern school of Buddhism. He is made a contemporary of Aśôka by the Northern school, and placed one hundred years after the *Nirvâṇa*. Conf. Edkins, *Chin. Buddhism*, pp. 67–70; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. p. 1201.

[49] Literally, "four-inch wooden tokens fill up its interior." But according to another account (*Wong pûh*, § 177), the tokens or rods were used at the cremation of Upagupta.

[50] Mr. Growse would identify this spot with Damdama mound near Sarai Jamâlpur, "at some distance to the south-east of the *katra*, the tradi-

with joy, fell into a deep hole and was killed. By the power of his religious merit he obtained birth as a man.

To the north of the lake not very far, in the midst of a great wood, are the traces of the four former Buddhas walking to and fro. By the side are *stûpas* erected to commemorate the spots where Śâriputra, Mudgalaputra, and others, to the number of 1250 great Arhats, practised *samâdhi* and left traces thereof. The Tathâgata, when in the world, often traversed this country preaching the law. On the places where he stopped there are monuments (*trees* or *posts*) with titles on them.

Going north-east 500 li or so, we come to the country of Sa-t'a-ni-shi-fa-lo (Sthânêśvara).

SA-T'A-NI-SHI-FA-LO (STHÂNÊŚVARA).

This kingdom [51] is about 7000 li in circuit, the capital 20 li or so. The soil is rich and productive, and abounds with grain (*cereals*). The climate is genial, though hot. The manners of the people are cold and insincere. The families are rich and given to excessive luxury. They are much addicted to the use of magical arts, and greatly honour those of distinguished ability in other ways. Most of the people follow after worldly gain; a few give themselves to agricultural pursuits. There is a large accumulation here of rare and valuable merchandise from every quarter. There are three *saṅghârâmas* in this country, with about 700 priests. They all study (*practise* or *use*)

tional site of ancient Mathurâ."—Growse's *Mathura* (2d ed.), p. 100; Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, vol. i. p. 233. The legend of the monkey is often represented in Bauddha sculptures (see *Ind. Ant.*; vol. ix. p. 114). In this translation I follow Julien. The literal rendering is, "Buddha ordered a water-mingling everywhere around the great assembly." The "great assembly" is the *Saṁghâ* or congregation, generally represented as 1250 in number. Probably the verb *shi* is understood, "*to give* it everywhere," &c.

51 The pilgrim probably left Mathurâ and travelled back by his former route till he came to Hânsi, where he struck off in a north-west direction for about 100 miles to Thânêśvar or Sthânêśvara. This is one of the oldest and most celebrated places in India, on account of its connection with the Pâṇḍus. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 331; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 153, n; Hall, *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 51.

the Little Vehicle. There are some hundred Dêva temples, and sectaries of various kinds in great number.

On every side of the capital within a precinct of 200 li in circuit is an area called by the men of this place "the land of religious merit."[52] This is what tradition states about it:—In old time there were two kings[53] of the five Indies, between whom the government was divided. They attacked one another's frontiers, and never ceased fighting. At length the two kings came to the agreement that they should select on each side a certain number of soldiers to decide the question by combat, and so give the people rest. But the multitude rejected this plan, and would have none of it. Then the king (*of this country*) reflected that the people are difficult to please (*to deal with*). A miraculous power (*a spirit*) may perhaps move them (*to action*); some project (*out-of-the-way plan*) may perhaps settle (*establish*) them in some right course of action.

At this time there was a Brâhmaṇ of great wisdom and high talent. To him the king sent secretly a present of some rolls of silk, and requested him to retire within his after-hall (*private apartment*) and there compose a religious book which he might conceal in a mountain cavern. After some time,[54] when the trees had grown over (*the mouth of the cavern*), the king summoned his ministers before him as he sat on his royal throne, and said: "Ashamed of my little virtue in the high estate I occupy, the ruler of heaven[55] (*or*, of Dêvas) has been pleased to reveal to me in a dream, and to confer upon me a divine book which is now concealed in such-and-such a mountain fastness and in such-and-such a rocky corner."

[52] This is also called the Dharmakshêtra, or the "holy land;" and Kuru-kshêtra, from the number of holy places connected with the Kauravas and Pâṇḍavas, and with other heroes of antiquity. For some remarks on the probable extent of this district, see *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 333, *Arch. Sur. of India*, vol. ii. pp. 212 f., and vol. xiv. p. 100; Thomson, *Bhagavad. Gîtâ*, c. i. n. 2; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 153.

[53] That is, the king of the Kurus and of the Pâṇḍus. The struggle between these two families forms the subject of the great Sanskrit epic, the *Mahâbhârata*.

[54] Some years and months after.

[55] This is the general title given to Śakra or Indra, Sakradêvêndra.

On this an edict was issued to search for this book, and it was found underneath the mountain bushes. The high ministers addressed their congratulations (*to the king*) and the people were overjoyed. The king then gave an account of the discovery to those far and near, and caused all to understand the matter; and this is the upshot of his message: "To birth and death there is no limit—no end to the revolutions of life. There is no rescue from the spiritual abyss (*in which we are immersed*). But now by a rare plan I am able to deliver men from this suffering. Around this royal city, for the space of 200 li in circuit, was the land of 'religious merit' for men, apportioned by the kings of old. Years having rolled away in great numbers, the traces have been forgotten or destroyed. Men not regarding spiritual indications (*religion*) have been immersed in the sea of sorrow without power of escape. What then is to be said? Let it be known (*from the divine revelation given*) that all those of you who shall attack the enemy's troops and die in battle, that they shall be born again as men; if they kill many, that, free from guilt,[56] they shall receive heavenly joys. Those obedient grandchildren and pious children who assist (*attend*) their aged parents[57] in walking about this land shall reap happiness (*merit*) without bounds. With little work, a great reward.[58] Who would lose such an opportunity, (*since*,) when once dead, our bodies fall into the dark intricacies of the three evil ways?[59] Therefore let every man stir himself to the utmost to prepare good works."

On this the men hastened to the conflict, and regarded death as deliverance.[60] The king accordingly issued an

[56] This differs from Julien's version; the literal translation is "many slain, guiltless, they shall receive the happiness of heaven as their reward (*merit*)." It seems to imply that if they shall be killed after slaying many of the enemy, they shall be born in heaven.

[57] Or, "their relations and the aged." It is an obscure passage, but the allusion is probably to those who attend to the wounded or the bereaved.

[58] There may be a reference to mourning for distant relatives, implying that this also shall be rewarded.

[59] *I.e.*, of hell, of famished demons, and of brutes.

[60] The phrase *ju kwei*, "as re-

edict and summoned his braves. The two countries engaged in conflict, and the dead bodies were heaped together as sticks, and from that time till now the plains are everywhere covered with their bones. As this relates to a very remote period of time, the bones are very large ones.[61] The constant tradition of the country, therefore, has called this "the field of religious merit" (*or* "happiness").

To the north-west of the city 4 or 5 li is a *stûpa* about 300 feet high, which was built by Aśôka-râja. The bricks are all of a yellowish red colour, very bright and shining, within is a peck measure of the relics of Buddha. From the *stûpa* is frequently emitted a brilliant light, and many spiritual prodigies exhibit themselves.

Going south of the city about 100 li, we come to a convent called Ku-hwăn-ch'a (Gôkaṇṭha ?).[62] There are here a succession of towers with overlapping storeys,[63] with intervals between them for walking (*pacing*). The priests are virtuous and well-mannered, possessed of quiet dignity.

Going from this north-east 400 li or so, we come to the country of Su-lo-kin-na (Srughna).

SU-LO-KIN-NA (SRUGHNA).

This country[64] is about 6000 li in circuit. On the eastern side it borders on the Ganges river, on the north

turned," has a meaning equal to our word "salvation" or "saved." The sentence appears to be interpolated.

[61] There is a Vedic legend about Indra, who slew ninety times nine Vṛîtras near this spot. The site of Asthipur, or "bone-town," is still pointed out in the plain to the west of the city.—Cunningham, *Geog.*, p. 336; *Arch. Sur.*, vol. ii. p. 219.

[62] This may also be restored to Gôvinda.

[63] *Lin măng* = connected ridge-poles (?).

[64] Hiuen Tsiang reckons his distance from the capital as usual. The distance indicated from Sthânêśvara in a north-east direction would take us to Kâlsi, in the Jaunsâr district, on the east of Sirmur. Cunningham places Srughna at Sugh, a place about fifty miles north-east from the Gôkaṇṭha monastery. Hwui-lih makes the direction *east* instead of north-east. Srughna, north of Hâstinapura, is mentioned by Paṇini (i. 3, 25; ii. 1, 14 schol.; iv. 3, 25. 86), and by Varâha Mihira, *Bṛîh. Saṁh.*, xvi. 21). Conf. Hall's *Vâsavadattâ*, int. p. 51. It

it is backed by great mountains. The river Yamunâ (Chen-mu-na) flows through its frontiers. The capital is about 20 li in circuit, and is bounded on the east by the river Yamunâ. It is deserted, although its foundations are still very strong. As to produce of soil and character of climate, this country resembles the kingdom of Sa-t'a-ni-shi-fa-lo (Sthânêśvara). The disposition of the people is sincere and truthful. They honour and have faith in heretical teaching, and they greatly esteem the pursuit of learning, but principally religious wisdom (*or*, the wisdom that brings happiness).

There are five *saṅghârâmas* with about 1000 priests; the greater number study the Little Vehicle; a few exercise themselves in other (*exceptional*) schools. They deliberate and discuss in appropriate language (*choice words*), and their clear discourses embody profound truth. Men of different regions of eminent skill discuss with them to satisfy their doubts. There are a hundred Dêva temples with very many sectaries (*unbelievers*).

To the south-west of the capital and west of the river Yamunâ is a *saṅghârâma*, outside the eastern gate of which is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. The Tathâgata, when in the world in former days, preached the law in this place to convert men. By its side is another *stûpa* in which there are relics of the Tathâgata's hair and nails. Surrounding this on the right and left are *stûpas* enclosing the hair and nail relics of Sâriputra and of Mu-te-kia-lo (Maudgalyâyana) and other Arhats, several tens in number.

After Tathâgata had entered *Nirvâṇa* this country was the seat of heretical teaching. The faithful were per-

appears from Cunningham's account of the pillar of Firuz Shâh, which was brought from a place called Topur or Topera, on the bank of the Jamnâ, in the district of Salora, not far from Khizrâbâd, which is at *the foot of* the mountains, 90 kos from Dehli, which place Cunningham identifies with Paota, not far from Kâlsi (*Archæol. Surv.*, vol. i. p. 166), that this neighbourhood was famous in olden days as a Buddhist locality. I think we should trust Hiuen Tsiang's 400 li north-east from Sthânêśvara, and place the capital of Srughna at or near Kâlsi, which Cunningham also includes in the district. Conf. Cunningham, *Arch. Sur.*, vol. ii. pp. 220 ff.; *Anc. Geog.*, p. 345.

verted to false doctrine, and forsook the orthodox views. Now there are five *saṅghârâmas* in places where masters of treatises [65] from different countries, holding controversies with the heretics and Brâhmaṇs, prevailed; they were erected on this account.

On the east of the Yamunâ, going about 800 li, we come to the Ganges river.[66] The source of the river (*or* the river at its source) is 3 or 4 li wide; flowing south-east, it enters the sea, where it is 10 li and more in width. The water of the river is blue, like the ocean, and its waves are wide-rolling as the sea. The scaly monsters, though many, do no harm to men. The taste of the water is sweet and pleasant, and sands of extreme fineness [67] border its course. In the common history of the country this river is called Fo-shwui, the *river of religious merit*,[68] which can wash away countless [69] sins. Those who are weary of life, if they end their days in it, are borne to heaven and receive happiness. If a man dies and his bones are cast into the river, he cannot fall into an evil way; whilst he is carried by its waters and forgotten by men, his soul is preserved in safety on the other side (in the other world).

At a certain time there was a Bôdhisattva of the island of Siṁhala (Chi-sse-tseu—Ceylon) called Dêva, who profoundly understood the relationship of truth [70] and the nature of all composite things (*fă*).[71] Moved with pity at

[65] That is, Buddhist doctors or learned writers (writers of *śâstras*).

[66] In Hwui-lih the text seems to require the route to be to the *source* of the Ganges. The distance of 800 li would favour this reading; but it is hard to understand how a river can be three or four li (three-quarters of a mile) wide at its source. See the accounts of Gaṅgadwâra, Gaṅgautri, or Gaṅgôtri, by Rennell, &c.

[67] Hence the comparison so frequently met with in Buddhist books, "as numerous as the sands of the Ganges."

[68] The Mahâbhadrâ.

[69] Heaped-up sin, or although heaped up: I do not think Julien's "quoiqu'on soit chargé de crimes" meets the sense of the original.

[70] Or, all true relationship; the symbol *siang* corresponds with *lakshaṇa*; it might be translated, therefore, "all the marks of truth."

[71] The symbol *fă* corresponds with *dharma*, which has a wide meaning, as in the well-known text, *ye dharmâ hêtu-prabhava*, &c.

the ignorance of men, he came to this country to guide and direct the people in the right way. At this time the men and women were all assembled with the young and old together on the banks of the river, whose waves rolled along with impetuosity. Then Dêva Bôdhisattva composing his supernatural appearance [72] bent his head and dispersed it (*the rays of his glory?*) again [73]—his appearance different from that of other men. There was an unbeliever who said, "What does my son in altering thus his appearance?" [74]

Dêva Bôdhisattva answered: "My father, mother, and relations dwell in the island of Ceylon. I fear lest they may be suffering from hunger and thirst; I desire to appease them from this distant spot."

The heretic said: "You deceive yourself, my son; [75] have you no reflection to see how foolish such a thing is? Your country is far off, and separated by mountains and rivers of wide extent from this. To draw up this water and scatter it in order to quench the thirst of those far off, is like going backwards to seek a thing before you; it is a way never heard of before." Then Dêva Bôdhisattva said: "If those who are kept for their sins in the dark regions of evil can reap the benefit of the water, why should it not reach those who are merely separated by mountains and rivers?"

Then the heretics, in presence of the difficulty, confessed themselves wrong, and, giving up their unbelief, received the true law. Changing their evil ways, they reformed themselves, and vowed to become his disciples.[76]

[72] His agreeable splendour, dipping up and drawing in.

[73] This passage is obscure. Julien's translation is as follows: "Dêva Bôdhisattva softened the brightness of his figure and wished to draw some water; but the moment he bent his head at that point the water receded in streams (*en jaillissant*)." It may be so; or it may refer to his miraculous appearance, drawing in and dispersing again the brightness of his figure. The subsequent part of the narrative, however, seems to denote that he "drew in" some water, and then scattered or dispersed it.

[74] Literally, "My son! why this difficult, or wonderful (*occurrence*)?"

[75] Or, "you deceive yourself, sir!" The expression *ngo tseu* seems to mean more than "doctor" or "sir."

[76] The history of Dêva Bôdhisattva is somewhat confusing. We know this much of him, that he was a disciple of Nâgârjuna, and his suc-

After crossing the river and going along the eastern side of it, we come to the country of Ma-ti-pu-lo (Matipura).

MA-TI-PU-LO (MATIPURA).

This country[77] is about 6000 li in circuit; the capital is about 20 li. The soil is favourable for the growth of cereals, and there are many flowers and kinds of fruit. The climate is soft and mild. The people are sincere and truthful. They very much reverence learning, and are deeply versed in the use of charms and magic. The followers of truth and error are equally divided.[78] The king belongs to the caste of the Śûdras (Shu-t'o-lo). He is not a believer in the law of Buddha, but reverences and worships the spirits of heaven. There are about twenty *saṅghârâmas*, with 800 priests. They mostly study the Little Vehicle and belong to the school of Sarvâstivâdas (Shwo-i-tsie-yau). There are some fifty Dêva temples, in which men of different persuasions dwell promiscuously.

Four or five li to the south of the capital we come to a little *saṅghârâma* having about fifty priests in it. In old time the master of *śâstras* called Kiu-na-po-

cessor as fourteenth (or according to others, fifteenth) patriarch. He is called Kanadêva, because, according to Vassilief (p. 219), he gave one of his eyes (*kâṇa*, "one-eyed") to Mahêśvara, but more probably because he bored out (*kâṇa*, "perforated") the eye of Mahêśvara. For this story see *Wong Pûh*, § 188 (*J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xx. p. 207), where the Chinese *ts'hŏ* answers to *kâṇa*. See Edkins, *Chin. Buddh.*, pp. 77–79; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. ii. p. 1204. He is also called Âryadêva. According to others he is the same as Chandrakîrtti (*J. As. S. Ben.*, vol. vii. p. 144), but this cannot be the Chandrakîrtti who followed the teaching of Buddhapâlita (Vassilief, p. 207), for Buddhapâlita composed commentaries on the works of Âryadêva (*ibid.*) It seems probable from the statement in the text that Dêva was a native of Ceylon. B. Nanjio says *not* (*Catalogue*, col. 370); but if not he evidently dwelt there. He was the author of numerous works, for a list of which see B. Nanjio (*loc. cit.*) He probably flourished towards the middle or end of the first century A.D.

77 Matipura has been identified with Madâwar or Mundore, a large town in Western Rohilkand, near Bijnor (V. de St. Martin, *Mémoire*, p. 344; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 349). The people of this town were perhaps the Mathai of Megasthenes (Arrian, *Indica*, c. 4; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v. p. 332).

78 That is, the Buddhists and Brâhmaṇs, or other sectaries.

la-po (Guṇaprabha),[79] composed in this convent the treatise called *Pin-chin*,[80] and some hundred others. When young, this master of *śâstras* distinguished himself for his eminent talent, and when he grew up he stood alone in point of learning. He was well versed in knowledge of men (*or* things), was of sound understanding, full of learning, and widely celebrated.[81] Originally he was brought up in the study of the Great Vehicle, but before he had penetrated its deep principles he had occasion to study the *Vibhâshâ Śâstra*, on which he withdrew from his former work and attached himself to the Little Vehicle. He composed several tens of treatises to overthrow the Great Vehicle, and thus became a zealous partisan of the Little Vehicle school. Moreover, he composed several tens of secular books opposing and criticising the writings of former renowned teachers. He widely studied the sacred books of Buddha, but yet, though he studied deeply for a long time, there were yet some ten difficulties which he could not overcome in this school.

At this time there was an Arhat called Dêvasêna,[82] who went once and again to the Tushita (*Tu-shi-to*) heaven. Guṇaprabha begged him to obtain for him an interview with Maitrêya in order to settle his doubts.

79 In Chinese, *Tih kwong*, "the brightness of virtue, or good qualities."

80 Restored doubtfully by Julien to *Tattva-vibhanga S'âstra* (p. 220 n. 2), and by Eitel to *Tattva-satya S'âstra* (*Handbook*, sub voc. Guṇaprabha).

81 This expression, *to-wan*, may mean "celebrated," or it may refer to Guṇaprabha when a young disciple. It is a phrase applied to Ânanda before he arrived at enlightenment (see *Catena of Buddhist Scrip.*, p. 289 and n. 2). It is also generally applied to Vaiśravana, as an explanation of his name "the celebrated" (compare περικλύτος); and it is very probable that the story found in Buddhist books of Vaiśravaṇa's conversion and his consent to protect the Śrâvakas is simply the result of these names being derived from the same root, *śru*. The Chinese *to-wan*, when referred to a young disciple, is equal to the Sanskrit *śikshaka*, a learner (see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 295). Guṇaprabha is said by Vassilief (*Bouddhisme*, p. 78) to have been a disciple of Vasubandhu, and to have lived at Mathurâ in the Agrapura monastery: he was *guru* at the court of the king Śrî Harsha (doubtfully). Perhaps in this quotation Mathurâ has been mistaken for Matipura, in which case the convent referred to in the text would be called Agrapura.

82 Ti-po-si-na, in Chinese *Tien-kwan*, army of the gods.

Dêvasêṇa, by his miraculous power, transported him to the heavenly palace. Having seen Maitrêya (Tse-shi) Guṇaprabha bowed low to him, but paid him no worship. On this Dêvasêna said, "Maitrêya Bôdhisattva holds the next place in becoming a Buddha, why are you so self-conceited as not to pay him supreme reverence? If you wish to receive benefit (*building up, edification*) from him, why do you not fall down?"

Guṇaprabha replied: "Reverend sir! this advice is honest, and intended to lead me to right amendment; but I am an ordained Bhikshu, and have left the world as a disciple, whereas this Maitrêya Bôdhisattva is enjoying heavenly beatitude, and is no associate for one who has become an ascetic. I was about to offer him worship, but I feared it would not be right."

Bôdhisattva (Maitrêya) perceived that *pride of self* (*âtmamada*) was bound up in his heart, so that he was not a vessel for instruction; and though he went and returned three times, he got no solution of his doubts. At length he begged Dêvasêna to take him again, and that he was ready to worship. But Dêvasêna, repelled by his pride of self, refused to answer him.

Guṇaprabha, not attaining his wish, was filled with hatred and resentment. He went forthwith into the desert apart, and practised the *samâdhi* called *fa-tung* (*opening intelligence*); but because he had not put away *the pride of self*, he could obtain no fruit.

To the north of the *saṅghârâma* of Guṇaprabha about three or four li is a great convent with some 200 disciples in it, who study the Little Vehicle. This is where Saṅghabhadra (Chung-hin), master of *śâstras*, died. He was a native of Kaśmîr, and was possessed of great ability and vast penetration. As a young man he was singularly accomplished, and had mastered throughout the *Vibhâshâ Śâstra* (*Pi-po-sha-lun*) of the Sarvâstivâda school.

At this time Vasubandhu Bôdhisattva was living. He was seeking to explain that which it is beyond the power

of words to convey by the mysterious method (*way*) of profound meditation.[83] With a view to overthrow the propositions of the masters of the Vibhâshika school, he composed the *Abhidharma-kôsha Śâstra.* The form of his composition is clear and elegant, and his arguments are very subtle and lofty.

Saṅghabhadra having read this work, took his resolution accordingly. He devoted himself during twelve years to the most profound researches, and composed the *Kin-she-pao-lun* (*Kôshakarakâ Śâstra*) [84] in 25,000 ślôkas, containing altogether 800,000 words. We may say that it is a work of the deepest research and most subtle principles. Addressing his disciples, he said, "Whilst I retire from sight, do you, distinguished disciples,[85] take this my orthodox treatise and go attack Vasubandhu; break down his sharp-pointed arguments, and permit not this old man [86] alone to assume the leading name."

Thereupon three or four of the most distinguished of his disciples took the treatise he had composed, and went in search of Vasubandhu. At this time he was in the country of Chêka,[87] in the town of Śâkala, his fame being spread far and wide. And now Saṅghabhadra was coming there; Vasubandhu having heard it, forthwith ordered (*his disciples*) to prepare for removal (*dress for travel*). His disciples having (*cherishing*) some doubts, the most eminent of them began to remonstrate with him, and said, "The high qualities of our great master transcend those of former men of note, and at the present day your wisdom is far spread and acknowledged by all. Why, then, on hearing the name of Saṅghabhadra are you so fearful

[83] *Yih-sin,* i.e., *samâdhi* or *dhyâna.*

[84] Or *Kôshaśilâ Sâstra* (?).—Julien. See also *Wong Pûh,* § 199, in *J. R. As. S.,* vol. xx. p. 212.

[85] It will be seen that this translation differs from Julien's, but I think it is in agreement with the text and context.

[86] Saṅghabhadra could not have been the teacher of Vasubandhu, as Professor Max Müller thinks (*India,* pp 303 f., 309, 312). He is probably the same as Saṅghadêśa, named by Vassilief (*Bouddhisme,* p. 206).

[87] For Chêka, see above, Book iv. p. 165 *ante.*

and timid? We, your disciples, are indeed humbled thereat."

Vasubandhu answered, "I am going away not because I fear to meet this man (*doctor*), but because in this country there is no one of penetration enough to recognise the inferiority of Saṅgabhadra. He would only vilify me as if my old age were a fault. There would be no holding him to the *śâstra*, or in one word I could overthrow his vagaries. Let us draw him to Mid-India, and there, in the presence of the eminent and wise, let us examine into the matter, and determine what is true and what is false, and who should be pronounced the victor or the loser."[88] Forthwith he ordered his disciples to pack up their books, and to remove far away.

The master of *śâstras*, Saṅghabhadra, the day after arriving at this convent, suddenly felt his powers of body (*hi*, vital spirits) fail him. On this he wrote a letter, and excused himself to Vasubandhu thus: "The Tathâgata having died, the different schools of his followers adopted and arranged their distinctive teaching; and each had its own disciples without hindrance. They favoured those of their own way of thinking; they rejected (*persecuted*) others. I, who possess but a weak understanding, unhappily inherited this custom from my predecessors, and coming to read your treatise called the *Abhidharma-kôsha*, written to overthrow the great principles of the masters of the Vibhâshika school, abruptly, without measuring my strength, after many years' study have produced this *śâstra* to uphold the teaching of the orthodox school. My wisdom indeed is little, my intentions great. My end is now approaching. If the Bôdhisattva (*Vasubandhu*), in spreading abroad his subtle maxims and disseminating his profound reasonings, will vouchsafe not to overthrow my production, but will let it remain whole and entire for posterity, then I shall not regret my death."

[88] It will be seen again that this translation differs materially from that of M. Julien.

Then, selecting from his followers one distinguished for his talents in speaking, he addressed him as follows: "I, who am but a scholar of poor ability, have aspired to surpass one of high natural talent. Wherefore, after my approaching death, do you take this letter which I have written, and my treatise also, and make my excuses to that Bôdhisattva, and assure him of my repentance."

After uttering these words he suddenly stopped, when one said, "He is dead!"

The disciple, taking the letter, went to the place where Vasubandhu was, and having come, he spoke thus: "My master, Saṅghabadra, has died; and his last words are contained in this letter, in which he blames himself for his faults, and in excusing himself to you asks you not to destroy his good name so that it dare not face the world."

Vasubandhu Bôdhisattva, reading the letter and looking through the book, was for a time lost in thought. Then at length he addressed the disciple and said: "Saṅghabhadra, the writer of *śâstras*, was a clever and ingenious scholar (*inferior scholar*). His reasoning powers (*li*), indeed, were not deep (*enough*), but his diction is somewhat (*to the point*).[89] If I had any desire to overthrow Saṅghabhadra's *śâstra*, I could do so as easily as I place my finger in my hand. As to his dying request made to me, I greatly respect the expression of the difficulty he acknowledges. But besides that, there is great reason why I should observe his last wish, for indeed this *śâstra* may illustrate the doctrines of my school, and accordingly I will only change its name and call it *Shun-ching-li-lun* (*Nyâyânusâra Śâstra*).[90]

The disciple remonstrating said, "Before Saṅghabhadra's death the great master (*Vasubandhu*) had removed far away; but now he has obtained the *śâstra*, he proposes

[89] Or it may be complimentary, "his phraseology or composition is exceptionally elegant."

[90] In full—'*O-pi-ta-mo-shun-chan-li-lun*. It was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsiang himself. See Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1265; Beal's *Tripiṭaka*, p. 80.

to change the title; how shall we (*the disciples of Sangha-bhadra*) be able to suffer such an affront?"

Vasubandhu Bôdhisattva, wishing to remove all doubts, said in reply by verse: "Though the lion-king retires afar off before the pig, nevertheless the wise will know which of the two is best in strength."[91]

Sanghabhadra having died, they burnt his body and collected his bones, and in a *stûpa* attached to the *sanghârâma*, 200 paces or so to the north-west, in a wood of Âmra[92] (*'An-mo-lo*) trees, they are yet visible.

Beside the Âmra wood is a *stûpa* in which are relics of the bequeathed body of the master of *śâstras* Vimalamitra (Pi-mo-lo-mi-to-lo).[93] This master of *śâstras* was a man of Kâśmîr. He became a disciple and attached himself to the Sarvâstivâda school. He had read a multitude of *sûtras* and investigated various *śâstras*; he travelled through the five Indies and made himself acquainted with the mysterious literature of the three *Piṭakas*. Having established a name and accomplished his work, being about to retire to his own country, on his way he passed near the *stûpa* of Sanghabhadra, the master of *śâstras*. Putting his hand (*on it*),[94] he sighed and said, "This master was truly distinguished, his views pure and eminent. After having spread abroad the great principles (*of his faith*), he purposed to overthrow those of other schools and lay firmly the fabric of his own. Why then should his fame not be eternal? I, Vimalamitra, foolish as I am, have received at various times the knowledge of the deep principles of his departed wisdom; his distinguished qualities have been cherished through successive generations. Vasubandhu, though dead, yet lives in the tradition of the school. That which I know so perfectly (*ought to be preserved*). I will write, then, such *śâstras* as will cause the learned men of Jambudvîpa to

91 From the *Jâtaka* of the lion and the pig who rolled himself in filth. Fausböll, *Ten Jâtakas*, p. 65.

92 Mango trees—*Mangifera indica*.

93 In Chinese, *Wou hau yau*, "spotless friend."

94 "On his heart."—Julien.

forget the name of the Great Vehicle and destroy the fame of Vasubandhu. This will be an immortal work, and will be the accomplishment of my long-meditated design."

Having finished these words, his mind became confused and wild; his boastful tongue heavily protruded,[95] whilst the hot blood flowed forth. Knowing that his end was approaching, he wrote the following letter to signify his repentance:—"The doctrines of the Great Vehicle in the law of Buddha contain the final principles.[96] Its renown may fade, but its depth of reason is inscrutable. I foolishly dared to attack its distinguished teachers. The reward of my works is plain to all. It is for this I die. Let me address men of wisdom, who may learn from my example to guard well their thoughts, and not give way to the encouragement of doubts." Then the great earth shook again as he gave up life. In the place where he died the earth opened, and there was produced a great ditch. His disciples burnt his body, collected his bones, and raised over them (*a stûpa*).[97]

At this time there was an Arhat who, having witnessed his death, sighed and exclaimed, "What unhappiness! what suffering! To-day this master of *śâstras* yielding to his feelings and maintaining his own views, abusing the Great Vehicle, has fallen into the deepest hell (*Avîchi*)!"

On the north-west frontier of this country, on the eastern shore of the river Ganges, is the town of Mo-yu-lo;[98] it is about 20 li in circuit. The inhabitants are very numerous. The pure streams of the river flow round it on every side; it produces native copper (*tcou shih*), pure crystal, and precious vases. Not far from the town,

[95] The text has "five tongues;" possibly the symbol *wu*, five, is for *wu*, loquacious or bragging.

[96] This may also be rendered, "the masters who teach the doctrines of the Great Vehicle declare the final (*highest*) principles of the law of Buddha."

[97] There is no word for *stûpa* in the original.

[98] That is Mayâpura, or Haridwâra. It is now on the *western* bank of the Ganges. Julien makes it Mayûra.

and standing by the Ganges river, is a great Dêva temple, where very many miracles of divers sorts are wrought. In the midst of it is a tank, of which the borders are made of stone joined skilfully together. Through it the Ganges river is led by an artificial canal. The men of the five Indies call it "the gate of the Gaṅgâ river."[99] This is where religious merit is found and sin effaced. There are always hundreds and thousands of people gathered together here from distant quarters to bathe and wash in its waters. Benevolent kings have founded here "a house of merit" (*Puṇyaśâlâ*). This foundation is endowed with funds for providing choice food and medicines to bestow in charity on widows and bereaved persons, on orphans and the destitute.

Going north from this 300 li or so, we come to P'o-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo country (Brahmapura).

P'O-LO-HIH-MO-PU-LO (BRAHMAPURA).

This kingdom[100] is about 4000 li in circuit, and surrounded on all sides by mountains. The chief town is about 20 li round. It is thickly populated, and the householders are rich. The soil is rich and fertile; the lands are sown and reaped in their seasons. The country produces *teou-shih* (*native copper*) and rock crystal. The climate is rather cold; the people are hardy and uncultivated. Few of the people attend to literature—most of them are engaged in commerce.

The disposition of the men is of a savage kind. There are heretics mixed with believers in Buddha. There are five *saṅghârâmas*, which contain a few priests. There are ten Dêva temples, in which persons of different opinions dwell together.

This country is bounded on the north by the great

[99] Gaṅgâdwâra. The canal still exists; the present name, Haridwâra, means the gate of Hari or Vishṇu: this is a comparatively modern name (Cunningham, p. 353).

[100] Cunningham identifies Brahmapura with British Garhwâl and Kumâun (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 356).

Snowy Mountains, in the midst of which is the country called Su-fa-la-na-kiu-ta-lo (Suvarṇagôtra).[101] From this country comes a superior sort of gold, and hence the name. It is extended from east to west, and contracted from north to south. It is the same as the country of the "eastern women."[102] For ages a woman has been the ruler, and so it is called the *kingdom of the women*. The husband of the reigning woman is called king, but he knows nothing about the affairs of the state. The men manage the wars and sow the land, and that is all. The land produces winter wheat and much cattle, sheep, and horses. The climate is extremely cold (*icy*). The people are hasty and impetuous.

On the eastern side this country is bordered by the Fan kingdom (Tibet), on the west by San-po-ho (Sampaha or Malasa (?)), on the north by Khotan.

Going south-east from Ma-ti-pu-lo 400 li or so, we come to the country of Kiu-pi-shwong-na.

KIU-PI-SHWONG-NA (GÔVIŚANA).

This kingdom[103] is about 2000 li in circuit, and the capital about 14 or 15 li. It is naturally strong, being fenced in with crags and precipices. The population is numerous. We find on every side flowers, and groves, and lakes (*ponds*) succeeding each other in regular order. The climate and the products resemble those of Mo-ti-pu-lo. The manners of the people are pure and honest. They

[101] In Chinese *Kin-shi*, "golden people." Below it is said that San-po-ho was limited on the west by Su-fa-la-na-kiu-to-lo (Suvarṇagôtra, called also the kingdom of women), which itself touched on the east the country of T'u-fan (Tibet), and on the north the kingdom of Yu-tien (Khotan). Suvarṇagôtra is here placed on the frontier of Brahmapura.

[102] There is a country of the "*western* women" named by Hiuen Tsiang in Book xi. See also Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 397.

[103] Julien restores this to Gôviśana. Cunningham is satisfied that the old fort near the village of Ujain represents the ancient city of Gôviśana. This village is just one mile to the east of Kâśipur. Hwui-lih does not mention this country, but reckons 400 li from Matipura to Ahikshêtra in a south-easterly direction. This distance and bearing are nearly correct.

are diligent in study and given to good works. There are many believers in false doctrine, who seek present happiness only. There are two *saṅghârâmas* and about 100 priests, who mostly study the Little Vehicle. There are thirty Dêva temples with different sectaries, who congregate together without distinction.

Beside the chief town is an old *saṅghârâma* in which is a *stûpa* built by King Aśôka. It is about 200 feet high; here Buddha, when living, preached for a month on the most essential points of religion. By the side is a place where there are traces of the four past Buddhas, who sat and walked here. At the side of this place are two small *stûpas* containing the hair and nail-parings of Tathâgata. They are about 10 feet high.

Going from this south-east about 400 li, we come to the country of 'O-hi-chi-ta-lo (Ahikshêtra).

'O-HI-CHI-TA-LO (AHIKSHÊTRA).

This country[104] is about 3000 li in circuit, and the capital about 17 or 18 li. It is naturally strong, being flanked by mountain crags. It produces wheat, and there are many woods and fountains. The climate is soft and agreeable, and the people sincere and truthful. They love religion, and apply themselves to learning. They are clever and well informed. There are about ten *saṅghârâmas*, and some 1000 priests who study the Little Vehicle of the Ching-liang school.[105]

There are some nine Dêva temples with 300 sectaries. They sacrifice to Îśvara, and belong to the company of "ashes-sprinklers" (Pâśupatas).

Outside the chief town is a Nâga tank, by the side of which is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. It was here the

[104] Ahikshêtra, Ahikshatra, or Ahichchhatra, a place named in the *Mahâbhârata*, i. 5515, 6348; *Harivaṁśa*, 1114; Pâṇini, iii. 1, 7. It was the capital of North Pâñchâla or Rohilkhaṇḍ. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 747; Wilson's *Vish.-pur.* (Hall's ed.), vol. ii. p. 161.

[105] In the text *wang* is a mistake for *ching*, but the school is properly the Saṁmatiya school.

Tathâgata, when in the world, preached the law for the sake of a Nâga-râja for seven days.[106] By the side of it are four little *stûpas;* here are traces where, in days gone by, the four past Buddhas sat and walked.

From this going south 260 or 270 li, and crossing the Ganges river, proceeding then in a south-west direction, we come to Pi-lo-shan-na (Vîrasana) country.

PI-LO-SHAN-NA (VÎRASANA?)

This country[107] is about 2000 li in circuit. The capital town about 10 li. The climate and produce are the same as those of Ahikshêtra. The habits of the people are violent and headstrong. They are given to study and the arts. They are chiefly heretics (*attached in faith to heresy*); there are a few who believe in the law of Buddha. There are two *saṅghârâmas* with about 300 priests, who attach themselves to the study of the Great Vehicle. There are five Dêva temples occupied by sectaries of different persuasions.

In the middle of the chief city is an old *saṅghârâma,* within which is a *stûpa,* which, although in ruins, is still rather more than 100 feet high. It was built by Aśôka-râja. Tathâgata, when in the world in old days, preached here for seven days on the *Wen-kiaï-chu-king* (*Skandha-dhâtu-upasthâna Sûtra*?).[108] By the side of it are the

[106] The old story connected with this place was that Râja Adi was found by Drôṇa sleeping under the guardianship of a serpent, hence the name Ahi-chhatra (*serpent canopy*). This story was probably appropriated by the Buddhists. For a full account of this place and its present condition, see Cunningham, *Archæolog. Survey of India*, vol. i. p. 259 ff.

[107] Restored (doubtfully) by Julien to Virasana. General Cunningham identifies it (conjecturally) with a great mound of ruins called Atrañji-khêra, four miles to the south of Karsâna. Hiuen Tsiang probably crossed the Ganges near Sahâwar, a few miles from Soron: this appears to answer to the distance of 260 or 270 li—about 50 miles. General Cunningham says 23 to 25 miles, but on his Map x. the distance is 50 miles.

[108] Julien (p. 236, n. 1) renders this literally "one who dwells in the world called *Ouen-kiai;*" but *wen-kiai* represents *skandha-dhâtu*, and *chu* is the Chinese symbol for *upasthâna*.

traces where the four former Buddhas sat and walked in exercise.

Going hence south-east 200 li or so, we come to the country of Kie-pi-tha (Kapitha).[109]

KIE-PI-THA (KAPITHA).

This country[110] is about 2000 li in circuit, and the capital 20 li or so. The climate and produce resemble those of Pi-lo-shan-na. The manners of the people are soft and agreeable. The men are much given to learning. There are four *saṅghârâmas* with about 1000 priests, who study the Ching-liang (Sammatîya) school of the Little Vehicle. There are ten Dêva temples, where sectaries of all persuasions dwell. They all honour and sacrifice to[111] Mahêśvara (Ta-tseu-t'saï-tien).

To the east of the city 20 li or so is a great *saṅghârâma* of beautiful construction, throughout which the artist has exhibited his greatest skill. The sacred image of the holy form (*of Buddha*) is most wonderfully magnificent. There are about 100 priests here, who study the doctrines of the Sammatîya (Ching-liang) school. Several myriads of "pure men" (*religious laymen*) live by the side of this convent.

Within the great enclosure of the *saṅghârâma* there are three precious ladders, which are arranged side by side from north to south, with their faces for descent to the east. This is where Tathâgata came down on his return from the Trayastriṁśas heaven.[112] In old days Tathâgata, going up from the "wood of the conqueror" (Shing-lin, Jêtavana),

[109] Written formerly Săng-kia-she Saṅkâśya.

[110] This corresponds with the present Saṅkisa, the site of which was discovered by General Cunningham in 1842. It is just 40 miles (200 li) south-east of Atrañji. The name of Kapitha has entirely disappeared, although there is a trace of it in a story referred to in *Arch. Surv. of India*, vol. i. p. 271, n. Dr. Kern thinks that the astronomer Varâha Mihira was probably educated at Kapitha.

[111] I translate *sz'* by "sacrifice," because of the curious analogy with words of the same meaning used in this sense in other languages (compare the Greek ποιέω; Lat. *sacra facere*; Sansk. *kṛi*, &c.) It may mean simply "to worship" or "serve."

[112] This story of Buddha's descent from heaven is a popular one among

ascended to the heavenly mansions, and dwelt in the Saddharma Hall,[113] preaching the law for the sake of his mother. Three months having elapsed, being desirous to descend to earth, Śakra, king of the Dêvas, exercising his spiritual power, erected these precious ladders. The middle one was of yellow gold, the left-hand one of pure crystal, the right-hand one of white silver.

Tathâgata rising from the Saddharma hall, accompanied by a multitude of Dêvas, descended by the middle ladder. Mâha-Brahmâ-râja (Fan), holding a white *châmara*, came down by the white ladder on the right, whilst Śakra (Shi), king of Dêvas (Dêvêndra), holding a precious canopy (*parasol*), descended by the crystal ladder on the left. Meanwhile the company of Dêvas in the air scattered flowers and chanted their praises in his honour. Some centuries ago the ladders still existed in their original position, but now they have sunk into the earth and have disappeared. The neighbouring princes, grieved at not having seen them, built up of bricks and chased stones ornamented with jewels, on the ancient foundations (*three ladders*) resembling the old ones. They are about 70 feet high. Above them they have built a *vihâra* in which is a stone image of Buddha, and on either side of this is a ladder with the figures of Brahmâ and Śakra, just as they appeared when first rising to accompany Buddha in his descent.

On the outside of the *vihâra*, but close by its side, there is a stone column about 70 feet high which was erected by Aśôka-râja (Wu-yeu). It is of a purple colour, and shining as if with moisture. The substance is hard and finely grained. Above it is a lion sitting on his haunches,[114] and

Buddhists. It is described by Fa-hian (cap. xvii.), and is represented in the sculptures at Sâñchi, *Tree and Serp. Wor.* pl. xxvii. fig. 3, and Bharhut, *Stûpa of Bharhut*, pl. xvii. See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. v. pp. 164 ff. For the Trayastriṁśas, see Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 541, and *Lotus*, pp. 219, 249, 279.

[113] That is, the preaching hall used by Śakra and the gods of the "thirty-three heaven" for religious purposes.

[114] *Ts'un ku*, "sitting in a squatting position." This expression is

facing the ladder. There are carved figures inlaid,[115] of wonderful execution, on the four sides of the pillar and around it. As men are good or bad these figures appear on the pillar (*or disappear*).

Beside the precious ladder (*temple*), and not far from it, is a *stûpa* where there are traces left of the four past Buddhas, who sat and walked here.

By the side of it is another *stûpa*. This is where Tathâgata, when in the world, bathed himself. By the side of this is a *vihâra* on the spot where Tathâgata entered *Samâdhi*. By the side of the *vihâra* there is a long foundation wall 50 paces in length and 7 feet high; this is the place where Tathâgata took exercise.[116] On the spots where his feet trod are figures of the lotus flower. On the right and left of the wall are (*two*) little *stûpas*, erected by Śakra and Brahmâ-râja.

In front of the *stûpas* of Śakra and Brahmâ is the place where Utpalavarṇâ (Lin-hwa-sih) the Bhikshunî,[117] wishing to be the first to see Buddha, was changed into a Chakravartin-râja when Tathâgata was returning from the palace of Îśvara Dêva to Jambudvîpa. At this time Subhûti (Su-pu-ti),[118] quietly seated in his stone cell, thought thus with himself: "Now Buddha is returning down to dwell with men—angels lead and attend him. And now why should I go to the place? Have I not heard him declare that all *existing things* are void of reality? Since this is the nature of all things, I have already seen with

rendered by Julien "lying down" (*couchant*), but it appears to mean "sitting on his heels or haunches;" but in either case the position of the animal would differ from that of the *standing* elephant discovered by General Cunningham at Saṇkisa (*Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 278).

[115] *Teau low*, vid. Med. *sub loc.*

[116] There was a similar stone path at Nâlanda with lotus flowers carved on it. (See I-tsing and *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 571).

[117] The restoration to Utpalavarṇâ is confirmed by Fa-hian's account (c. xvii.) Julien had first Puṇḍarîkavarṇâ, which he afterwards altered to Padmavatî.

[118] Subhûti is the representative of the later idealism of the Buddhist creed. He is the mouthpiece for arguments put forth in the *Prâjña Pâramita* works (the *Vajrachhêdikâ*), to show that *all things* are unreal, the body of the law (*dharmakâya*) being the only reality.

my eyes of wisdom the spiritual (*fă*) body of Buddhâ."[119]

At this time Utpalavarṇâ Bhikshunî, being anxious to be the first to see Buddha, was changed into a Chakravartin monarch, with the seven gems[120] (*ratnâni*) accompanying her, and with the four kinds of troops to escort and defend her. Coming to the place where the lord of the world was, she reassumed her form as a Bhikshunî, on which Tathâgata addressed her and said: "You are not the first to see me! Subhûti (Chen-hien), comprehending the emptiness of all things, he has beheld my spiritual body (*dharmakâya*)."[121]

Within the precinct of the sacred traces miracles are constantly exhibited.

To the south-east of the great *stûpa* is a Nâga tank. He defends the sacred traces with care, and being thus spiritually protected, one cannot regard them lightly. Years may effect their destruction, but no human power can do so. Going north-west from this less that 200 li, we come to the kingdom of Kie-po-kio-she (Kanyâkubja).

[119] This differs somewhat from Julien's version. He gives "je me suis attaché á la nature de toutes les lois;" but it appears to me that the construction is *chu-fă-sing-shi*, "the nature of things (*fă—dharma*) being thus (*shi*), therefore I have already seen," &c.

[120] For the Seven Precious Things belonging to a wheel king, see Sénart, *La Legende du Buddha*, c. I.

[121] For an account of the three bodies of all the Buddhas, see *J. R. As. S.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 555.

END OF BOOK IV.

BOOK V.

Contains the following countries:—(1) *Kie-jo-kio-she-kwŏ;* (2) *'O-yu-t'o;* (3) *'O-ye-mu-k'ie;* (4) *Po-lo-ye-kia;* (5) *Kiao-shang-mi;* (6) *Pi-su-kīa.*

KIE-JO-KIO-SHE-KWŎ (KANYÂKUBJA).

THIS kingdom is about 4000 li in circuit; the capital,[1] on the west, borders on the river Ganges.[2] It is about 20 li in length and 4 or 5 li in breadth. The city has a dry ditch[3] round it, with strong and lofty towers facing one another. The flowers and woods, the lakes and ponds,[4] bright and pure and shining like mirrors, (*are seen on every side*). Valuable merchandise is collected here in great quantities. The people are well off and contented, the houses are rich and well found. Flowers and fruits abound in every place, and the land is sown and reaped in due seasons. The climate is agreeable and soft, the manners

[1] The capital, Kanyâkubja (Kie-jo-kio-she-kwŏ), now called Kanauj. The distance from Kapitha or Saṅkisa is given by Hiuen Tsiang as somewhat less than 200 li, and the bearing north-west. There is a mistake here, as the bearing is south-east, and the distance somewhat less than 300 li. Kanauj was for many hundred years the Hindu capital of Northern India, but the existing remains are few and unimportant. Kanauj is mentioned by Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 2, 22), who calls it Κανόγιζα. The modern town occupies only the north end of the site of the old city, including the whole of what is now called the *Kilah* or citadel (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, p. 380). This is probably the part alluded to by Hiuen Tsiang in the context. It is triangular in shape, and each side is covered by a ditch or a dry *nala*, as stated in the text. Fa-hian places Kanauj 7 *yojanas* south-east of Saṁkisa.

[2] That is, borders or lies near the western bank of the Ganges. Julien translates it, "is near the Ganges."

[3] The reference seems to be to the inner or fortified portion (citadel) of the capital city. Julien translates as if it referred to all the cities. The symbol *hwang* means "a dry ditch."

[4] Or the ponds *only*.

of the) people honest and sincere. They are noble and gracious in appearance. For clothing they use ornamented and bright-shining (*fabrics*). They apply themselves much to learning, and in their travels are very much given to discussion [5] (*on religious subjects*). (*The fame of*) their pure language is far spread. The believers in Buddha and the heretics are about equal in number. There are some hundred *saṅghârâmas* with 10,000 priests. They study both the Great and Little Vehicle. There are 200 Dêva temples with several thousand followers.

The old capital of Kanyâkubja, where men lived for a long time, was called Kusumapura.[6] The king's name was Brahmadatta.[7] His religious merit and wisdom in former births entailed on him the inheritance of a literary and military character that caused his name to be widely reverenced and feared. The whole of Jambudvîpa resounded with his fame, and the neighbouring provinces were filled with the knowledge of it. He had 1000 sons famed for wisdom and courage, and 100 daughters of singular grace and beauty.

At this time there was a Rishi living on the border of the Ganges river, who, having entered a condition of ecstasy, by his spiritual power passed several myriad of years in this condition, until his form became like a decayed tree. Now it happened that some wandering birds having assembled in a flock near this spot, one of them let drop on the shoulder (*of the Rishi*) a Nyagrôdha (*Ni-ku-liu*) fruit, which grew up, and through summer and winter afforded him a welcome protection and shade. After a succession of years he awoke from his ecstasy. He arose and desired to get rid of the tree, but feared to injure the nests of the birds in it. The men of the time,

[5] This passage, which is confused, seems to refer to their going about here and there to discuss questions relating to religion. The purity of their discourses, *i.e.*, the clearness of their arguments, is wide-spread or renowned.

[6] Keu-su-mo-pu-lo, in Chinese Hwa-kung, flower palace.

[7] In Chinese *Fan-shcu*, "Brahma-given."

extolling his virtue, called him "The great-tree (Mahâvṛiksha) Ṛishi." The Ṛishi gazing once on the river-bank as he wandered forth to behold the woods and trees, saw the daughters of the king following one another and gambolling together. Then the love of the world (*the world of desire—Kâmadhâtu*), which holds and pollutes the mind, was engendered in him. Immediately he went to Kusumapura for the purpose of paying his salutations to the king and asking (*for his daughter*).

The king, hearing of the arrival of the Ṛishi, went himself to meet and salute him, and thus addressed him graciously: "Great Ṛishi! you were reposing in peace—what has disturbed you?"[8] The Ṛishi answered, "After having reposed in the forest many years, on awaking from my trance, in walking to and fro I saw the king's daughters; a polluted and lustful heart was produced in me, and now I have come from far to request (*one of your daughters in marriage*).

The king hearing this, and seeing no way to escape, said to the Ṛishi, "Go back to your place and rest, and let me beg you to await the happy period." The Ṛishi, hearing the mandate, returned to the forest. The king then asked his daughters in succession, but none of them consented to be given in marriage.

The king, fearing the power of the Ṛishi, was much grieved and afflicted thereat. And now the youngest daughter of the king, watching an opportunity when the king was at liberty, with an engaging manner said, "The king, my father, has his thousand sons, and on every side his dependents[9] are reverently obedient. Why, then, are you sad as if you were afraid of something?"

The king replied, "The great-tree-Ṛishi has been pleased to look down on you[10] to seek a marriage with one of you,

[8] Or it may be rendered, "What outward matter has been able to excite for a while the composed passions of the great Ṛishi?" It does not seem probable that the king was acquainted with the Ṛishi's intention; he could not, therefore, use the words as if expostulating with him.

[9] His ten thousand kingdoms.

[10] That is, on the daughters generally.

and you have all turned away and not consented to comply with his request. Now this Ṛĭshi possesses great power, and is able to bring either calamities or good fortune. If he is thwarted he will be exceedingly angry, and in his displeasure destroy my kingdom, and put an end to our religious worship, and bring disgrace on me and my ancestors. As I consider this unhappiness indeed I have much anxiety."

The girl-daughter replied, "Dismiss your heavy grief; ours is the fault. Let me, I pray, in my poor person promote the prosperity of the country."

The king, hearing her words, was overjoyed, and ordered his chariot to accompany her with gifts to her marriage. Having arrived at the hermitage of the Ṛĭshi, he offered his respectful greetings and said, "Great Ṛĭshi! since you condescended to fix your mind on external things and to regard the world with complacency, I venture to offer you my young daughter to cherish and provide for you (*water and sweep*)." The Ṛĭshi, looking at her, was displeased, and said to the king, "You despise my old age, surely, in offering me this ungainly thing."

The king said, "I asked all my daughters in succession, but they were unwilling to comply with your request: this little one alone offered to serve you."

The Ṛĭshi was extremely angry, and uttered this curse (*evil charm*), saying, "Let the ninety-nine girls (*who refused me*) this moment become hump-backed; being thus deformed, they will find no one to marry them in all the world." The king, having sent a messenger in haste, found that already they had become deformed. From this time the town had this other name of the Kuih-niu-shing (Kanyâkubja), *i.e.*, "city of the humped-backed women."[11]

The reigning king is of the Vaiśya[12] caste. His name

[11] The *Purâṇas* refer this story to the curse of the sage Vaya on the hundred daughters of Kuśanâbha.

[12] Vaiśya is here, perhaps, the name of a Râjput clan (Bais or Vaisa), not the mercantile class or

is **Harshavardhana** (Ho-li-sha-fa-t'an-na).[13] A commission of officers hold the land. During two generations there have been three kings. (*The king's*) father was called **Po-lo-kie-lo-fa-t'an-na** (Prabhâkaravardhana); [14] his elder brother's name was **Râjyavardhana** (Ho-lo-she-fa-t'an-na).[15]

Râjyavardhana came to the throne as the elder brother, and ruled with virtue. At this time the king of **Karṇasuvarṇa** (Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na),[16]—a kingdom of Eastern India—whose name was **Śaśâṅgka** (She-shang-kia),[17] frequently addressed his ministers in these words: "If a frontier country has a virtuous ruler, this is the unhappiness of the (*mother*) kingdom." On this they asked the king to a conference and murdered him.

The people having lost their ruler, the country became desolate. Then the great minister Po-ni (Bhaṇḍi),[18] whose

caste among the Hindus (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 377). Baiswâra, the country of the Bais Rajputs, extends from the neighbourhood of Lakhnau to Khara-Mânikpur, and thus comprises nearly the whole of Southern Oudh (*ib.*)

[13] In Chinese. Hi-tsang; "increase of joy." This is the celebrated Śilâditya Harshavardhana, whose reign (according to Max Müller, *Ind. Ant.*, vol xii. p. 234) began 610 A.D. and ended about 650 A.D. Others place the beginning of his reign earlier, 606 or 607 A.D. (See Bendall's *Catalogue*, Int., p. xli.) He was the founder of an era (*Śrî-harsha*) formerly used in various parts of North India. Bendall, *op. cit.*, Int., p. xl.; Hall's *Vâsavadattâ*, pp. 51 f.; *Jour. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. x. pp. 38 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. pp. 196 ff; Reinaud, *Fragm. Arab. et Pers.*, p. 139.

[14] In Chinese, Tso kwong, to cause brightness. The symbol *p'o* is omitted in the text.

[15] In Chinese, Wang tsang, kingly increase.

[16] In Chinese. Kin 'rh, "gold-ear." The town of Rañjâmati, 12 miles north of Murshidâbâd, in Bengal, stands on the site of an old city called Kurusona-ka-gadh, supposed to be a Bengâli corruption of the name in the text.—*J. As. S. Beng.*, vol. xxii. pp. 281 f.; *J. R. As. S.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 248; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. p. 197 n.

[17] In Chinese, Yueh, the moon. This was Śaśâṅgka Narêndragupta, king of Gauḍa or Bengal.

[18] Julien restores Po-ni to Bâni. In Chinese it is equal to Pin-liu, "distinguished." Bâṇa, the well-known author of the *Harshacharita*, informs us that his name was Bhaṇḍin. He is referred to in the preface to Boyd's *Nâgânanda*. I-tsing relates that Śilâditya "kept all the best writers, especially poets, at his court, and that he (*the king*) used to join in the literary recitals; among the rest that he would assume the part of Jîmûtavâhana Bôdhisattva, and transform himself into a Nâga amid the sound of song and instrumental music. *Nan-hae*, § 32, k. iv. p. 6. Now Jîmûtavâhana (*Shing yun*, "cloud chariot") is the hero of the *Nâgânanda*. The king Śrî Harshadêva, therefore, who is mentioned

power and reputation were high and of much weight, addressing the assembled ministers, said, "The destiny of the nation is to be fixed to-day. The old king's son is dead: the brother of the prince, however, is humane and affectionate, and his disposition, heaven-conferred, is dutiful and obedient. Because he is strongly attached to his family, the people will trust in him. I propose that he assume the royal authority: let each one give his opinion on this matter, whatever he thinks." They were all agreed on this point, and acknowledged his conspicuous qualities.

On this the chief ministers and the magistrates all exhorted him to take authority, saying, "Let the royal prince attend! The accumulated merit and the conspicuous virtue of the former king were so illustrious as to cause his kingdom to be most happily governed. When he was followed by Râjyavardhana we thought he would end his years (*as king*); but owing to the fault of his ministers, he was led to subject his person to the hand of his enemy, and the kingdom has suffered a great affliction; but it is the fault of your ministers. The opinion of the people, as shown in their songs, proves their real submission to your eminent qualities. Reign, then, with glory over the land; conquer the enemies of your family; wash out the insult laid on your kingdom and the deeds of your illustrious father. Great will your merit be in such a case. We pray you reject not our prayer."

The prince replied, "The government of a country is a responsible office and ever attended with difficulties. The duties of a prince require previous consideration. As for myself, I am indeed of small eminence; but as my father

as the author both of the *Ratnâvalî* and the *Nâgânanda*, is Śîlâditya of Kanauj; and I-tsing has left us the notice that this king himself took the part of the hero during the performance of the *Nâgânanda*. The real author, however, Professor Cowell thinks, was Dhâvaka, one of the poets residing at the court of Śrî Harsha, whilst Bâṇa composed the *Ratnâvalî*. The *Jâtakamâlâ* was also the work of the poets of Śrî Harsha's court. *Abstract*, &c., p. 197.

and brother are no more, to reject the heritage of the crown, that can bring no benefit to the people. I must attend to the opinion of the world and forget my own insufficiency. Now, therefore, on the banks of the Ganges there is a statue of Avalôkitêśvara Bôdhisattva which has evidenced many spiritual wonders. I will go to it and ask advice (*request a response*)." Forthwith, coming to the spot where the figure of the Bôdhisattva was, he remained before it fasting and praying. The Bôdhisattva recognising his sincere intention (*heart*), appeared in a bodily form and inquired, "What do you seek that you are so earnest in your supplications?" The prince answered, "I have suffered under a load of affliction. My dear father, indeed, is dead, who was full of kindness; and my brother, humane and gentle as he was, has been odiously murdered. In the presence of these calamities I humble myself as one of little virtue; nevertheless, the people would exalt me to the royal dignity, to fill the high place of my illustrious father. Yet I am, indeed, but ignorant and foolish. In my trouble I ask the holy direction (*of the Bôdhisattva*)."

The Bôdhisattva replied, "In your former existence you lived in this forest as a hermit (*a forest mendicant*),[19] and by your earnest diligence and unremitting attention you inherited a power of religious merit which resulted in your birth as a king's son. The king of the country, Karṇasuvarṇa, has overturned the law of Buddha. Now when you succeed to the royal estate, you should in the same proportion exercise towards it the utmost love and pity.[20] If you give your mind to compassionate the condition of the distressed and to cherish them, then before long you shall rule over the Five Indies. If you would establish your authority, attend to my instruction, and by my

19 "A forest mendicant" is the translation of Araṇya Bhikshu (*lan-yo-pi-ts'u*). It would appear from the text that the place where this statue of Avalôkitêśvara stood was a wild or desert spot near the Ganges.

20 So I understand the passage as relating to a corresponding favour to the law of Buddha, in return for the persecution of Śaśāngka.

secret power you shall receive additional enlightenment, so that not one of your neighbours shall be able to triumph over you. Ascend not the lion-throne, and call not yourself Mahârâja."[21]

Having received these instructions, he departed and assumed the royal office. He called himself the King's Son (Kumâra); his title was Śîlâditya. And now he commanded his ministers, saying, "The enemies of my brother are unpunished as yet, the neighbouring countries not brought to submission; while this is so my right hand shall never lift food to my mouth. Therefore do you, people and officers, unite with one heart and put out your strength." Accordingly they assembled all the soldiers of the kingdom, summoned the masters of arms (*champions, or, teachers of the art of fighting*). They had a body of 5000 elephants, a body of 2000 cavalry, and 50,000 foot-soldiers. He went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient; the elephants were not unharnessed nor the soldiers unbelted (*unhelmeted*). After six years he had subdued the Five Indies. Having thus enlarged his territory, he increased his forces; he had 60,000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry. After thirty years his arms reposed, and he governed everywhere in peace. He then

[21] This appears to be the advice or direction given oracularly (see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xv. p. 334)—

fi shing sse tseu che tso
fi ching ta wang che ho.

The promise is, that if this advice is followed, then, "by my mysterious energy (*or*, in the darkness), shall be added the benefit (*happiness*) of light, so that in the neighbouring king-doms there shall be no one strong enough to resist (*your arms*)." Śîlâ-ditya did, in fact, conquer the whole of North India, and was only checked in the south by Pulikêśi (the Pula-kêśa of Hiuen Tsiang, book xi. *in-fra*), whose title appears to have been Paramêśvara, given him on account of his victory over Śîlâditya. (See Cunningham, *Arch. Surv.*, vol. i. p. 281; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. pp. 164, 219, &c.) I may here perhaps observe that I-tsing, the Chinese pil-grim, notices his own visit to a great lord of Eastern India called Jih-yueh-kun, *i.e.*, Chandrâditya râja-bhṛitya (*kwan*); this is probably the Chandrâditya, elder brother of Vik-ramâditya, the grandson of Pulakêśi Vallabha, the conqueror of Śri Har-sha Śilâditya (vid. *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. i. p. 260; and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. pp. 163, 219; I-tsing, *Nan hae*, k. iv. fol. 6 b, and k. iv. fol. 12 a). I-tsing mentions that Chandrâditya was a poet who had versified the *Vessantara Jâtaka*.

practised to the utmost the rules of temperance,[22] and sought to plant the tree of religious merit to such an extent that he forgot to sleep or to eat. He forbade the slaughter of any living thing or flesh as food throughout the Five Indies on pain of death without pardon. He built on the banks of the river Ganges several thousand *stûpas*, each about 100 feet high; in all the highways of the towns and villages throughout India he erected hospices,[23] provided with food and drink, and stationed there physicians,[24] with medicines for travellers and poor persons round about, to be given without any stint. On all spots where there were holy traces (*of Buddha*) he raised *saṅghârâmas*.

Once in five years he held the great assembly called *Môksha*. He emptied his treasuries to give all away in charity, only reserving the soldiers' arms, which were unfit to give as alms.[25] Every year he assembled the Śramaṇas from all countries, and on the third and seventh days he bestowed on them in charity the four kinds of alms (viz., food, drink, medicine, clothing). He decorated the throne of the law (*the pulpit*) and extensively ornamented (*arranged*) the oratories.[26] He ordered the priests to carry on discussions, and himself judged of their several arguments, whether they were weak or powerful. He rewarded the good and punished the wicked, degraded the evil and promoted the men of talent. If any one (*of the priests*) walked according to the moral precepts, and was distinguished in addition for purity in religion (*reason*), he himself conducted such an one to "*the lion-throne*" and received from him the precepts of the law. If any one, though distinguished for purity of life, had no distinction

[22] *Temperate restrictions*; but *hëen* is difficult in this sense.

[23] Puṇyaśâlâs — *Tsing-leu*, pure lodging houses, or *choultries*.

[24] There is an error in the text, as pointed out by Julien, n. 2. The text may mean he placed in these buildings "doctor's medicines," or "physicians and medicines."

[25] The expression in the text is *Tan-she*, which, as Julien has observed, is a hybrid term for giving away in *dâna*, or charity.

[26] The expression may refer to mats or seats for discussion or for religious services.

for learning, he was reverenced, but not highly honoured. If any one disregarded the rules of morality and was notorious for his disregard of propriety, him he banished from the country, and would neither see him nor listen to him. If any of the neighbouring princes or their chief ministers lived religiously, with earnest purpose, and aspired to a virtuous character without regarding labour, he led him by the hand to occupy the same seat with himself, and called him "illustrious friend;" but he disdained to look upon those of a different character. If it was necessary to transact state business, he employed couriers who continually went and returned. If there was any irregularity in the manners of the people of the cities, he went amongst them. Wherever he moved he dwelt in a ready-made building[27] during his sojourn. During the excessive rains of the three months of the rainy season he would not travel thus. Constantly in his travelling-palace he would provide choice meats for men of all sorts of religion.[28] The Buddhist priests would be perhaps a thousand; the Brâhmaṇs, five hundred. He divided each day into three portions. During the first he occupied himself on matters of government; during the second he practised himself in religious devotion (*merit*) without interruption, so that the day was not sufficiently long. When I[29] first received the invitation of Kumâra-râja, I said I would go from Magadha to Kâmarûpa. At this time Śîlâditya-râja was visiting different parts of his empire, and found himself at Kie-mi-[30]-ou-ki-lo, when he gave the following

27 A hut or dwelling run up for the purpose. It seems to refer to a temporary rest-house, made probably of some light material. From the next sentence it seems that he carried about with him the materials for constructing such an abode.

28 It will be seen from this that Śîlâditya, although leaning to Buddhism, was a patron of other religious sects.

29 This refers to the pilgrim himself. The Kumâra-râja who invited him was the king of Kâmarûpa, the western portion of Asam (see Book x.) Śîlâditya was also called Kumâra. The invitation referred to will be found in the last section of the 4th book of the Life of Hiuen Tsiang.

30 Here *mi* is an error for *chu*. The restoration will be Kajûghira or Kajinghara, a small kingdom on the banks of the Ganges, about 92 miles from Champâ. (*Vide* V. de St. Martin, *Mémoire*, p. 387.)

order to Kumâra-râja: "I desire you to come at once to the assembly with the strange Śramaṇa you are entertaining at the Nâlanda convent." On this, coming with Kumâra-râja, we attended the assembly. The king, Śîlâditya, after the fatigue of the journey was over, said, "From what country do you come, and what do you seek in your travels?"

He said in reply, "I come from the great Tang country, and I ask permission to seek for the law (*religious books*) of Buddha."

The king said, "Whereabouts is the great Tang country? by what road do you travel? and is it far from this, or near?"

In reply he said, "My country lies to the north-east from this several myriads of li; it is the kingdom which in India is called Mahâchina."

The king answered, "I have heard that the country of Mahâchina has a king called Ts'in,[31] the son of heaven, when young distinguished for his spiritual abilities, when old then (called) 'divine warrior.'[32] The empire in former generations was in disorder and confusion, everywhere divided and in disunion; soldiers were in conflict, and all the people were afflicted with calamity. Then the king of Ts'in, son of heaven, who had conceived from the first vast purposes, brought into exercise all his pity and love; he brought about a right understanding, and pacified and settled all within the seas. His laws and instruction spread on every side. People from other

[31] The context and Hiuen Tsiang's reply indicate the reference to the first emperor (Hwang-ti) *She*, or *Urh she*, of the Ts'in dynasty (221 B.C.) It was he who broke up the feudal dependencies of China and centralised the government. He built the great wall to keep out invaders, settled the country, and established the dynasty of the Ts'in. For his conduct in destroying the books, see Mayer's *Manual*, § 368. The reference (farther on) to the songs sung in honour of this king illustrates the character of Śîlâditya, who was himself a poet.

[32] The first Japanese emperor was called *Zin mu*, divine warrior; the allusion in the text may be to the Ts'in emperor being the first to style himself *Hwang ti*; or it may be simply that he was like a god in the art of war.

countries brought under his influence declared themselves ready to submit to his rule. The multitude whom he nourished generously sang in their songs of the prowess of the king of Ts'in. I have learned long since his praises sung thus in verse. Are the records (*laudatory hymns*) of his great,(*complete*) qualities well founded? Is this the king of the great Tang, of which you speak?"

Replying, he said, "China is the country of our former kings, but the 'great Tang' is the country of our present ruler. Our king in former times, before he became hereditary heir to the throne (*before the empire was established*), was called the sovereign of Ts'in, but now he is called the 'king of heaven' (*emperor*). At the end of the former dynasty [33] the people had no ruler, civil war raged on every hand and caused confusion, the people were destroyed, when the king of Ts'in, by his supernatural gifts, exercised his love and compassion on every hand; by his power the wicked were destroyed on every side, the eight regions [34] found rest, and the ten thousand kingdoms brought tribute. He cherished creatures of every kind, submitted with respect to the three precious ones.[35] He lightened the burdens of the people and mitigated punishment, so that the country abounded in resources and the people enjoyed complete rest. It would be difficult to recount all the great changes he accomplished."

Śîlâditya-râja replied, "Very excellent indeed! the people are happy in the hands of such a holy king."

Śîlâditya-râja being about to return to the city of Kanyâkubja, convoked a religious assembly. Followed by several hundreds of thousand people, he took his place on the southern bank of the river Ganges, whilst Kumâra-râja

[33] This can hardly refer to the Sui dynasty, which preceded the "great Tang," as Julien says (p. 256 n.), but to the troubles which prevailed at the end of the Chow dynasty, which preceded the Ts'in.

[34] That is, the eight regions of the empire, or of the world.

[35] It is widely believed in China that the first Buddhist missionaries arrived there in the reign of the Ts'in emperor. For the story of their imprisonment and deliverance see *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 3.

attended by several tens of thousands, took his place on the northern bank, and thus, divided by the stream of the river, they advanced on land and water. The two kings led the way with their gorgeous staff of soldiers (*of the four kinds*); some also were in boats; some were on elephants, sounding drums and blowing horns, playing on flutes and harps. After ninety days they arrived at the city of Kanyâkubja, (*and rested*) on the western shore of the Ganges river, in the middle of a flowery copse.

Then the kings of the twenty countries who had received instruction from Śîlâditya-râja assembled with the Śramaṇas and Brâhmaṇs, the most distinguished of their country, with magistrates and soldiers. The king in advance had constructed on the west side of the river a great *saṅghârâma*, and on the east of this a precious tower about 100 feet in height; in the middle he had placed a golden statue of Buddha, of the same height as the king himself. On the south of the tower he placed a precious altar, in the place for washing the image of Buddha. From this north-east 14 or 15 li he erected another rest-house. It was now the second month of spring-time; from the first day of the month he had presented exquisite food to the Śramaṇas and Brâhmaṇs till the 21st day; all along, from the temporary palace[36] to the *saṅghârâma*, there were highly decorated pavilions, and places where musicians were stationed, who raised the sounds of their various instruments. The king, on leaving the resting-hall (*palace of travel*), made them bring forth on a gorgeously caparisoned great elephant a golden statue of Buddha about three feet high, and raised aloft. On the left went the king, Śîlâditya, dressed as Śakra, holding a precious canopy, whilst Kumâra-râja, dressed as Brahmâ-râja, holding a white *châmara*, went on the right. Each of them had as an escort 500 war-elephants clad in armour; in front and behind the statue of Buddha went 100 great elephants,

[36] The palace of travel, erected during a travelling excursion.

carrying musicians, who sounded their drums and raised their music. The king, Śilāditya, as he went, scattered on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers, in honour of the three precious objects of worship. Having first washed the image in scented water at the altar, the king then himself bore it on his shoulder to the western tower, where he offered to it tens, hundreds, and thousands of silken garments, decorated with precious gems. At this time there were but about twenty Śramaṇas following in the procession, the kings of the various countries forming the escort. After the feast they assembled the different men of learning, who discussed in elegant language on the most abstruse subjects. At evening-tide the king retired in state to his palace of travel.

Thus every day he carried the golden statue as before, till at length on the day of separation a great fire suddenly broke out in the tower, and the pavilion over the gate of the *saṅghārāma* was also in flames. Then the king exclaimed, "I have exhausted the wealth of my country in charity, and following the example of former kings, I have built this *saṅghārāma*, and I have aimed to distinguish myself by superior deeds, but my poor attempts (*feeble qualities*) have found no return! In the presence of such calamities as these, what need I of further life?"

Then with incense-burning he prayed, and with this vow (*oath*), "Thanks to my previous merit, I have come to reign over all India; let the force of my religious conduct destroy this fire; or if not, let me die!" Then he rushed headlong towards the threshold of the gate, when suddenly, as if by a single blow, the fire was extinguished and the smoke disappeared.

The kings beholding the strange event, were filled with redoubled reverence; but he (*the king*), with unaltered face and unchanged accents, addressed the princes thus: "The fire has consumed this crowning work of my religious life. What think you of it?"

The princes, prostrate at his feet, with tears, replied, "The work which marked the crowning act of your perfected merit, and which we hoped would be handed down to future ages, has in a moment (*a dawn*) been reduced to ashes. How can we bear to think of it? But how much more when the heretics are rejoicing thereat, and interchanging their congratulations!"

The king answered, "By this, at least, we see the truth of what Buddha said; the heretics and others insist on the permanency[37] of things, but our great teacher's doctrine is that all things are impermanent. As for me, my work of charity was finished, according to my purpose; and this destructive calamity (*change*) does but strengthen my knowledge of the truth of Tathâgata's doctrine. This is a great happiness (*good fortune*), and not a subject for lamentation."

On this, in company with the kings, he went to the east, and mounted the great *stûpa*. Having reached the top, he looked around on the scene, and then descending the steps, suddenly a heretic (*or*, a strange man), knife in hand, rushed on the king. The king, startled at the sudden attack, stepped back a few steps up the stairs, and then bending himself down he seized the man, in order to deliver him to the magistrates. The officers were so bewildered with fright that they did not know how to move for the purpose of assisting him.

The kings all demanded that the culprit should be instantly killed, but Śîlâditya-râja, without the least show of fear and with unchanged countenance, commanded them not to kill him; and then he himself questioned him thus:

"What harm have I done you, that you have attempted such a deed?"

The culprit replied, "Great king! your virtues shine without partiality; both at home and abroad they bring

[37] The heretics hold the view of endurance (*shang*, the opposite of *anitya*).

happiness. As for me, I am foolish and besotted, unequal to any great undertaking; led astray by a single word of the heretics, and flattered by their importunity, I have turned as a traitor against the king."

The king then asked, "And why have the heretics conceived this evil purpose?"

He answered and said, "Great king! you have assembled the people of different countries, and exhausted your treasury in offerings to the Śramaṇas, and cast a metal image of Buddha; but the heretics who have come from a distance have scarcely been spoken to. Their minds, therefore, have been affected with resentment, and they procured me, wretched man that I am! to undertake this unlucky deed."

The king then straitly questioned the heretics and their followers. There were 500 Brâhmaṇs, all of singular talent, summoned before the king. Jealous of the Śramaṇs, whom the king had reverenced and exceedingly honoured, they had caused the precious tower to catch fire by means of burning arrows, and they hoped that in escaping from the fire the crowd would disperse in confusion, and at such a moment they purposed to assassinate the king. Having been foiled in this, they had bribed this man to lay wait for the king in a narrow passage and kill him.

Then the ministers and the kings demanded the extermination of the heretics. The king punished the chief of them and pardoned the rest. He banished the 500 Brâhmaṇs to the frontiers of India, and then returned to his capital.

To the north-west of the capital there is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. In this place Tathâgata, when in the world, preached the most excellent doctrines for seven days. By the side of this *stûpa* are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked for exercise. There is, moreover, a little *stûpa* containing the relics of Buddha's hair and nails; and also a preaching-place[38] *stûpa*.

[38] That is, erected in a place where Buddha had preached.

On the south and by the side of the Ganges are three *saṅghârâmas*, enclosed within the same walls, but with different gates. They have highly ornamented statues of Buddha. The priests are devout and reverential; they have in their service several thousands of "pure men."[39] In a precious casket in the *vihâra* is a tooth of Buddha about one and a half inches in length, very bright, and of different colours at morning and night. People assemble from far and near; the leading men with the multitude join in one body in worship. Every day hundreds and thousands come together. The guardians of the relic, on account of the uproar and confusion occasioned by the multitude of people, placed on the exhibition a heavy tax, and proclaimed far and wide that those wishing to see the tooth of Buddha must pay one great gold piece. Nevertheless, the followers who come to worship are very numerous, and gladly pay the tax of a gold piece. On every holiday they bring it (*the relic*) out and place it on a high throne, whilst hundreds and thousands of men burn incense and scatter flowers; and although the flowers are heaped up, the tooth-casket is not overwhelmed.

In front of the *saṅghârâma*, on the right and left hand, there are two *vihâras*, each about 100 feet high, the foundation of stone and the walls of brick. In the middle are statues of Buddha highly decorated with jewels, one made of gold and silver, the other of native copper. Before each *vihâra* is a little *saṅghârâma*.

Not far to the south-east of the *saṅghârâma* is a great *vihâra*, of which the foundations are stone and the building of brick, about 200 feet high. There is a standing figure of Buddha in it about 30 feet high. It is of native copper (*bronze?*) and decorated with costly gems. On the four surrounding walls of the *vihâra* are sculptured pic-

[39] Julien translates this by "Brâhmaṇs;" but the expression "pure men" is a common one for lay believers or Upâsakas.

tures. The various incidents in the life of Tathâgata, when he was practising the discipline of a Bôdhisattva are here fully portrayed (*engraved*).

Not far to the south of the stone *vihâra* is a temple of the Sun-dêva. Not far to the south of this is a temple of Mahêśvara. The two temples are built of a blue stone of great lustre, and are ornamented with various elegant sculptures. In length and breadth they correspond with the *vihâra* of Buddha. Each of these foundations has 1000 attendants to sweep and water it; the sound of drums and of songs accompanied by music, ceases not day nor night.

To the south-east of the great city 6 or 7 li, on the south side of the Ganges, is a *stûpa* about 200 feet in height, built by Aśôka-râja. When in the world, Tathâgata in this place preached for six months on the impermanency of the body (*anâtma*), on sorrow (*dukha*), on unreality (*anitya*), and impurity.[40]

On one side of this is the place where the four past Buddhas sat and walked for exercise. Moreover, there is a little *stûpa* of the hair and nails of Tathâgata. If a sick person with sincere faith walks round this edifice, he obtains immediate recovery and increase of religious merit.

To the south-east of the capital, going about 100 li, we come to the town of Na-po-ti-po-ku-lo (Navadêvakula).[41] It is situated on the eastern bank of the Ganges, and is about 20 li in circuit. There are here flowery

[40] These were the subjects on which he preached—*anâtma*, *anitya*, *dukha*, *aśuddhis*. For some remarks on the last of these, see Spence Hardy, *East. Monach.*, p. 247; and Childers, *Pâli Dict.*, sub *Asubho*. Julien's translation, "sur le vide (l'inutilité) de ses macérations," is outside the mark. Fa-hian alludes to this sermon, cap. xviii. (see Beal's edition, p. 71, n. 1).

[41] For some remarks on this place see V. St. Martin, *Memoire*, p. 350; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 382; *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. i. p. 294; and compare Fa-hian, *loc. cit.*, n. 2.

groves, and pure lakes which reflect the shadows of the trees.

To the north-west of this town, on the eastern bank of the Ganges river, is a Dêva temple, the towers and storeyed turrets of which are remarkable for their skilfully carved work. To the east of the city 5 li are three *saṅghârâmas* with the same wall but different gates, with about 500 priests, who study the Little Vehicle according to the school of the Sarvâstivâdins.

Two hundred paces in front of the *saṅghârâma* is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. Although the foundations are sunk in the ground, it is yet some 100 feet in height. It was here Tathâgata in old days preached the law for seven days. In this monument is a relic (*śarîra*) which ever emits a brilliant light. Beside it is a place where there are traces of the four former Buddhas, who sat and walked here.

To the north of the *saṅghârâma* 3 or 4 li, and bordering on the Ganges river, is a *stûpa* about 200 feet high, built by Aśôka-râja. Here Buddha preached for seven days. At this time there were some 500 demons who came to the place where Buddha was to hear the law; understanding its character, they gave up their demon form and were born in heaven.[42] By the side of the preaching-*stûpa* is a place where there are traces of the four Buddhas who sat and walked there. By the side of this again is a *stûpa* containing the hair and nails of Tathâgata.

From this going south-east 600 li or so, crossing the Ganges and going south, we come to the country of 'O-yu-t'o (Ayôdhyâ).

'O-YU-T'O (AYÔDHYÂ).

This kingdom[43] is 5000 li in circuit, and the capital about

[42] This expression, "born in heaven," is one frequently met with in Buddhist books. In the old Chinese inscription found at Buddha Gayâ, the pilgrim Chi-i vowed to exhort 30,000 men to prepare themselves in their conduct for a birth in heaven. *J. R. As. S.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 553. And in the *Dhammapada* it is constantly mentioned.

[43] The distance from Kanauj or from Navadêvakula to Ayôdhyâ, on

20 li. It abounds in cereals, and produces a large quantity of flowers and fruits. The climate is temperate and agreeable, the manners of the people virtuous and amiable; they love the duties of religion (*merit*), and diligently devote themselves to learning. There are about 100 *saṅghârâmas* in the country and 3000 priests, who study both the books of the Great and the Little Vehicle. There are ten Dêva temples; heretics of different schools are found in them, but few in number.

In the capital is an old *saṅghârâma;* it was in this place that Vasubandhu[44] Bôdhisattva, during a sojourn of several decades of years, composed various *śâstras* both of the Great and Little Vehicle. By the side of it are some ruined foundation walls; this was the hall in which Vasubandhu Bôdhisattva explained the principles of religion and preached for the benefit of kings of different countries, eminent men of the world, Śramaṇs and Brâhmaṇs.

To the north of the city 40 li, by the side of the river Ganges, is a large *saṅghârâma* in which is a *stûpa* about 200 feet high, which was built by Aśôka-râja. It was here that Tathâgata explained the excellent principles of the law for the benefit of a congregation of Dêvas during a period of three months.

By the side is a *stûpa* to commemorate the place where are traces of the four past Buddhas, who sat and walked here.

To the west of the *saṅghârâma* 4 or 5 li is a *stûpa* containing relics of Tathâgata's hair and nails. To the north of this *stûpa* are the ruins of a *saṅghârâma;* it was

the Ghâghra river is about 130 miles east-south-east. But there are various difficulties in the identification of O-yu-to with Ayôdhyâ. Even if the Ghâghra be the Ganges of Hiuen Tsiang, it is difficult to understand why he should cross this river and go south. On the other hand, if we suppose the pilgrim to follow the course of the Ganges for 600 li and then cross it, we should place him not far from Allahâbâd, which is impossible. General Cunningham suggests an alteration of the distance to 60 li, and identifies *O-yu-to* with an old town called Kâkûpur, twenty miles north-west from Kanhpur (Cawnpore) (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 385).

[44] Vasubandhu laboured and taught in Ayôdhya (Vassilief, *Bouddhisme*, p. 220. Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.)

here that Śrîlabdha[45] (Shi-li-lo-to), a master of *śâstras* belonging to the Sautrâutika school, composed the *Vibhâshâ Śâstra* of that school.

To the south-west of the city 5 or 6 li, in an extensive grove of Âmra trees, is an old *saṅghârâma;* this is where Asaṅga[46] Bôdhisattva pursued his studies and directed the men of the age.[47] Asaṅga Bôdhisattva went up by night to the palace of Maitrêya Bôdhisattva, and there received[48] the *Yôgâchârya Śâstra*,[49] the *Mahâyana Sûtrâlaṅkâraṭikâ*,[50] the *Madyânta Vibhaṅga Śâstra*,[51] &c., and afterwards declared these to the great congregation, in their deep principles.

North-west of the Âmra grove about a hundred paces is a *stûpa* containing relics of the hair and nails of Tathâgata. By its side are some old foundation walls. This is where Vasubandhu Bôdhisattva descended from the Tushita heaven and beheld Asaṅga Bôdhisattva. Asaṅga Bôdhisattva was a man of Gandhâra.[52] He was born in the middle of the thousand years following the departure of Buddha from the world; and possessed of deep spiritual insight, he soon acquired a knowledge of the doctrine (*of Buddha*). He became a professed disciple, and attached himself to the school of the Mahîśâsakas, but afterwards altered his views and embraced the teaching of the Great Vehicle. His brother, Vasubandhu Bôdhisattva, belonged to the school of the Sarvâstivâdins, and had inherited a

[45] In Chinese *shing-sheu*, victory-received.

[46] Asaṅga Bôdhisattva was elder brother of Vasubandhu. His name is rendered into Chinese by *Wu-cho*, without attachment.

[47] I have adopted this translation from Julien; it is not, however, entirely satisfactory; *ts'ing-yih* certainly means "to ask for more," and in this sense it might refer to pursuit of study; but I think it means he requested more information or more light, and it seems from the sentence following that this was the case, for he ascended into heaven and received certain books from Maitrêya.

[48] Not, as Julien translates, "explained to the great assembly," but *received* certain books from Maitrêya, and afterwards explained them to the great congregation (*saṅgha*) in the Âmra grove.

[49] *Yu-kia-sse-ti-lun.*

[50] *Chwong-yan-ta-shing-hing-lun.*

[51] *Chung-pin-fen-pi-lun.*

[52] According to the Life of Vasubandhu, translated by Chin-ti, he was born in Purushapura, in North India.

wide fame, with a strong intelligence and penetrating wisdom and remarkable acumen. The disciple of Asaṅga was Buddhasiṁha, a man whose secret conduct was unfathomable, of high talent and wide renown.

These two or three worthies had often talked together in this way: "We all are engaged in framing our conduct so as to enjoy the presence of Maitrêya after death.[53] Whoever of us first dies and obtains the condition (*of being so born in the heaven of Maitrêya*), let him come and communicate it to us, that we may know his arrival there."

After this Buddhasiṁha was the first to die. After three years, during which there was no message from him, Vasubandhu Bôdhisattva also died. Then six months having elapsed, and there being no message either from him, all the unbelievers began to mock and ridicule, as if Vasubandhu and Buddhasiṁha had fallen into an evil way of birth, and so there was no spiritual manifestation.

After this, Asaṅga Bôdhisattva, during the first division of a certain night, was explaining to his disciples the law of entailing (*or* conferring on others) the power of *samâdhi*, when suddenly the flame of the lamp was eclipsed, and there was a great light in space; then a Ṛĭshi-dêva, traversing through the sky, came down, and forthwith ascending the stairs of the hall, saluted Asaṅga. Asaṅga, addressing him, said, "What has been the delay in your coming? What is your present name?" In reply he said, "At the time of my death I went to the Tushita heaven, to the inner assembly (*i.e., the immediate presence*) of Maitrêya, and was there born in a lotus flower.[54] On the flower presently opening, Maitrêya, in laudatory terms,

[53] This was the desire of the early Buddhists after death to go to Maitrêya, in the Tushita heaven. It is plainly so in the Gayâ inscription, referred to above. Afterwards the fable of a Western Paradise was introduced into Buddhism, and this took the place of Maitrêya's heaven.

[54] This idea of being born in or on a lotus flower gave rise to the name of "the lotus school," applied to the Tsing-t'u, or "pure land" section of Buddhists. But it is a belief not confined to any one school. The mediæval legend of the flower which opens in Paradise on the death of a pure child is a touching survival of the same thought.

addressed me, saying, 'Welcome! thou vastly learned one! welcome! thou vastly learned one!' I then paid him my respects by moving round his person, and then directly[55] came here to communicate my mode of life." Asaṅga said, "And where is Buddhasiṁha?" He answered, "As I was going round Maitrêya I saw Buddhasiṁha among the outside crowd, immersed in pleasure and merriment. He exchanged no look with me; how then can you expect him to come to you to communicate his condition?" Asaṅga answered, "That is settled; but with respect to Maitrêya, what is his appearance and what the law he declares?" He said, "No words can describe the marks and signs (*the personal beauty*) of Maitrêya. With respect to the excellent law which he declares, the principles of it are not different from those (*of our belief*). The exquisite voice of the Bôdhisattva is soft and pure and refined; those who hear it can never tire; those who listen are never satiated."[56]

To the north-west of the ruins of the preaching-hall of Asaṅga about 40 li, we come to an old *saṅghârâma*, bordering the Ganges on the north. In it is a *stûpa* of brick, about 100 feet high; this is the place where Vasubandhu first conceived a desire to cultivate the teaching of the Great Vehicle.[57] He had come to this place from North India. At this time Asaṅga Bôdhisattva commanded his followers to go forward to meet him. Having come to the place, they met and had an interview. The disciple of Asaṅga was reposing outside the open window (*of Vasubandhu*), when in the after part of the night he began to recite the *Daśabhûmi Sûtra*. Vasubandhu having heard it, understood the meaning, and was deeply

[55] Of course the idea is that *time* in the Tushita heaven is not measured as on earth. It took six months for this flower to open.

[56] This singular account of the heaven of Maitrêya explains the fervent longing of Hiuen Tsiang on his dying bed to participate in the happiness of those born there (see *Vie*, p. 345).

[57] Vasubandhu had been brought up in the Little Vehicle school. For the account of his conversion to the principles of the Great Vehicle see *Wong Pûh*, § 185, *J. As. S.*, vol. xx. p. 206.

grieved that this profound and excellent doctrine had not come to his ears in time past, and he laid the blame on his tongue as the origin of his sin of calumniating (*the Great Vehicle*), "and so," said he, "I will cut it out." Seizing a knife, he was about to do so, when he saw Asaṅga standing before him, who said, "Indeed the doctrine of the Great Vehicle is very profound; it is praised by all the Buddhas, exalted by all the saints. I would teach it to you, but you yourself now understand it; but now, at the very time of understanding it, what good, in the presence of this holy teaching of the Buddhas, to cut out your tongue? Do it not, but (*rather*) repent; and as in old time you abused the Great Vehicle with your tongue, now with the same member extol it. Change your life and renew yourself; this is the only good thing to do. There can be no benefit from closing your mouth and ceasing to speak." Having said this he disappeared.

Vasubandhu, in obedience to his words, gave up his purpose of cutting out his tongue. On the morrow morning he went to Asaṅga and accepted the teaching of the Great Vehicle. On this he gave himself up earnestly to think on the subject, and wrote a hundred and more *śâstras* in agreement with the Great Vehicle, which are spread everywhere, and are in great renown.

From this going east 300 li or so on the north of the Ganges, we arrive at 'O-ye-mo-khi (Hayamukha).

'O-YE-MU-KHI [HAYAMUKHA]

This kingdom[58] is 2400 or 2500 li in circuit, and the chief town, which borders on the Ganges, is about 20 li round Its products and climate are the same as those of Ayôdhyâ. The people are of a simple and honest disposition. They diligently apply themselves to learning and cultivate

[58] This country has not been satisfactorily identified. Cunningham places the capital at Daundia Khera about 104 miles north-west of Allahâbâd.

religion. There are five *saṅghârâmas*, with about a thousand priests. They belong to the Sammatîya school of the Little Vehicle. There are ten Dêva temples, occupied by sectaries of various kinds.

Not far to the south-east of the city, close to the shore of the Ganges, is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja, 200 feet high. Here Buddha in old time repeated the law for three months. Beside it are traces where the four past Buddhas walked and sat.

There is also another stone *stûpa*, containing relics of Buddha's hair and nails.

By the side of this *stûpa* is a *saṅghârâma* with about 200 disciples in it. There is here a richly adorned statue of Buddha, as grave and dignified as if really alive. The towers and balconies are wonderfully carved and constructed, and rise up imposingly (*or*, in great numbers) above the building. In old days Buddhadâsa (Fo-to-to-so),[59] a master of *śâstras*, composed in this place the *Mahâvibhâshâ Śâstra* of the school of the Sarvâstivâdins.

Going south-east 700 li, passing to the south of the Ganges, we come to the kingdom of Po-lo-ye-kia (Prayâga).

PO-LO-YE-KIA (PRAYÂGA).

This country[60] is about 5000 li in circuit, and the capital, which lies between two branches of the river, is about 20 li round. The grain products are very abundant, and fruit-trees grow in great luxuriance. The climate is warm and agreeable; the people are gentle and compliant in their disposition. They love learning, and are very much given to heresy.

There are two *saṅghârâmas* with a few followers, who belong to the Little Vehicle.

There are several Dêva temples; the number of heretics is very great.

59 Julien has pointed out that the symbol *po* is for *so*. The Chinese rendering is "servant of Buddha."

60 The modern Prayâga or Allahâbâd, at the junction of the Ganges and Jumnâ rivers.

To the south-west of the capital, in a Champaka (*Chen-po-kia*) grove, is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja; although the foundations have sunk down, yet the walls are more than 100 feet high. Here it was in old days Tathâgata discomfited the heretics. By the side of it is a *stûpa* containing hair and nail relics, and also a place where (*the past Buddhas?*) sat and walked.

By the side of this last *stûpa* is an old *saṅghârâma;* this is the place where Dêva Bôdhisattva composed the *śâstra* called *Kwang-pih* (*Śata śâstra vaipulyam*), refuted the principles of the Little Vehicle and silenced the heretics. At first Dêva came from South India to this *saṅghârâma.* There was then in the town a Brâhmaṇ of high controversial renown and great dialectic skill. Following to its origin the meaning of names, and relying on the different applications of the same word, he was in the habit of questioning his adversary and silencing him. Knowing the subtle skill of Dêva, he desired to overthrow him and refute him in the use of words. He therefore said:—

"Pray, what is your name?" Dêva said, "They call me Dêva." The heretic rejoined, "Who is Dêva?" He anwered, "I am." The heretic said, "And 'I,' what is that?" Deva answered, "A dog." The heretic said, "And who is a dog?" Dêva said, "You." The heretic answered, "And 'you,' what is that?" Dêva said, "Dêva." The heretic said, "And who is Dêva?" He said, "I." The heretic said, "And who is 'I'?" Dêva said, "A dog." Again he asked, "And who is a dog?" Deva said, "You." The heretic said, "And who is 'you'?" Dêva answered, "Dêva." And so they went on till the heretic understood; from that time he greatly reverenced the brilliant reputation of Dêva.

In the city there is a Dêva temple beautifully ornamented and celebrated for its numerous miracles. According to their records, this place is a noted one (*śrî—fortunate ground*) for all living things to acquire religious merit.

If in this temple a man gives a single farthing, his merit is greater than if he gave a 1000 gold pieces elsewhere. Again, if in this temple a person is able to contemn life so as to put an end to himself, then he is born to eternal happiness in heaven.

Before the hall of the temple there is a great tree [61] with spreading boughs and branches, and casting a deep shadow. There was a body-eating demon here, who, depending on this custom (*viz., of committing suicide*), made his abode here; accordingly on the left and right one sees heaps of bones. Hence, when a person comes to this temple, there is everything to persuade him to despise his life and give it up: he is encouraged thereto both by the promptings of the heretics and also by the seductions of the (*evil*) spirit. From very early days till now this false custom has been practised.

Lately there was a Brâhmaṇ whose family name was *Tseu* (*putra*); he was a man of deep penetration and great learning, of lucid wit and high talent. This man coming to the temple, called to all the people and said, "Sirs, ye are of crooked ways and perverse mind, difficult to lead and persuade." Then he engaged in their sacrifices with them, with a view afterwards to convert them. Then he mounted the tree, and looking down on his friends he said, "I am going to die. Formerly I said that their doctrine was false and wicked; now I say it is good and true. The heavenly Ṛĭshis, with their music in the air, call me. From this fortunate spot will I cast down my poor body." He was about to cast himself down when his friends, having failed by their expostulations to deter him, spread out their garments underneath the place where he was on the tree, and so when he fell he was preserved. When he recovered he said, "I thought I saw in the air the Dêvas calling me to come, but now by the

61 This tree is the well-known *Akshaya Vaṭa*, or "undecaying banyan tree," which is still an object of worship at Allahâbâd (Cunningham).

stratagem of this hateful (*heretical*) spirit (*viz.*, *of the tree*), I have failed to obtain the heavenly joys."

To the east of the capital, between the two confluents of the river, for the space of 10 li or so, the ground is pleasant and upland. The whole is covered with a fine sand. From old time till now, the kings and noble families, whenever they had occasion to distribute their gifts in charity, ever came to this place, and here gave away their goods; hence it is called *the great charity enclosure.* At the present time Śîlâditya-râja, after the example of his ancestors, distributes here in one day the accumulated wealth of five years. Having collected in this space of the *charity enclosure* immense piles of wealth and jewels, on the first day he adorns in a very sumptuous way a statue of Buddha, and then offers to it the most costly jewels. Afterwards he offers his charity to the residentiary priests; afterwards to the priests (*from a distance*) who are present; afterwards to the men of distinguished talent; afterwards to the heretics who live in the place, following the ways of the world; and lastly, to the widows and bereaved, orphans and desolate, poor and mendicants.

Thus, according to this order, having exhausted his treasuries and given food in charity, he next gives away his head diadem and his jewelled necklaces. From the first to the last he shows no regret, and when he has finished he cries with joy, "Well done! now all that I have has entered into incorruptible and imperishable treasuries."

After this the rulers of the different countries offer their jewels and robes to the king, so that his treasury is replenished.

To the east of the *enclosure of charity*, at the confluence of the two rivers, every day there are many hundreds of men who bathe themselves and die. The people of this country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven

ought to fast to a grain of rice, and then drown himself in the waters. By bathing in this water (*they say*) all the pollution of sin is washed away and destroyed; therefore from various quarters and distant regions people come here together and rest. During seven days they abstain from food, and afterwards end their lives. And even the monkeys and mountain stags assemble here in the neighbourhood of the river, and some of them bathe and depart, others fast and die.

On one occasion when Śîlâdatya-râja distributed the alms in charity, there was a monkey who lived apart by the river-side under a tree. He also abstained from food in private, and after some days he died on that account from want.

The heretics who practise asceticism have raised a high column in the middle of the river; when the sun is about to go down they immediately climb up the pillar; then clinging on to the pillar with one hand and one foot, they wonderfully hold themselves out with one foot and one arm; and so they keep themselves stretched out in the air with their eyes fixed on the sun, and their heads turning with it to the right as it sets. When the evening has darkened, then they come down. There are many dozens of ascetics who practise this rite. They hope by these means to escape from birth and death, and many continue to practise this ordeal through several decades of years.

Going from this country south-west, we enter into a great forest infested with savage beasts and wild elephants, which congregate in numbers and molest travellers, so that unless in large numbers it is difficult (*dangerous*) to pass this way.

Going 500[62] li or so, we come to the country Kiau-shang-mi (Kauśâmbî).

[62] The distance is properly 50 li, as stated by Hwui-lih. The capital however, is 150 li from Prayâga.

KIAU-SHANG-MI [KAUŚÂMBÎ].

This country[63] is about 6000 li in circuit, and the capital about 30 li. The land is famous for its productiveness; the increase is very wonderful. Rice and sugar-canes are plentiful. The climate is very hot, the manners of the people hard and rough. They cultivate learning and are very earnest in their religious life and in virtue. There are ten *saṅghârâmas*, which are in ruins and deserted; the priests are about 300; they study the Little Vehicle. There are fifty Dêva temples, and the number of heretics is enormous.

In the city, within an old palace, there is a large *vihâra* about 60 feet high; in it is a figure of Buddha carved out of sandal-wood, above which is a stone canopy. It is the work of the king U-to-yen-na (Udâyana). By its spiritual qualities (*or*, between its spiritual marks) it produces a divine light, which from time to time shines forth. The princes of various countries have used their power to carry off this statue, but although many men have tried, not all the number could move it. They therefore worship copies of it,[64] and they pretend that the likeness is a true one, and this is the original of all such figures.

When Tathâgata first arrived at complete enlightenment, he ascended up to heaven to preach the law for the benefit of his mother, and for three months remained absent. This king (*i.e.*, Udâyana), thinking of him with affection, desired to have an image of his person; therefore he asked Mudgalyâyanaputra, by his spiritual power, to transport an artist to the heavenly mansions to observe the excellent marks of Buddha's body, and carve a sandal-wood

[63] This has been identified with Kosâmbi-nagar, an old village on the Jumnâ, about thirty miles from Allahâbâd (Cunningham). Kosâmbi is mentioned in the *Râmayana*. It is the scene of the drama of *Ratnavalî*, composed by Bâṇa in the court of Śrî-Harsha or Śilâditya.

[64] A copy of this sandal-wood figure was brought from a temple near Pekin, and is referred to in Beal's *Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. lxxv. A facsimile of it is stamped on the cover of that work. The story of Udâyana, king of Kosâmbî, is referred to by Kâlidâsa in the *Mêghadûta*.

statue. When Tathâgata returned from the heavenly palace, the carved figure of sandal-wood rose and saluted the Lord of the World. The Lord then graciously addressed it and said, "The work expected from you is to toil in the conversion of heretics,[65] and to lead in the way of religion future ages."

About 100 paces to the east of the *vihâra* are the signs of the walking and sitting of the four former Buddhas. By the side of this, and not far off, is a well used by Tathâgata, and a bathing-house. The well still has water in it, but the house has long been destroyed.

Within the city, at the south-east angle of it, is an old habitation, the ruins of which only exist. This is the house of Ghôshira (*Kun-shi-lo*) the nobleman.[66] In the middle is a *vihâra* of Buddha, and a *stûpa* containing hair and nail relics. There are also ruins of Tathâgata's bathing-house.

Not far to the south-east of the city is an old *sanghârâma*. This was formerly the place where Gôshira the nobleman had a garden. In it is a *stûpa* built by Asôka-râja, about 200 feet high; here Tathâgata for several years preached the law. By the side of this *stûpa* are traces of the four past Buddhas where they sat down and walked. Here again is a *stûpa* containing hair and nail relics of Tathâgata.

To the south-east of the *sanghârâma*, on the top of a double-storeyed tower, is an old brick chamber where Vasubandhu Bôdhisattva dwelt. In this chamber he composed the *Vidyâmâtrasiddhi Śâstra* (*Wei-chi-lun*), intended to refute the principles of the Little Vehicle and confound the heretics.

To the east of the *sanghârâma*, and in the middle of an Âmra grove, is an old foundation wall; this was the place

65 "To teach and convert with diligence the unbelieving, to open the way for guiding future generations, this is your work." I take the symbol *sie* to refer to unbelievers; Julien makes it an interrogative (*yé*).

66 Aśvaghôsha alludes to the conversion of Ghôshira, *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 1710. See also Fa-hien, c. xxxiv.

where Asaṅga Bodhisattva composed the *śâstra* called *Hin-yang-shing-kiau*.

To the south-west of the city 8 or 9 li is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nâga. Having subdued this dragon, Tathâgata left here his shadow; but though this is a tradition of the place, there is no vestige of the shadow visible.

By the side of it is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja, about 200 feet high. Near this are marks where Tathâgata walked to and fro, and also a hair and nail *stûpa*. The disciples who are afflicted with disease, by praying here mostly are cured.

The law of Śâkya becoming extinct, this will be the very last country in which it will survive; therefore from the highest to the lowest all who enter the borders of this country are deeply affected, even to tears, ere they return.

To the north-east of the Nâga dwelling is a great forest, after going about 700 li, through which we cross the Ganges, and going northward we arrive at the town of Kia-shi-po-lo (Kaśapura).[67] This town is about 10 li in circuit; the inhabitants are rich and well-to-do (*happy*).

By the side of the city is an old *saṅghârâma*, of which the foundation walls alone exist. This was where Dharmapâla[68] Bôdhisattva refuted the arguments of the heretics. A former king of this country, being partial to the teaching of heresy, wished to overthrow the law of Buddha, whilst he showed the greatest respect to the unbelievers. One day he summoned from among the heretics a master of *śâstras*, extremely learned and of superior talents, who clearly understood the abstruse doctrines (*of religion*). He had composed a work of heresy in a thousand *ślôkas*, consisting of thirty-two thousand words. In this work he contradicted and slandered the law of Buddha, and represented his own school as orthodox. Whereupon (*the king*)

[67] This place has been identified with the old town of Sultânpur on the Gômatî river. The Hindu name of this town was Kuśabhavanapura, or simply Kuśapura (Cunningham).

[68] In Chinese *U-fă*; for some notices of *Dharmapâla* see *Wong Pûh*, § 191; in *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xx.; Eitel, *Handbook* sub voc., and B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, col. 373.

convoked the body of the (*Buddhist*) priests, and ordered them to discuss the question under dispute, adding that if the heretics were victorious he would destroy the law of Buddha, but that if the priests did not suffer defeat he would cut out his tongue as proof of the acknowledgment of his fault.[69] At this time the company of the priests being afraid they would be defeated, assembled for consultation, and said, "The sun of wisdom having set, the bridge of the law[70] is about to fall. The king is partial to the heretics; how can we hope to prevail against them? Things have arrived at a difficult point; is there any expedient to be found in the circumstances, as a way of escape?" The assembly remained silent, and no one stood up to suggest any plan.

Dharmapâla Bôdhisattva, although young in years, had acquired a wide renown for penetration and wisdom, and the reputation of his noble character was far spread. He was now in the assembly, and standing up, with encouraging words addressed them thus: "Ignorant though I am, yet I request permission to say a few words. Verily I am ready to answer immediately to the king's summons. If by my lofty argument (*discourse*) I obtain the victory, this will prove spiritual protection; but if I fail in the subtle part of the argument, this will be attributable to my youth. In either case there will be an escape, so that the law and the priesthood will suffer no loss." They said, "We agree to your proposition," and they voted that he should respond to the king's summons. Forthwith he ascended the pulpit.

Then the heretical teacher began to lay down his captious principles, and to maintain or oppose the sense of the words and arguments used. At last, having fully

[69] This refers to the dream of king Ajâtaśatru, for which see *Wong Pûh*, § 178. This section of *Wong Pûh* shows that the great Kâśyapa is supposed by Buddhists still to be within the Cock's-Foot Mountain awaiting the coming of Maitrêya.

[70] It would seem from the context that it was the heretical teacher who asked the king to call the assembly, and that if he was defeated he said he would cut out his own tongue.

explained his own position, he waited for the opposite side to speak.

Dharmapâla Bôdhisattva, accepting his words, said with a smile, "I am conqueror! I will show how he uses false arguments in advocating his heretical doctrines, how his sentences are confused in urging his false teaching."

The opponent, with some emotion, said, "Sir, be not high-minded! If you can expose my words you will be the conqueror, but first take my text fairly and explain its meaning." Then Dharmapâla, with modulated voice, followed the principles of his text (*thesis*), the words and the argument, without a mistake or change of expression.

When the heretic had heard the whole, he was ready to cut out his tongue; but Dharmapâla said, "It is not by cutting out your tongue you show repentance. Change your principles—that is repentance!" Immediately he explained the law for his sake; his heart believed it and his mind embraced the truth. The king gave up his heresy and profoundly respected the law of Buddha (*the orthodox law*).

By the side of this place is a *stûpa* built by Aśôkarâja; the walls are broken down, but it is yet 200 feet or so in height. Here Buddha in old days declared the law for six months; by the side of it are traces where he walked. There is also a hair and nail *stûpa*.

Going north from this 170 or 180 li, we come to the kingdom of Pi-so-kia (Viśâkhâ).

PI-SO-KIA (VIŚÂKHÂ).

This kingdom [71] is about 4000 li in circuit, and the capital about 16 li round. The country produces abundance of cereals, and is rich in flowers and fruits. The climate is soft and agreeable. The people are pure and honest. They are very diligent in study, and seek to gain merit (*by doing good*) without relaxation. There are 20 *saṅghârâmas* and about 3000 priests, who study the Little Vehicle according

[71] This country is supposed by Cunningham to be the same as Sâkêta, the Sa-chi of Fa-hien, which is the same as Ayôdhyâ or Oude.

to the Sammatîya school. There are about fifty Dêva temples and very many heretics.

To the south of the city, on the left of the road, is a large *saṅghârâma;* this is where the Arhat Dêvaśarma wrote the *Shih-shin-lun* (*Vijñânakâya Śâstra*), in which he defends the position that there is no "I" as an individual.[71] The Arhat Gôpa (Kiu-po) composed also in this place the *Shing-kiau-iu-shih-lun*, in which he defends the position that there is an "I" as an individual.[72] These doctrines excited much controversial discussion. Again, in this place Dharmapâla Bôdhisattva during seven days defeated a hundred doctors belonging to the Little Vehicle.

By the side of the *saṅghârâma* is a *stûpa* about 200 feet high, which was built by Aśôka-râja. Here Tathâgata in old days preached during six years, and occupied himself whilst so doing in guiding and converting men. By the side of this *stûpa* is a wonderful tree which is 6 or 7 feet high. Through many years it has remained just the same, without increase or decrease. Formerly when Tathâgata had cleansed his teeth, he threw away in this place the small piece of twig he had used. It took root, and produced the exuberant foliage which remains to the present time.[73] The heretics and Brâhmaṇs have frequently come together and cut it down, but it grows again as before.

Not far from this spot are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked. There is also a nail and hair *stûpa*. Sacred buildings here follow one another in succession; the woods, and lakes reflecting their shadows, are seen everywhere.

Going from this north-east 500 li or so, we come to the kingdom of *Shi-sah-lo-fu-sih-tai* (*Śrâvastî*).

END OF BOOK V.

[72] For many arguments on this question of "no personal self," see the Life of Buddha (*Buddhacharita*) by Aśvaghôsha, *passim;* also *Wong Púh*, § 190.

[73] This tree is also noticed by Fa-hian in his account of Sa-chi, and it is this which has led General Cunningham to identify Viśâkhâ with Sâkêta or Ayôdhyâ.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

VOL. I.

NOTE 1.—There is an important work called the *Shih-kia-fang-chi*, or "An Account of Buddhist Regions," written by Tao-Sün, who lived A.D. 595-667, in which the three routes from China to India are named (part i. fol. 10 b.) The first is to the south-west of Lake Lop to Tibet and Nêpâl; the second or middle route is from Shen-shen or Leu-lan or Na-fo-po (Tao-Sün speaks of these as one place) to Khotan and so on; the third route is the outward one followed by Hiuen Tsiang. Tao-Sün, in speaking of the Po-lo-mo-lo Mountain (vide *infra*, vol: ii. p. 214), renders it "the *black bee* Mountain." Perhaps the Temple of Boram Deo, "in a secluded valley at the foot of the Mekhala Hills, near Kamarda," is connected with the worship of Durgâ under this name (Cunningham, *Arch. Surv.*, vol. xvii. p. iv.)

Page xv. *line* 21.—For *Hwui Săng*, read *Hwei Săng*.

Page xxxiv.—The custom of putting a sacred object on the head in token of reverence, is still observed in the Greek Church; *conf.* the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom (Neale's *Greek Liturgies*, p. 127) where the sacred vessel is carried on the head of the deacon.

Page xxxv.—The idea of a *square* vihâra being indestructible would confirm the opinion given (p. 62, vol. i. n. 215) that Svetavâras is the Tetragonis of Pliny; the treasure city of Rameses is also described as "solid upon the earth, like the four pillars of the firmament" (*Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen*, p. 18).

Page xl.—The "yellow spring" may be compared with the Pâli *odakantiko.*

Page xli.—The "marks and impressions" are probably the *wheel marks,* &c., on the bottom of a Buddha's foot; *cf.* p. 204 *infra.*

Page xlii. *line* 9.—The phrase *shang-tso* refers to the chief of the Sthaviras or priests.

Page xliii.—The symbol *ku* which I here (*last line*) translate by "ruins," is so used throughout Fa-hian; Huien Tsiang uses the full phrase *ku ke; cf.* K. II. fol. 12, of the *Si-yu-ki,* also *infra,* p. 92.

Page li.—The charioteer called Chhandaka is elsewhere called Kaṇtaka (*Chung-hu-mo-ho-ti-king,* passim).

Page lxi. *line* 10.—I have taken the phrase "*peh tung hia*" (north, east, below) to be an error for *tung peh hing* (going north-east).

Page lxiv. *line* 10.—The Lôkântarika hells are described as being outside the iron girdle that surrounds a Sakwala.

Page lxix.—With the "one-footed men," compare the Sansc. *êkacharaṇâs.*

Page lxxxi. *line* 18.—The phrase for "rested" is not to be confined to the "summer rest" of the Buddhists; it frequently means "remained at rest," or "in quiet;" *cf.* "the daily use of the Shamans," p. 15.

Page lxxxiii. *line* 4.—Read *Liu* for *Lin.*

Page lxxxiii. *line* 21.—For *five* read *six.*

Page 17, *n.* 52.—For *Bagarach* read *Bagarash.*

Page 25, *n.* 79.—Red garments are the badge of those condemned to death: vide *the Nágánanda,* Boyd's translation, p. 62, 63, 67.

Page 105, *n.* 77.—Vasubandhu is sometimes called the twentieth patriarch, *cf.* p. 120, n. 2.

Page 135, *last line.*—For note 4 read 41.

Page 146, *n.* 80.—For Manikvâla read Manîkyâla.

Page 176, *n.* 30.—The expression, the "*Mung*" king, is frequently used by I-tsing. Perhaps he is the same as the *Balá-rái,* or the Great King or Lord Paramount of the Muslims (vide Thomas, *The Indian Balhará,* p. 11).

Page 237, *line* 17.—Omit the comma after *li,* and insert one after "*which.*"

PART II

BUDDHIST RECORDS OF THE WESTERN WORLD.

BOOK VI.

Contains an account of four countries, viz., (1) *Shi-lo-fu-shi-ti*; (2) *Kie-pi-lo-fu-sse-to*; (3) *Lan-mo*; (4) *Ku-shi-na-k'ie-lo.*

SHI-LO-FU-SHI-TI [ŚRÂVASTI].

THE kingdom of Śrâvastî (Shi-lo-fu-shi-ti)[1] is about 6000 li in circuit. The chief town is desert and ruined. There is no record as to its exact limits (*area*). The ruins of the walls encompassing the royal precincts[2] give a circuit

[1] The town of Śrâvastî, also called Dharmapaṭṭana (*Trikâṇḍaśêsha*, ii. 1, 13), in Uttara (Northern) Kôśala, has been identified by Cunningham with a great ruined city on the south bank of the Râptî called Sâhet Mâhet, about 58 miles north of Ayôdhyâ. As Hiuen Tsiang gives the bearing north-east, and the distance about 500 li, he evidently did not travel by the shortest route. Fa-hian (chap. xx.), on the contrary, gives the distance eight *yôjanas*, and the bearing (corrected) due north, both of which are correct. For a full account of Sâhet Mâhet see Cunningham, *Arch. Survey of Ind.*, vol. i. p. 331 ff.; see also *J. R. As. S.*, vol. v. pp. 122 ff. It figures also in Brahmanical literature, in which it is said to have been founded by Śrâvasta, the son of Śrâva and grandson of Yuvanâśva. *Harivaṁśa*, 670; *Vishṇ. Pur.*, vol. iii. p. 263; Hall's *Vâsavadattâ*, Int. p. 53; *Mahâbhâr.*, iii. 12518; Pâṇini, iv. 2, 97; *Bhâgav. Pur.*, ix. 6, 21. With respect, however, to the date of Vikramâditya of Śrâvastî, Cunningham seems to be misled by the statement of Hiuen Tsiang (*ante*, p. 106) that he lived in the middle of the thousand years after Buddha, as though this meant 500 A.B., whereas it means, as stated before, in the middle of the thousand years which succeeded the 500 years after Buddha, in the middle of the "period of images," in fact. See also Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 20 f., 150, 209, 280; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. iii. pp. 200 f.; Vassilief, pp. 38, 75, 188, 218.

[2] Julien translates here and elsewhere *kung shing* by *palace*, but it

of about 20 li. Though mostly in ruins, still there are a few inhabitants. Cereals grow in great abundance; the climate is soft and agreeable, the manners of the people are honest and pure. They apply themselves to learning, and love religion (*merit*). There are several hundreds of *saṅghârâmas*, mostly in ruin, with very few religious followers, who study the books of the Saṁmatîya (Ching-liang-pu) school. There are 100 Dêva temples with very many heretics. When Tathâgata was in the world, this was the capital of the country governed by Prasênajita-râja (Po-lo-si-na-chi-to-wang).[3]

Within the old precincts of the royal city are some ancient foundations; these are the remains of the palace of King Shing-kwan (Prasênajita).

From this not far to the east is a ruinous foundation, above which is built a small *stûpa*; these ruins represent the Great Hall of the Law,[4] which King Prasênajita built for Buddha.

By the side of this hall, not far from it, above the ruins a *stûpa* is built. This is where stood the *vihâra* which King Prasênajita built for Prajâpatî[5] Bhikshunî, the maternal aunt of Buddha.

should be "the royal precincts," or the portion of the city in which the royal palace stood, and which was defended by a surrounding wall. Cunningham is right therefore in his remarks on this point, p 332, *loc. cit.*

[3] Prasênajit:—In the *Aśôka Avadâna* the following genealogy is given:—

1. Bimbisâra (cir. B.C. 540–512).
2. Ajâtaśatru, his son, 512.
3. Udayibhadra, his son, 480.
4. Muṇḍa, his son, 46.
5. Kâkavarṇin, his son, 456.
6. Sahâlin, his son.
7. Tulakuchi, his son.
8. Mahâmaṇḍala, his son, cir. 375.
9. Prasênajit, his son.
10. Nanda, his son.
11. Bindusâra, his son, 295.
12. Susima, his son.

Little dependence, however, can be placed on this genealogy, but it may be compared with the Singhalese and Brahmanical lists, *J. As. S. Ben.*, vol. vi. p. 714; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. p. 286; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. pp. 859, xxxviii., vol. ii. pp. 71, 222, 1207; Burnouf, *Intr.*, pp. 128, 320; Burgess, *Archæol. Surv. W. India, Rep.*, vol. v. p. 43, and *Cave Temples*, pp. 24 f. On Prasênajit, see Köppen, *Die Rel. d. Bud.*, vol. i. pp. 98, 113, 495, 507; *Vishṇ. Pur.*, vol. iv. p. 171; *Mahâbhâr.*, ii. 332, iii. 11072, xii. 5924; *Hariv.*, 709 f., 2054.

[4] The Saddharma Mahâśâlâ.

[5] Prajâpati, formerly written, as a note tells us, *Pajapati*, with the meaning "lord of creatures;" it may be observed here that Hiuen Tsiang is the first to introduce the *Sans-*

Still east of this is a *stûpa* to record the site of the house of Sudatta[6] (Shen-shi).

By the side of the house of Sudatta is a great *stûpa*. This is the place where the Aṅgulimâlya (Yang-kiu-li-mo-lo) gave up his heresy. The Aṅgulimâlyas[7] are the unlucky caste (*the criminals*) of Srâvastî. They kill everything that lives, and maddening themselves, they murder men in the towns and country, and make chaplets for the head of their fingers. The man in question wished to kill his mother to complete the number of fingers, when the Lord of the World (Buddha), moved by pity, went to him to convert him. Beholding the Lord from far, the Aṅgulimâlya rejoicing said, "Now I shall be born in heaven; our former teacher declared that whoever injures a Buddha or kills his mother, ought to be born in the Brahmâ heaven."

Addressing his mother, he said, "Old woman! I will leave you for a time till I have killed that great Shaman." Then taking a knife, he went to attack the Lord. On this Tathâgata stepped slowly as he went, whilst the Aṅgulimâlya rushed at him without slacking his pace.

The Lord of the World addressing him said, "Why do you persevere in your evil purpose and give up the better feelings of your nature and foster the source of evil?" The Aṅgulimâlya, hearing these words, understood the wickedness of his conduct, and on that paid reverence to Buddha, and sought permission to enter the law (*i.e., the religious profession of Buddha*), and having persevered with

krit forms of proper names into the Chinese translations. Before him the Prâkṛit, or provincial, forms are used; for example, in Fa-hian, instead of Po-lo-si-na-chi-to for Prasênajita, we have Po-sz-nih, corresponding with Pasênat or Pasênadi; instead of Śrâvastî, we have She-wei for Sewet, &c. For further instances see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, p. 213, notes 1, 2.

6 Sudatta, formerly written Su-ta, the same as Anâthapiṇḍada, "the friend of the orphan and destitute." For an account of his conversion and subsequent career, see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, p. 201, f.

7 The Aṅgulimâlyas were a sect founded by a converted brigand, who wore round his neck a string of fingers.

diligence in his religious progress, he obtained the fruit of an Arhat.

To the south of the city 5 or 6 li is the Jêtavana.[8] This is where Anâthapiṇḍada (Ki-ku-to) (*otherwise called*) Sudatta, the chief minister of Prasênajita-râja, built for Buddha a *vihâra*. There was a *saṅghârâma* here formerly, but now all is in ruins (*desert*).

On the left and right of the eastern gate has been built a pillar about 70 feet high; on the left-hand pillar is engraved on the base a wheel;[9] on the right-hand pillar the figure of an ox is on the top. Both columns were erected by Aśôka-râja. The residences (*of the priests*) are wholly destroyed; the foundations only remain, with the exception of one solitary brick building, which stands alone in the midst of the ruins, and contains an image of Buddha.

Formerly, when Tathâgata ascended into the Trâyastriṁśas heaven to preach for the benefit of his mother, Prasênajita-râja, having heard that the king Udâyana had caused a sandal-wood figure of Buddha to be carved, also caused this image to be made.

The nobleman Sudatta was a man of "humanity" and talent. He had amassed great wealth, and was liberal in its distribution. He succoured the needy and destitute, and had compassion on the orphan and helped the aged. During his lifetime they called him Anâthapiṇḍada (Ki-ku-to—*friend of the orphan*) on account of his virtue. He, hearing of the religious merit of Buddha, conceived a

[8] Shi-to-lin, the garden of Jêta, the prince royal. For the sale of this garden to Sudatta (Shen-shi) and the circumstances attending it, see *Fo-sho-hing tsan-king*, p. 217. For a representation of the scene of the history, see *Bharhut Stûpa*, pl. lvii.

[9] Julien's translation of this passage is very confusing. He says, "On the top of the left-hand pillar is a dome (*coupole*); on the pinnacle (*faite*) of the right-hand pillar is sculptured the body of an elephant." But, in fact, the text says, "On the face (pedestal, *twan*) of the left-hand pillar is the mark (*figure*) of a wheel (the symbol of *dharma*); on the top of the right-hand pillar is the form of an ox. This is in agreement with Fa-hian's account. The only doubt is whether *twan* may not mean "the top;" in that case the wheel would be on the top of the left-hand pillar as Fa-hian says (chap. xx.)

deep reverence for him, and vowed to build a *vihâra* for him. He therefore asked Buddha to condescend to come to receive it. The Lord of the World commanded Śâriputra (She-li-tseu) to accompany him and aid by his counsel. Considering the garden of Jêta (Shi-to-yuen), the prince, to be a proper site on account of its pleasant and upland position, they agreed to go to the prince to make known the circumstances of the case. The prince in a jeering way said, "If you can cover the ground with gold (*pieces*) I will sell it (*you can buy it*)."

Sudatta, hearing it, was rejoiced. He immediately opened his treasuries, with a view to comply with the agreement, and cover the ground. There was yet a little space not filled.[10] The prince asked him to desist, but he said, "The field of Buddha is true;[11] I must plant good seed in it." Then on the vacant spot of ground[12] he raised a *vihâra*.

The Lord of the World forthwith addressed Ânanda and said, "The ground of the garden is what Sudatta has bought; the trees are given by Jêta. Both of them, similarly minded, have acquired the utmost merit. From this time forth let the place be called the grove of Jêta (Shi-to) and the garden of Anâthapiṇḍada (Ki-ku-to).

To the north-east of the garden of Anâthapiṇḍada (Ki-ku-to) is a *stûpa*. This is the place where Tathâgata washed with water the sick Bhikshu. Formerly, when Buddha was in the world, there was a sick Bhikshu (Pi-tsu), who, cherishing his sorrow, lived apart by himself in a

[10] This incident of the broken promise is referred to by Aśvaghôsha, *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, p. 217, and seems to be the subject of the Bharhut sculpture, pl. xlv. fig. 9, where "the little space not filled" is represented, and the broken promise denoted by the broken surface of the ground. It would perhaps be too bold to suggest *chitu pâdâsi-la* for the inscription, where *pâdâsi* would be the aorist form of *pradâ*, and the meaning would be "taken or caught (*la*) in breaking what he gave." The tree certainly favours this identification; and the august figure by the side of Jêta would denote the "Lord of the World," or perhaps "the magistrate" or Śâriputra.

[11] *I.e.*, the system of Buddha is founded on *truth*: alluding to the wish of Jêta to annul the agreement.

[12] *I.e.*, where there were no trees.

solitary place. The Lord of the World seeing him, inquired, "What is your affliction, living thus by yourself?" He answered, "My natural disposition being a careless one and an idle one, I had no patience to look on a man sick (*to attend on the sick*),[13] and now when I am entangled in sickness there is nobody to look on me (*attend to me*)." Tathâgata, moved with pity thereat, addressed him and said, "My son! I will look on you!" and then touching him, as he bent down, with his hand, lo! the sickness was immediately healed; then leading him forth to the outside of the door, he spread a fresh mat for him and himself, washed his body and changed his clothes for new ones.

Then Buddha addressed the Bhikshu, "From this time be diligent and exert yourself." Hearing this, he repented of his idleness, was moved by gratitude, and, filled with joy, he followed him.

To the north-west of the garden of Anâthapiṇḍada is a little *stûpa*. This is the place where Mudgalaputra (Mo-te-kia-lo-tseu) vainly exerted his spiritual power in order to lift the girdle (*sash*) of Śâriputra (She-li-tseu). Formerly, when Buddha was residing near the lake Wu-jeh-no,[14] in the midst of an assembly of men and Dêvas, only Śâriputra (She-li-tseu) was absent (*had not time to join the assembly*). Then Buddha summoned Mudgalaputra, and bade him go and command him to attend. Mudgalaputra accordingly went.

Śâriputra was at the time engaged in repairing his religious vestments. Mudgalaputra addressing him said, "The Lord, who is now dwelling beside the Anavatapta lake, has ordered me to summon you."

Śâriputra said, "Wait a minute, till I have finished repairing my garment, and then I will go with you."

[13] This differs from Julien's version; he makes the fault of the Bhikshu to consist in neglecting his own sickness; but it seems rather to have been his former indifference to the sickness of others. For an incident somewhat like that in the text, see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvii. p. 241.

[14] No feverish affliction, *i.e.*, cool; *antaratapta*. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 11, note 28.

Mudgalaputra said, "If you do not come quickly, I will exert my spiritual power, and carry both you and your house to the great assembly."

Then Śâriputra, loosing his sash, threw it on the ground and said, "If you can lift this sash, then perhaps my body will move (*or*, then I will start)." Mudgalaputra exerted all his spiritual power to raise the sash, yet it moved not. Then the earth trembled in consequence. On returning by his spiritual power of locomotion to the place where Buddha was, he found Śâriputra already arrived and sitting in the assembly. Mudgalaputra sighing said, "Now then I have learned that the power of working miracles is not equal to the power of wisdom." [15]

Not far from the *stûpa* just named is a well. Tathâgata, when in the world, drew from this well for his personal use. By the side of it is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja; in it are some *śarîras* [16] of Tathâgata; here also are spots where there are traces of walking to and fro and preaching the law. To commemorate both these circumstances, (*the king*) erected a pillar and built the *stûpa*. A mysterious sense of awe surrounds the precincts of the place; many miracles are manifested also. Sometimes heavenly music is heard, at other times divine odours are perceived. The lucky (*happy*) presages (*or*, the omens that indicate religious merit) would be difficult to recount in full.

Not far behind the *saṅghârâma* (*of Anâthapiṇḍada*) is the place where the Brahmachârins killed a courtesan, in order to lay the charge of murdering her on Buddha (*in order to slander him*). Now Tathâgata was possessed of the tenfold powers,[17] without fear,[18] perfectly wise, honoured

[15] Mudgalaputra excelled all the other disciples in miraculous power, Śâriputra excelled in wisdom. *Fo-sho-hing-tsan king*, ver. 1406.

[16] There is no mention of Śâriputra in the text, as Julien translates; the two symbols, *she li*, for *śarîra*, misled him.

[17] Buddha was called *Daśabala* (*shi-li*) on account of the ten powers he possessed, for which see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 781, and Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*, p. 394.

[18] Abhaya, an epithet given to every Buddha (Eitel, *Handbook*, s. v.)

by men and Dêvas,[19] reverenced by saints and sages; then the heretics consulting together said, "We must devise some evil about him, that we may slander him before the congregation." Accordingly they allured and bribed this courtesan to come, as it were, to hear Buddha preach, and then, the congregation having knowledge of the fact of her presence, they (*the heretics*) took her and secretly killed her and buried her body beside a tree, and then, pretending to be affected with resentment, they acquainted the king (*with the fact of the woman's death*). The king ordered search to be made, and the body was found in the Jêtavana. Then the heretics with a loud voice said, "This great Śramaṇa Gautama[20] is ever preaching about moral duty and about patience (*forbearance*), but now having had secret correspondence with this woman, he has killed her so as to stop her mouth; but now, in the presence of adultery and murder, what room is there for morality and continence?" The Dêvas then in the sky joined together their voices and chanted, "This is a slander of the infamous heretics."

To the east of the *saṅghârâma* 100 paces or so is a large and deep ditch; this is where Dêvadatta,[21] having plotted to kill Buddha with some poisonous medicine, fell down into hell. Dêvadatta was the son of Drônôdana-râja (Ho-wang). Having applied himself for twelve years with earnestness, he was able to recite 80,000 (*verses*) from the treasury of the law. Afterwards, prompted by covetousness, he wished to acquire the divine (*supernatural*) faculties. Associating himself with evil companions, they consulted together, and he spake thus: "I possess thirty marks (*of a Buddha*), not much less than Buddha himself; a great

19 Devamanussapujitam.

20 This is Buddha's gôtra name, taken from the name probably of the Purôhita of the Śâkyas. It is used in Northern books as a term of disrespect.

21 Dêvadatta (Ti-po-ta-to) the cousin of Buddha, being the son of Drônôdana, Buddha's uncle. He is also said to be his brother-in-law, being brother to Yaśôdhara, Buddha's wife. He was tempted to aim at the first place in the Buddhist community, and when he failed in this he plotted to take the life of Buddha. (See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 160.)

company of followers surround me; in what respect do I differ from Tathâgata?" Having thought thus, he forthwith tried to put a stumbling-block in the way of the disciples, but Śâriputra and Mudgalaputra, obedient to Buddha's behest, and endowed with the spiritual power of Buddha himself, preached the law exhorting the disciples to re-union. Then Dêvadatta, not giving up his evil designs, wickedly placed some poison under his nails, designing to kill Buddha when he was paying him homage. For the purpose of executing this design he came from a long distance to this spot, but the earth opening, he went down alive into hell.

To the south of this again there is a great ditch, where Kukâlî[22] the Bhikshunî slandered Tathâgata, and went down alive into hell.

To the south of the Kukâlî ditch about 800 paces is a large and deep ditch. Chanścha,[23] the daughter of a Brâhmaṇ, calumniated Tathâgata, and here went down alive into hell. Buddha was preaching, for the sake of Dêvas and men, the excellent doctrines of the law, when a female follower of the heretics, seeing from afar the Lord of the World surrounded by a great congregation who venerated and reverenced him, thought thus with herself, "I will this very day destroy the good name of this Gautama, in order that my teacher may alone enjoy a wide reputation." Then tying a piece of wood next her person, she went to the garden of Anâthapiṇḍada, and in the midst of the great congregation she cried with a loud voice and said, "This preacher of yours has had private intercourse with me, and I bear his child in my womb, the offspring of the Śâkya tribe." The heretics all believed it, but the prudent knew it was a slander. At this time, Śakra, the king of Dêvas, wishing to dissipate all doubt about the matter, took the form of a

[22] Kukâlî (Kiu-kia-li-pi-tsu) also called Kôkâlî, interpreted "bad time." She is also called Gôpâlî; she was a follower of Dêvadatta.

[23] For the history of this woman, called Chinchî (Chan-che) or Chinchimanâ, see Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*, p. 275; also Fa-hian, chap. xx.

white rat, and nibbled through the bandage that fastened the (*wooden*) pillow to her person. Having done so, it fell down to the ground with a great noise, which startled the assembly. Then the people, witnessing this event, were filled with increased joy; and one in the crowd picking up the wooden bolster, held it up and showed it to the woman, saying, "Is this your child, thou bad one?" Then the earth opened of itself, and she went down whole into the lowest hell of Avîchî, and received her due punishment.

These three ditches [24] are unfathomable in their depth; when the floods of summer and autumn fill all the lakes and ponds with water, these deep caverns show no signs of the water standing in them.

East of the *saṅghârâma* 60 or 70 paces is a *vihâra* about 60 feet high. There is in it a figure of Buddha looking to the east in a sitting posture. When Tathâgata was in the world in old days, he discussed here with the heretics. Farther east is a Dêva temple of equal size with the *vihâra*. When the sun is rising, the Dêva temple does not cast its shade on the *vihâra*, but when it is setting, the *vihâra* obscures the Dêva temple.

Three or four li to the east of the *vihâra* "which covers with its shadow" is a *stûpa*. This is where Śâriputra discussed with the heretics. When Sudatta first bought the garden of the Prince Jêta for the purpose of building a *vihâra* for Buddha, then Śâriputra accompanied the nobleman to inspect and assist the plan. On this occasion six masters of the heretics sought to deprive him of his spiritual power. Śâriputra, as occasion offered, brought them to reason and subdued them. There is a *vihâra* by the side, in front of which is built a *stûpa*; this is where Tathâgata defeated the heretics and acceded to the request of Viśâkhâ.[25]

[24] These gulfs or ditches have all been identified by Cunningham. See *Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 342.

[25] That is, accepted her offer to build a *vihâra*. For the history of Viśâkhâ, see Hardy, *Man. of Budh.*, p. 220 seq.

On the south of the *stûpa* erected on the spot where Buddha acceded to Viśâkhâ's request is the place where Virûḍhaka-râja,[26] having raised an army to destroy the family of the Śâkyas, on seeing Buddha dispersed his soldiers. After King Virûḍhaka had succeeded to the throne, stirred up to hatred by his former disgrace, he equipped an army and moved forward with a great force. The summer heat being ended and everything arranged, he commanded an advance. At this time a Bhikshu, having heard of it, told Buddha; on this the Lord of the World was sitting beneath a withered tree; Virûḍhaka-râja, seeing him thus seated, some way off alighted from his chariot and paid him reverence, then as he stood up he said, "There are plenty of green and umbrageous trees; why do you not sit beneath one of these, instead of under this withered one with dried leaves, where you walk and sit?" The Lord said, "My honourable tribe is like branches and leaves; these being about to perish, what shade can there be for one belonging to it?" The king said, "The Lord of the World by his honourable regard for his family is able to turn my chariot." Then looking at him with emotion, he disbanded his army and returned to his country.

By the side of this place is a *stûpa;* this is the spot where the Śâkya maidens were slaughtered. Virûḍhaka-râja having destroyed the Śâkyas, in celebration of his victory, took 500 of the Śâkya maidens for his harem. The girls, filled with hatred and rage, said they would never obey the king, and reviled the king and his household. The king, hearing of it, was filled with rage, and ordered them all to be slaughtered. Then the officers, obedient to the king's orders, cut off their hands and feet, and cast them into a ditch. Then all the Śâkya maidens, nursing their grief, invoked Buddha. The Lord

26 Virûḍhaka was the son of Prasênajit by a servant-woman of the Śâkyas. He had asked a wife of them, and they deceived him. See *infra*.

by his sacred power of insight having beheld their pain and agony, badė a Bhikshu take his garment and go to preach the most profound doctrine to the Śâkya girls, viz., on the bonds of the five desires, the misery of transmigration in the evil ways, the pain of separation between loved ones, and the long period (*distance*) of birth and death. Then the Śâkya maidens, having heard the instructions of Buddha, put away the defilement of sense, removed all pollutions, and obtained the purity of the eyes of the law; then they died and were all born in heaven. Then Śakra, king of Dêvas, taking the form of a Brâhmaṇ, collected their bones and burnt them. Men of succeeding years have kept this record.

By the side of the *stûpa* commemorating the slaughter of the Śâkyas, and not far from it, is a great lake which has dried up. This is where Virûḍhaka-râja went down bodily into hell. The world-honoured one having seen the Śâkya maidens, went back to the Jêtavana, and there told the Bhikshus, "Now is King Virûḍhaka's end come; after seven days' interval a fire will come forth to burn up the king." The king hearing the prediction, was very frightened and alarmed. On the seventh day he was rejoiced that no harm had come, and in order to gratify himself he ordered the women of his palace to go to the lake, and there he sported with them on its shores, strolling here and there with music and drinking. Still, however, he feared lest fire should burst out. Suddenly, whilst he was on the pure waters of the lake, the waves divided, and flames burst forth and consumed the little boat in which he was, and the king himself went down bodily into the lowest hell, there to suffer torments.

To the north-west of the *saṅghârâma* 3 or 4 li, we come to the forest of *Obtaining-Sight* (Âptanêtravana ?) where are vestiges of Tathâgata, who walked here for exercise, and the place where various holy persons have engaged in profound meditation. In all these places they have erected posts with inscriptions or else *stûpas*.

Formerly there was in this country a band of 500 robbers, who roamed about through the towns and villages and pillaged the border of the country. Prasênajita-râja having seized them all, caused their eyes to be put out and abandoned them in the midst of a dark forest. The robbers, racked with pain, sought compassion as they invoked Buddha. At this time Tathâgata was in the *vihâra* of the Jêtavana, and hearing their piteous cries (*i.e., by his spiritual power*), he was moved to compassion, and caused a soft wind to blow gently from the Snowy Mountains, and bring with it some medicinal (*leaves?*) which filled up the cavity of their eye-sockets. They immediately recovered their sight, and lo! the Lord of the World was standing before them. Arriving at the heart of wisdom, they rejoiced and worshipped. Fixing their walking-staves in the ground, they departed. This was how they took root and grew.

To the north-west of the capital 16 li or so, there is an old town. In the Bhadra-kalpa when men lived to 20,000 years, this was the town in which Kâśyapa Buddha was born. To the south of the town there is a *stûpa*. This is the place where he first met his father after arriving at enlightenment.

To the north of the town is a *stûpa*, which contains relics of the entire body[27] of Kâśyapa Buddha. Both these were built by Aśôka-râja. From this point going south-east 500 li or so, we come to the country of Kie-pi-lo-fa-sse-ti (Kapilavastu).

KIE-PI-LO-FA-SSE-TI [KAPILAVASTU].

This country[28] is about 4000 li in circuit. There are

[27] The expression used here is the same as that employed by Fa-hian when speaking of the great Kâśyapa (chap. xxxiii.), whose "entire body" is preserved in the Cock's-foot Mountain near Buddha Gayâ.

[28] This is the country of Buddha's birth. The story of his ancestors' occupation of this district will be found in Sp. Hardy, *Man. of Budh.*, chap. vi., and elsewhere. Speaking generally, the country of Kapilavastu is the tract of land lying be-

some ten desert[29] cities in this country, wholly desolate and ruined. The capital is overthrown and in ruins. Its circuit cannot be accurately measured. The royal precincts[30] within the city measure some 14 or 15 li round. They were all built of brick. The foundation walls are still strong and high. It has been long deserted. The peopled villages[31] are few and waste.

There is no supreme ruler; each of the towns appoints its own ruler. The ground is rich and fertile, and is cultivated according to the regular season. The climate is uniform, the manners of the people soft and obliging. There are 1000 or more ruined *saṅghârâmas* remaining; by the side of the royal precincts there is still a *saṅgâhrâma* with about 3000 (*read* 30) followers in it, who study the Little Vehicle of the Saṁmatîya school.

There are a couple of Dêva temples, in which various sectaries worship (*live*). Within the royal precincts are some ruined foundation walls; these are the remains of the proper[32] palace of Śuddhôdana-râja; above is built a *vihâra* in which is a statue of the king. Not far from this is a ruined foundation, which represents the sleeping

tween the Ghâgrâ river and the Gaṇḍakâ, from Faîzâbâd to the confluence of these rivers. The direct measurement gives a circuit of 550 miles, which would represent upwards of 600 miles by road. Hiuen Tsiang estimates the circuit at 4000 li. The capital of the country, called by the same name, has been identified by Mr. Carlleyle, with a site called Bhuila, in the north-western part of the Basti district, about 25 miles north-east from Faîzâbâd. It is plain that if this is so, the distance from Śrâvastî given by Hiuen Tsiang is much in excess of the actual distance. See *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. xii. p. 83.

29 The expressions used in the text are very marked; the pilgrim says "desert cities ten in number are waste and desolate to the highest degree."

30 Here we have again the expression *kung shing* to denote the fortified part of the town, within which was the palace and its surroundings. This is in agreement with Mr. Carlleyle's remark in *Archæolog. Survey of India*, vol. xii. p. 144.

31 Or, the inhabited suburbs or streets.

32 It may be either "the proper," *i.e.*, private, or "the principal" palace (*ching*). From Mr. Carlleyle's remarks we may perhaps conclude that this palace was situated in the southern portion of the enclosed precinct. The *vihâra* had evidently been built after the palace was in ruins. The statue of the king seems to have been there in Hiuen Tsiang's time.

palace of Mahâmâyâ,[33] the queen. Above this they have erected a *vihâra* in which is a figure of the queen.

By the side of this is a *vihâra*;[34] this is where Bôdhisattva descended spiritually into the womb of his mother. There is a representation of this scene[35] drawn in the *vihâra*. The Mahâsthavira school say that Bôdhisattva was conceived on the 30th night of the month *U-ta-lo-'an-sha-cha* (Uttarâshâḍha). This is the 15th day of the 5th month (*with us*). The other schools fix the event on the 23d day of the same month. This would be the 8th day of the 5th month (*with us*).

To the north-east of the palace of the spiritual conception is a *stûpa*; this is the place where Asita the Rishi prognosticated the fortune (*took the horoscope or signs of*) the royal prince.[36] On the day when the Bôdhisattva was born there was a gathering (*a succession*) of lucky indications. Then Śuddhôdana-râja summoned all the soothsayers, and addressing them said, "With respect to this child, what are the fortunate and what the evil (*signs*)? As it is right, so do you clearly answer me." In reply they said, "According to the record of the former saints the signs are especially fortunate. If he remains in secular life he will be a Chakravartin monarch; if he leaves his home he will become a Buddha."[37]

33 Mr. Carlleyle excavated a site which he thinks represents this "bed-chamber." If we may judge from the size of the building (71 feet square), it would represent the palace of the king and the chamber of the queen. The fact of its being built of "very large ancient bricks" certainly favours the identification of the place with the inner city described by Hiuen Tsiang.

34 Mr. Carlleyle places this *vihâra* about 50 feet W.N.W. from the bed-chamber ruins, the *stûpa* of Asita being situated to the north-east of it.

35 This representative scene is one of the best known of the Buddhist sculptures. See *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xxxiii.: *Stûpa of Bharhut*, pl. xxviii.; *Lalita Vistara* (Foucaux), pl. v.

36 The horoscope cast by Asita the soothsayer is another well-known incident in the Buddhist legend *Fo-shò-hing-tsan-king*, vv. 70 ff. For an interesting representation of it see Mrs. Speirs' *Life in Ancient India*, p. 248, also Burgess, *Cave Temples* (Ajaṇṭâ), p. 308. The *stûpa* of Asita is supposed by Mr. Carlleyle to be the solid brick structure he found about 400 feet N.N.E.½N. from the bed-chamber of Mâyâ. This may be so; but the horoscope was actually cast within the palace.

37 Arrive at complete, equal, perfect,

At this time the Rĭshi Asita, coming from afar, stood before the door,[38] and requested to see the king. The king, overjoyed, went forth to meet and reverence him, and requested him to be seated on a precious chair; then addressing him he said, "It is not without an object that the Great Ṛĭshi has condescended to visit me this day." The Ṛĭshi said, "I was quietly resting (*or*, observing the summer rest) in the palace of the Dêvas, when I suddenly saw the multitude of the Dêvas dancing together for joy.[39] I forthwith asked why they rejoiced in this extravagant way, on which they said, 'Great Ṛĭshi, you should know that to-day is born in Jambudvîpa, of Mâyâ, the first queen of Śuddhôdana-râja of the Śâkya line, a royal son, who shall attain the complete enlightenment of *sambôdhi*, and become all-wise.'[40] Hearing this, I have come accordingly to behold the child; alas! that my age should prevent me awaiting the holy fruit."[41]

At the south gate of the city is a *stûpa*. This is where the royal prince, when contending with the Śâkya princes, cast the elephant away.[42] The royal prince having contended in the public competition (*of arts and athletic exercises*), was left entirely alone (*without compeer*) among them all, (*or*, in every exercise). And now the

wisdom. "To leave his home" means, if he becomes a hermit or ascetic. The signs on the child's body are alluded to in ver. 45 of the *Buddha-charita* (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*), and the exact words of the prediction in the following verse, 46.

[38] From this it is plain that the site on which the *stûpa* was afterwards built was originally a part of the palace.

[39] *Shau mo tsuh to*, moving their hands and feet. Such a scene among the Dêvas will be found in *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxxiii. fig. 2.

[40] Julien remarks in a note that this phrase *yeh tsai chi* (Sambuddhasa) corresponds to the name given to the prince, viz., Sarvârthasiddha, but this signifies "possessed of every excellency" (*yih tsai yau i*).

[41] That is, either seeing him arrived at the holy fruit of a Buddhha, or myself arriving at the holy fruit of an Arhat by his teaching.

[42] The spot should be just inside the southern gate of the city, not necessarily the royal city or the palace precincts, but the entire city. The story as it is generally received is that the elephant when it fell blocked the gate entrance, and that Nanda pulled it off the road and left it on one side. The prince then flung the elephant across the moat. It must, therefore, have been within the moat.

Mahârâja Śuddhôdana, after receiving congratulations (*or*, congratulating him), was about to go back to the city.[43]

At this time the coachman was leading out the elephant and just about to leave the city. Dêvadatta, confident as ever in his brute strength, was just entering the gate from without; forthwith he asked the coachman, "Who is going to ride on this gaily caparisoned elephant?" He said, "The royal prince is just about to return, therefore I am going to meet him." Dêvadatta, in an excited manner, pulled the elephant down, and struck his forehead and kicked his belly, and left him lying senseless, blocking the way so that no one could pass. As they could not move him out of the way, the passers-by were stopped on their route. Nanda coming afterwards, asked, "Who has killed the elephant?" They said, "It was Dêvadatta." Forthwith he (*Nanda*) drew it on one side of the road. The prince-royal then coming, again asked, "Who had done the foul deed of killing the elephant?" They replied, "Dêvadatta killed it and blocked up the gate with it, and Nanda drew it on one side to clear the road." The royal prince then lifted the elephant on high and threw it across the city moat; the elephant falling on the ground caused a deep and wide ditch; the people since then have commonly called it "the fallen-elephant ditch."[44]

By the side of this is a *vihâra* in which is a figure of the royal prince. By the side of this again is a *vihâra*; this was the sleeping apartment of the queen and the prince; in it is a likeness of Yaśôdharâ and (*the child*)

[43] Julien makes this return refer to the prince. But there is no mention made of him, but of the king.

[44] That is, the "Hastigarta." There is a circular tank about 340 feet to the south of the ditch of Bhuila which is still called the "Hâthi Kund" or "Hâthi Gadhe." General Cunningham is perfectly convinced that this is the spot indicated in the text (*Arch. Surv.*, vol. xii. Introd.) But, of course, the whole matter is legendary. The *vihâras* by the side of this ditch, and said to be built on the site of the palace of the prince and his wife, would indicate that his palace was outside the walls; how, then, are we to explain the story of his flight from the palace?

Râhula. By the side of the queen's chamber is a *vihâra* with a figure of a pupil receiving his lessons; this indicates the old foundation of the school-house of the royal prince.

At the south-east angle of the city is a *vihâra* in which is the figure of the royal prince riding a white and high-prancing horse;[45] this was the place where he left the city. Outside each of the four gates of the city there is a *vihâra* in which there are respectively figures of an old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a Śramaṇ.[46] It was in these places the royal prince, on going his rounds, beheld the various indications, on which he received an increase of (*religious*) feeling, and deeper disgust at the world and its pleasures; and, filled with this conviction, he ordered his coachman to return and go home again.

To the south of the city going 50 li or so, we come to an old town where there is a *stûpa*. This is the place where Krakuchchhanda Buddha was born, during the Bhadra-kalpa when men lived to 60,000 years.[47]

To the south of the city, not far, there is a *stûpa*; this is the place where, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father.

To the south-east of the city is a *stûpa* where are that Tathâgata's relics (*of his bequeathed body*); before it is erected a stone pillar about 30 feet high, on the top of which is carved a lion.[48] By its side (*or*, on its side) is a

[45] Julien gives "a white elephant."

[46] That is, the sights which met the prince's gaze when he left the city on his excursion. These predictive signs are well known. They are found also in the History of Barlaam and Joasaph (Bodhisat), to which I called attention in the year 1869, *Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 80, n. Mr. Carlleyle notices four mounds outside the citadel of Bhuila corresponding with the sites of these *vihâras*.

[47] Krakuchchhanda was the first of the five Buddhas of the Bhadra-kalpa. The fabled birthplace of this Buddha must be sought about a *yôjana* (8 miles) to the south-west of Kapilavastu, and not, as Mr. Carlleyle indicates, at Nagra, 7½ miles to the north-west of that place. Fa-hian visited this place after leaving Śrâvastî, then went north about 8 miles, then east 8 miles to Kapilavastu. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi. p. 293.

[48] Mr. Carlleyle, when at Nagra, thought he had discovered the pedestal on which this pillar stood; the pillar was gone, and the natives denied all knowledge of it or its history. Their ignorance is not to

record relating the circumstances of his *Nirvâṇa.* It was erected by Aśôka-râja.

To the north-east of the town of Krakuchchhanda Buddha, going about 30 li, we come to an old capital (*or*, great city) in which there is a *stûpa.* This is to commemorate the spot where, in the Bhadra-kalpa when men lived to the age of 40,000 years, Kanakamuni Buddha was born.[49]

To the north-east of the city, not far, is a *stûpa;* it was here, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father.

Farther north there is a *stûpa* containing the relics of his bequeathed body; in front of it is a stone pillar with a lion on the top, and about 20 feet high; on this is inscribed a record of the events connected with his *Nirvâṇa;* this was built by Aśôka-raja.

To the north-east of the city about 40 li is a *stûpa.* This is the spot where the prince sat in the shade of a tree to watch the ploughing festival. Here he engaged in profound meditation and reached the condition of "absence of desire."[50] The king seeing the prince in the shade of the tree and engrossed in quiet contemplation, and observing that whilst the sun's rays shed their bright light around him, yet the shadow of the tree did not move,

be wondered at, considering they lived 16 or 18 miles from the site named by Hiuen Tsiang.

[49] Kanakamuni, a mythological person, the second of the five Buddhas of the Bhadra-kalpa. His birthplace is identified by Mr. Carlleyle with a village called Kanakpur, about a *yôjana* to the west of Kapilavastu. As this distance and bearing agree with Fa-hian's account, and nearly so with that of Hiuen Tsiang, it may be correct.

[50] This incident is recorded in all the Lives of Buddha. See *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, vv. 330 ff. The figure of the prince lost in meditation under the Jambu tree will be found in *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xxv. fig. 1, where the leaves or flowers of the tree are bent down to cover the young prince, from the top of whose head the light of profound meditation proceeds, whilst the figures searching throughout the garden, and looking in at the three palaces of the prince, denote the perplexity of his attendants and father, as to his whereabouts. See the particulars in the *Romantic Legend of Buddha.*

his heart, recognising the spiritual character of the prince, was deeply reverent.

To the north-west of the capital there are several hundreds and thousands of *stûpas*, indicating the spot where the members of the Śâkya tribe were slaughtered. Virûḍhaka-râja having subdued the Śâkyas, and captured the members of their tribe to the number of 9990 myriads of people, then ordered them to be slaughtered.[51] They piled their bodies like straw, and their blood was collected in lakes. The Dêvas moved the hearts of men to collect their bones and bury them.

To the south-west of the place of massacre are four little *stûpas*. This is the place where the four Śâkyas withstood an army. When first Prasênajita became king, he sought an alliance by marriage with the Śâkya race. The Śâkyas despised him as not of their family, and so deceived him by giving him as a wife a child of a servant, whom they largely endowed. Prasênajita-râja established her as his principal queen, and she brought forth in due time a son, who was called Virûḍhaka-râja. And now Virûḍhaka was desirous to go to the family of his maternal uncles to pursue his studies under their direction. Having come to the south part of the city, he there saw a new preaching-hall, and there he stopped his chariot. The Śâkyas hearing of it, forthwith drove him away, saying, "How dare you, base-born fellow! occupy this abode, an abode built by the Sâkyas, in appearance (*or*, intended for) an abode of Buddha?"

After Virûḍhaka had succeeded to the throne he longed to revenge his former insult; he therefore raised an army

[51] The enmity of Virûḍhaka (Pi-lu-tse-kia) was owing to the insult the Śâkyas had paid his father in wedding him to a slave, and also to the epithet "base born" they applied to him (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 128). His father, Prasênajita, was not a kinsman of the Śâkyas (as Mr. Carlleyle states, p. 173), but an alien. The position the Śâkyas held as "a holy family" is a peculiarity not yet thoroughly understood. The site of the slaughter has been identified with a place called Bhatâ or Badhâ, about 8 miles to the north-west of Bhuila.

and occupied this place with his troops, who took possession of the fields. Four men of the Śâkyas who were engaged in ploughing between the watercourses [52] immediately opposed the progress of the soldiers, and having scattered them, entered the town. Their clansmen, considering that their tribe was one in which there had been a long succession of universal monarchs, and that the honourable children of such righteous kings [53] had dared to act cruelly and impetuously, and without patience to kill and slay, and so had brought disgrace on their family, drove them away from their home.

The four men, having been banished, went to the north among the Snowy Mountains; one became king of the country of Bamyân, one of Udyâna, one of Himatala, one of Śâmbi (Kauśâmbî?). They have transmitted their kingly authority from generation to generation without any interruption.[54]

To the south of the city 3 or 4 li is a grove of Nyagrôdha trees in which is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. This is the place where Śâkya Tathâgata, having returned to his country after his enlightenment, met his father and preached the law.[55] Śuddhôdana-râja, knowing that Tathâgata had defeated Mâra and was engaged in travelling about, leading people to the truth and converting them, was moved by a strong desire to see him, and considered how he could pay him the reverence due to him. He therefore sent a messenger to invite Tathâgata, saying, "Formerly you promised, when you had completed your purpose to become a Buddha, to return to your native place. These are your words still unperformed; now then

[52] *Hün man*, the rills dividing fields.

[53] This is a difficult passage, and the translation doubtful, but it is less obscure than that in the French. The idea is that Śâkya children, descended from holy kings, ought not to have resisted even an invader.

[54] This story of the banishment of the Śâkya youths is met with in the Southern records (*Mahâvaṁśa*). See Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 285. The story of the king of Udyâna and the Nâga girl occurs above, Book iii., vol. i. p. 129.

[55] For this part of Buddha's history see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, varga 19.

is the time for you to condescend to visit me." The messenger having come to the place where Buddha was, expressed to him the king's desire (*mind*). Tathâgata in reply said, "After seven days I will return to my native place." The messenger returning, acquainted the king with the news, on which Śuddhôdana-râja ordered his subjects to prepare the way by watering and sweeping it, and to adorn the road with incense and flowers; and then, accompanied by his officers of state, he proceeded 40 li beyond the city, and there drew up his chariot to await his arrival. Then Tathâgata with a great multitude advanced; the eight Vajrapâṇis surrounded him as an escort, the four heavenly kings went before him; divine Śakra, with a multitude of Dêvas belonging to the world of desires (Kâma-lôka), took their place on the left hand; Brahmâ-râja with Dêvas of Rûpa-lôka accompanied him on the right. The Bhikshu priests walked in order behind. Buddha by himself, as the full moon among the stars, stood in the midst; his supreme spiritual presence shook the three worlds, the brightness of his person exceeded that of the seven lights;[56] and thus traversing the air he approached his native country.[57] The king and ministers having reverenced him, again returned to the kingdom, and they located themselves in this Nyagrôdha grove.

By the side of the *saṅghârâma*, and not far from it, is a *stûpa*; this is the spot where Tathâgata sat beneath a great tree with his face to the east and received from his aunt a golden-tissued *kashâya* garment.[58] A little farther on is another *stûpa*; this is the place where Tathâgata converted eight king's sons and 500 Śâkyas.

Within the eastern gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a *stûpa*; this is where the Prince Siddârtha practised (*athletic sports and competitive*) arts.

[56] Sun, moon, and five planets.

[57] The exaggeration found in the visit of Buddha to his native country is common to all the records.

[58] This is the garment supposed to be kept by the great Kâśyapa in the Cock's-foot Mountain for Maitrêya. Buddha's aunt was Mahâprajâpatî, who was at the head of the female disciples.

Outside the gate is the temple of Îśvara-dêva. In the temple is a figure of the Dêva made of stone, which has the appearance of rising in a bent position.[59] This is the temple which the royal prince when an infant (*in swaddling clothes*) entered. King Śuddhôdana was returning from the Lumbinî (Lavaṇî—La-fa-ni) garden,[60] after having gone to meet the prince. Passing by this temple the king said, "This temple is noted for its many spiritual exhibitions (*miracles*). The Śâkya children[61] who here seek divine protection always obtain what they ask; we must take the royal prince to this place and offer up our worship." At this time the nurse (*foster-mother*), carrying the child in her arms, entered the temple; then the stone image raised itself and saluted the prince. When the prince left, the image again seated itself.

Outside the south gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a *stûpa*; it was here the royal prince contended with the Śâkyas in athletic sports (*arts*) and pierced with his arrows the iron targets.[62]

From this 30 li south-east is a small *stûpa*.[63] Here there is a fountain, the waters of which are as clear as a mirror. Here it was, during the athletic contest, that the

[59] This is, as it seems, the meaning of the passage, literally, "the appearance of rising, bendingly," *i.e.*, rising and bending. This rendering, which differs so widely from Julien's, is confirmed by the scene found in *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxix. (upper disc), where the large figure "rising bendingly" is that of Îśvara, and the cloth with the feet marked on it represents the infant Buddha. Suddhôdana and Mâyâ (or Prajâpatî) are also represented.

[60] This garden was Buddha's birthplace. The name Lumbinî is said to have been derived from that of the wife of Suprabuddha; his daughter was Mâyâ, the mother of Buddha. The Chinese equivalent in the text, La-fa-ni, may possibly be connected with the Sanskrit *lâvaṇa*, saline; but Lavaṇî is a feminine personal name.

[61] In the plate referred to above, there are none but women present (except Śuddhôdana), as if they were praying for their children.

[62] The account of the contest with the Śâkya princes will be found in the *Romantic Legend of Buddha*. See also Fa-hian, p. 86, n. 3. The spot is identified by Mr. Carlleyle; *Report*, p. 187.

[63] Fa-hian places this *stûpa* at the same distance and in the same direction. It has been identified with a spot called Sur-kuiâ, a corruption of Śara-kûpa (arrow well), about 4½ miles due south of the former *stûpa* (*Arch. Survey*, vol. xii. p. 188). The bearing does not, however, correspond with that given by the Chinese pilgrims. The story of the arrow is given in the *Lalita Vistara*, p. 149.

arrow of the prince, after penetrating the targets, fell and buried itself up to the feather in the ground, causing a clear spring of water to flow forth. Common tradition has called this the *arrow fountain* (*Sarakûpa*); persons who are sick by drinking the water of this spring are mostly restored to health; and so people coming from a distance taking back with them some of the mud (*moist earth*) of this place, and applying it to the part where they suffer pain, mostly recover from their ailments.

To the north-east of the *arrow well* about 80 or 90 li, we come to the Lumbinî (Lavaṇî) garden. Here is the bathing tank of the Śâkyas, the water of which is bright and clear as a mirror, and the surface covered with a mixture of flowers.

To the north of this 24 or 25 paces there is an *Aśôka-flower* tree,[64] which is now decayed; this is the place where Bôdhisattva was born on the eighth day of the second half of the month called Vaiśâkha, which corresopnds with us to the eighth day of the third month. The school of the Sthâviras (Shang-tso-pu) say it was on the fifteenth day of the second half of the same month, corresponding to the fifteenth day of the third month with us. East from this is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja, on the spot where the two dragons bathed the body of the prince.[65] When Bôdhisattva was born, he walked without assistance in the direction of the four quarters, seven paces in each direction, and said, "I am the only lord in heaven and earth; from this time forth my births are finished." Where his feet had trod there sprang up great lotus flowers. Moreover, two dragons sprang forth, and, fixed in the air, poured down the one a cold and the other a warm water stream from his mouth, to wash the prince.

To the east of this *stûpa* are two fountains of pure

[64] *Wu-yu-shu.* It is curious that it should be so frequently stated that the child was born under a *sal* tree (Carlleyle, *op. cit.*, p. 200, and elsewhere); S. Hardy, *Man. Bud.*, p. 167.

[65] For all these events the ordinary Lives of Buddha may be consulted. I have been unable to follow Mr. Carlleyle in his various identifications of the spots named in the text.

water, by the side of which have been built two *stûpas*. This is the place where two dragons appeared from the earth. When Bôdhisattva was born, the attendants and household relations hastened in every direction to find water for the use of the child. At this time two springs gurgled forth from the earth just before the queen, the one cold, the other warm, using which they bathed him.

To the south of this is a *stûpa*. This is the spot where Śakra, the lord of Dêvas, received Bôdhisattva in his arms. When Bôdhisattva was born, then Śakra, the king of Dêvas, took him and wrapped him in an exquisite and divine robe.

Close to this there are four *stûpas* to denote the place where the four heavenly kings received Bôdhisattva in their arms. When Bôdhisattva was born from the right side of his mother, the four kings wrapped him in a golden-coloured cotton vestment, and placing him on a golden slab (*bench*) and bringing him to his mother, they said, "The queen may rejoice indeed at having given birth to such a fortunate child!" If the Dêvas rejoiced at the event, how much more should men!

By the side of these *stûpas* and not far from them is a great stone pillar, on the top of which is the figure of a horse, which was built by Aśôka-raja. Afterwards, by the contrivance of a wicked dragon, it was broken off in the middle and fell to the ground. By the side of it is a little river which flows to the south-east. The people of the place call it the *river of oil*.[66] This is the stream which the Dêvas caused to appear as a pure and glistening pool for the queen, when she had brought forth her child, to wash and purify herself in. Now it is changed and become a river, the stream of which is still unctuous.

From this going east 300 li or so, across a wild and deserted jungle, we arrive at the kingdom of Lan-mo (Râmagrâma).

66 It is plain from this that "the river of oil" was close to the spot where the child was born, and flowed through the garden.

LAN-MO [RÂMAGRÂMA].

The kingdom of Lan-mo[67] has been waste and desolate for many years. There is no account of its extent. The towns are decayed and the inhabitants few.

To the south-east of the old capital (*town*) there is a brick *stûpa*, in height less than 100 feet. Formerly, after the *Nirvâṇa* of Tathâgata, a previous king of this country having got a share of the *śarîras* of his body, returned home with them, and to honour these relics he built (*this stûpa*). Miraculous signs are here displayed, and a divine light from time to time shines around.

By the side of the *stûpa* is a clear lake (*tank*). A dragon at certain periods[68] comes forth and walks here, and changing his form and snake-like exterior, marches round the *stûpa*, turning to the right to pay it honour. The wild elephants come in herds, gather flowers, and scatter them here. Impelled by a mysterious power, they have continued to offer this service from the first till now. In former days, when Aśôka-râja, dividing the relics, built *stûpas*, having opened the *stûpas* built by the kings of the seven countries, he proceeded to travel to this country, and put his hand to the work (*viz., of opening this stûpa*);[69] the dragon, apprehending the desecration of the place, changed himself into the form of a Brâhmaṇ, and going in front, he bowed down before the elephant[70]

[67] The Chinese equivalents give us simply Râma, but that is the name of the country. Râmagrâma would be the old capital. There can be no doubt as to the restoration; the *Mahâwaṅso* refers to the relic tower of Râmagâmo (Turnour's *Mahâw.*, pp. 184, 185), which is described by Hiuen Tsiang and Fa-hian. The site has not been satisfactorily determined. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, pp. 420 f.

[68] Or it may be translated "every day."

[69] This translation differs entirely from Julien's; the story, however, of Aśôka's dividing the relics which the seven kings had acquired after the cremation is well known. (See *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, vers. 2297, 2298).

[70] It is possible that *siang* (elephant) in this passage is a misprint for *t'how* (head): it would then be, "knocking his head (*k'how t'how*) before the king, he said," &c.; but as there is allusion to a carriage or conveyance in the next sentence, the reading may be correct.

and said, "Mahârâja! your feelings are well affected to the law of Buddha, and you have largely planted (*good seed*) in the field of religious merit. I venture to ask you to detain your carriage awhile and condescend to visit my dwelling." The king replied, "And where is your dwelling? is it near at hand?" The Brâhmaṇ said, "I am the Nâga king of this lake. As I have heard that the great king desires to build a superior field of merit,[71] I have ventured to ask you to visit my abode." The king, receiving this invitation, immediately entered the dragon precinct, and sitting there for some time, the Nâga advanced towards him and said, "Because of my evil *karma* I have received this Nâga body; by religious service to these *śarîras* of Buddha I desire to atone for and efface my guilt. Oh, that the king would himself go and inspect (the *stûpa*, or, the *relics*) with a view to worship. Aśôka-râja having seen (*the character of the place*), was filled with fear, and said, "All these appliances for worship are unlike anything seen amongst men." The Nâga said, "If it be so, would that the king would not attempt to destroy the *stûpa*!" The king, seeing that he could not measure his power with that of the Nâga, did not attempt to open the *stûpa* (*to take out the relics*). At the spot where the dragon came out of the lake is an inscription to the above effect.[72]

Not far from the neighbourhood of this *stûpa* is a *saṅghârâma*, with a very few priests attached to it. Their conduct is respectful and scrupulously correct; and one Śrâmaṇera manages the whole business of the society. When any priests come from distant regions, they entertain them with the greatest courtesy and liberality; during three days they keep them in their society, and offer them the four necessary things.[73]

The old tradition is this: Formerly there were some Bhikshus who agreed[74] to come together from a distance,

71 *I.e.*, to obtain a superior merit by building *stûpas*.

72 For a similar account, see Fa-hian, chap. xxiii.

73 Food, drink, clothing, medicine.

74 So I translate *tung chi*, "were of the same mind." Julien renders

and to travel to worship this *stûpa*. They saw when they had arrived a herd of elephants, coming and departing together. Some of them brought on their tusks shrubs (*leaves and branches*), others with their trunks sprinkled water, some of them brought different flowers, and all offered worship (*as they stood*) to the *stûpa*. When the Bhikshus saw this, they were moved with joy and deeply affected. Then one of them giving up his full orders[75] (*ordination*), vowed to remain here and offer his services continually (*to the stûpa*), and expressing his thoughts to the others, he said, "I indeed, considering these remarkable signs of abounding merit, count as nothing my own excessive labours during many years amongst the priests.[76] This *stûpa* having some relics of Buddha, by the mysterious power of its sacred character draws together the herd of elephants, who water the earth around the bequeathed body (*of the saint*). It would be pleasant to finish the rest of my years in this place, and to obtain with the elephants the end (*at which they aim*)." They all replied, "This is an excellent design; as for ourselves, we are stained by our heavy (*sins*); our wisdom is not equal to the formation of such a design; but according to your opportunity look well to your own welfare, and cease not your efforts in this excellent purpose."

Having departed from the rest, he again repeated his earnest vow, and with joy devoted himself to a solitary life during the rest of his days.

it, "their brethren," as the equivalent of "those of the same mind," and he makes these invite (*siang chaou*) the other. It may be so, but there were evidently no brethren at the *stûpa*, as the narrative shows. This old tradition is also related by Fa-hian (chap. xxiii.)

[75] This is undoubtedly the meaning of the passage. He was a Bhikshu, *i.e.*, fully ordained; but now he gives up the privilege of that position, and undertakes the duties of a Śrâmaṇêra, to water and sweep the courts of the *stûpa*.

[76] This appears to me to be the meaning of the passage: The Bhikshu was led by witnessing the devotion of the elephants to count his own conduct as trifling compared with theirs. He therefore casts in his lot with them. M. Julien takes a different view of the meaning of the original.

On this he constructed for himself a leafy *paṇṇasâlâ*,[77] led the rivulets so as to form a pool, and at their proper seasons gathered flowers, and watered and swept and garnished the *stûpa*. Thus during a succession of years he persevered without change of purpose or plan.

The kings of the neighbouring countries, hearing the history, greatly honoured him; gave up their wealth and treasure, and together founded the *saṅghârâma*. Then they requested (*the Śrâmaṇêra*) to take charge of the affairs of the congregation; and from that time till now there has been no interruption in the original appointment, and a Śrâmaṇêra has ever held the chief office in the convent.

Eastward from this convent, in the midst of a great forest, after going about 100 li, we come to a great *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. This is the place where the prince-royal, after having passed from the city, put off his precious robes, loosed his necklace, and ordered his coachman[78] to return home. The prince-royal in the middle of the night traversing the city, at early dawn arrived at this place,[79] and then, heart and body bent on accomplishing his destiny, he said, "Here have I come out of the prison stocks. Here have I shaken off my chains." This is the place where he left for the last time his harnessed horse,[80] and taking the *maṇi* gem[81] from his crown, he commanded his coachman, saying, "Take this gem, and, returning, say to my father the king, now I am going away, not in inconsiderate disobedience, but to banish lust, and to destroy the power of impermanence, and to stop all the leaks of existence."

77 *Pansala* is a Sinhalese word for "leafy hut," *i.e.*, a residence made out of boughs of trees.

78 His coachman, or equerry, was called Chaṇḍaka. For an account of his dismissal see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, varga 6.

79 The place appears to be "Manêya," about 34 miles E.S.E. of Bhuila.

80 It is true that *kiü* means "a chariot;" but it also means "a horse saddled for service;" and as all the evidence, both of the books and sculptures, is in favour of the prince sending back his "horse," I have used this translation. But it may also be translated "chariot," as the answer of Chaṇḍaka seems to require.

81 *Mo-ni*, generally called the *chûḍâmaṇi*.

Then Chaṇḍaka (Chen-to-kia) replied, "What heart can I have to go back thus, with a horse without a rider?" The prince having persuaded him with gentle words, his mind was opened and he returned.

To the east of the *stûpa* where Chaṇḍaka returned is a Jambu tree with leaves and branches fallen off but the trunk still upright. By the side of this is a little *stûpa*. This is the place where the prince exchanged his precious[82] robe for one made of deerskin. The prince had cut off his hair and exchanged his lower garments, and although he had got rid of his collar of precious stones, yet there was one divine garment (*still on his person*). "This robe," he said, "is greatly in excess (*of my wants*); how shall I change it away?" At this time a Śuddhâvâsa-dêva[83] transformed himself into a hunter with robes of deerskin, and holding his bow and carrying his quiver. The prince, raising his garment, addressed him thus: "I am desirous to exchange garments with you. Oh, that you would assent." The hunter said "Good!" The prince, loosing his upper garment, gave it to the hunter. The hunter having received it, resumed his Deva body, and holding the garment he had obtained, rose into the air and departed.

By the side of the *stûpa* commemorating this event, and not far from it, is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. This is the spot where the prince had his head shaved. The prince taking a knife (*sword*) from the hands of Chaṇḍaka, himself cut off his locks. Śakra, king of Dêvas, took the hair to his heavenly palace to offer it worship. At this time a Śuddhâvâsa-dêva, transforming himself into a barber, and holding his razor in his hand, advanced towards the prince. The latter hereupon addressed him, "Can you shave off the hair? Will you favour me by so doing to

[82] His robe ornamented with various gems. I find nothing about "a hunter" in the text, although it was with a hunter the exchange was made.

[83] A Dêva of the "pure abodes;" a Dêva of the five highest Rûpa-brahma heavens. See Childers' *Pāli Dict.* sub voc. *Sattalôka*.

me?" The transformed Dêva being so directed, accordingly shaved his head.

The time when the prince left the city and became a recluse is not quite fixed. Some say that Bôdhisattva was then nineteen years of age; others say he was twenty-nine, and that it was on the eighth day of the second half of the month Vaiśâkha, which corresponds to our fifteenth day of the third month.

To the south-east of the head-shaving *stûpa*, in the middle of a desert, going 180 or 190 li, we come to a Nyagrôdha grove in which there is a *stûpa* about 30 feet high. Formerly, when Tathâgata had died and his remains had been divided, the Brâhmaṇs who had obtained none, came to the place of cremation, and taking the remnant of coals and cinders to their native country, built this *stûpa* over them,[84] and offered their religious services to it. Since then wonderful signs have occurred in this place; sick persons who pray and worship here are mostly cured.

By the side of the ashes *stûpa* is an old *saṅghârâma*, where there are traces of the four former Buddhas, who walked and sat there.

On the right hand and left of this convent there are several hundred *stûpas*, among which is one large one built by Aśôka-râja; although it is mostly in ruins, yet its height is still about 100 feet.

From this going north-east through a great forest, along a dangerous and difficult road, where wild oxen and herds of elephants and robbers and hunters cause incessant trouble to travellers, after leaving the forest we come to the kindom of Kiu-shi-na-k'ie-lo (Kuśinagara).

KIU-SHI-NA-K'IE-LO [KUŚINAGARA].

The capital[85] of this country is in ruins, and its towns

[84] This is the "Ashes Dâgoba," referred to *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 2284.

[85] Kuśinagara, Kuśinagarî, Kuśanagara, Kuśigrâmaka, or Kuśinârâ, the scene of Buddha's death

and villages waste and desolate. The brick foundation walls[86] of the old capital are about 10 li in circuit. There are few inhabitants, and the avenues of the town are deserted and waste. At the north-east angle of the city gate[87] is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja. This is the old house of Chunda (Chun-t'o);[88] in the middle of it is a well which was dug at the time when he was about to make his offering (*to Buddha*). Although it has overflown for years and months, the water is still pure and sweet.

To the north-west of the city 3 or 4 li, crossing the Ajitavatî ('O-shi-to-fa-ti)[89] river, on the western bank, not far, we come to a grove of śâla trees. The *śâla* tree is like the *Huh* tree, with a greenish white bark and leaves very glistening and smooth. In this wood are four trees of an unusual height, which indicate the place where Tathâgata died.[90]

There is (*here*) a great brick *vihâra*, in which is a figure of the *Nirvâṇa* of Tathâgata. He is lying with his head to the north as if asleep. By the side of this *vihâra* is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja; although in a ruinous state, yet it is some 200 feet in height. Before it is a stone

and burial, has been identified by Wilson and Cunningham with the present village of Kasia, 35 miles to the east of Gôrakhpúr. It stood close to the Hiraṇyavatî river (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 2200); this must be the same as the Little Gaṇḍakî river, or one of its feeders. The channel of this river, however, has undergone frequent changes. See *J. R. As. S.*, vol. v. pp. 123 f.; Burnouf, *Introd.* (2d ed.), pp. 75, 347; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* (2d ed.), vol. i. pp. 171, 662; *Lalita Vistara*, pp. 416 f., 419 ff.

86 Cunningham speaks of the *bricks* of which the *stûpas* were built (*Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 77).

87 Aśvaghôsha speaks of the *Lung-siang* gate, which must have led towards the river (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 2200).

88 Chunda was a householder who invited Buddha to his house and there gave him his last repast (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 1947). For an account of Chunda's offering, according to the later school of Buddhism, see as above, Note iii., pp. 365 ff.

89 In Chinsse Wu-shing, "invincible." This is the same as the Shi-laï-na-fa-ti or Hiraṇyavatî river, in Chinese Yeu-kin-ho, "the river that has gold."

90 The record generally speaks of *two* sâla trees (*Shorea robusta*) (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 1950), and they are represented in the sculpture of the *Nirvâṇa* in Cave xxvi. at Ajaṇṭâ (Burgess, *Cave Temples*, pl. l.).

pillar to record the *Nirvâṇa* of Tathâgata; although there is an inscription on it, yet there is no date as to year or month.

According to the general tradition, Tathâgata was eighty years old when, on the 15th day of the second half of the month Vaiśâkha, he entered *Nirvâṇa.* This corresponds to the 15th day of the 3d month with us. But the Sarvâstivâdins say that he died on the 8th day of the second half of the month Kârtika, which is the same as the 8th day of the 9th month with us. The different schools calculate variously from the death of Buddha. Some say it is 1200 years and more since then. Others say, 1300 and more. Others say, 1500 and more. Others say that 900 years have passed, but not 1000 since the *Nirvâṇa.*[91]

By the side of the *vihâra*, and not far from it, is a *stûpa.* This denotes the place where Bôdhisattva, when practising a religious life, was born as the king of a flock of pheasants (*chi*—S. *kapiñjala*), and caused a fire to be put out. Formerly there was in this place a great and shady forest, where beasts and birds congregated and built their nests or dwelt in caves. Suddenly a fierce wind burst from every quarter, and a violent conflagration spread on every side. At this time there was a pheasant who, moved by pity and tenderness, hastened to plunge itself in a stream of pure water, and then flying up in the air, shook the drops from its feathers (*on the flames*). Whereupon Śakra, king of Dêvas, coming down, said (*to the bird*), "Why are you so foolish as to tire yourself, thus fluttering your wings? A great fire is raging, it is burning down the forest trees and the desert grass; what can such a tiny creature as you do to put it out?" The bird said, "And who are you?" He replied, "I am Śakra, king of

91 The various dates here recorded would correspond with 552 B.C., 652 B.C., 852 B.C., and a date between 252 B.C. and 352 B.C. By this last Hiuen Tsiang probably means to place the *Nirvâṇa*, a hundred years before Aśôka, *i.e.*, about 325 B.C., which is the date he employs elsewhere. The Southern date is 543 B.C., but the most recent researches place it between 477 and 482 B.C. This is generally accepted.

Dêvas." The bird answered, "Now Śakra, king of Dêvas, has great power of religious merit, and every wish he has he can gratify; to deliver from this calamity and avert the evil would be as easy as opening and shutting his hand. There can be no propriety in permitting this calamity to last.[92] But the fire is burning fiercely on every side, there is no time for words." And so saying he flew away again, and ascending up, sprinkled the water from his wings. Then the king of the Dêvas took the water in the hollow of his hand[93] and poured it out on the forest and extinguished the fire; the smoke was cleared away and the living creatures saved. Therefore this *stûpa* is still called "the extinguishing-fire *stûpa*."

By the side of this, not far off, is a *stûpa*. On this spot Bôdhisattva, when practising a religious life, being at that time a deer, saved (*or*, rescued)[94] living creatures. In very remote times this was a great forest; a fire burst out in the wild grass that grew in it. The birds[95] and beasts were sorely distressed. Before them was the barrier of a swiftly flowing river. Behind them the calamity of the raging fire which barred their escape. There was no help for it but to plunge into the water, and there drowned, they perished. This deer, moved by pity, placed his body across the stream, which lashed his sides and broke his bones, whilst he strove with all his strength to rescue the drowning creatures. A worn-out hare coming to the bank, the deer with patience bearing his pain and fatigue, got him safely across, but his strength being now worn out, he was engulfed in the water and died. The Dêvas collecting his bones raised this *stûpa*.

[92] This may be otherwise translated: "if my request is without effect, with whom lies the fault?"

[93] Taking a handful of water.

[94] There is an error in the text, *sha* (killed) for *kew* (delivered). Julien translates the passage "took the form of a deer, and sacrificed his life." The former part, "took the form of a deer," cannot be correct, the original is *wei luh*, being a deer; with regard to the second part, "sacrificed his life," the original is *sha săng*, which is literally "to kill living animals for food." I have preferred to consider *shă* a mistake for *kew*, to deliver.

[95] It is difficult to understand why the *birds* should be afraid of the river.

To the west of this place, not far off, is a *stûpa*. This is where Subhadra [96] (Shen-hien) died (*entered Nirvâṇa*). Subhadra was originally a Brâhmaṇ teacher. He was 120 years of age; being so old, he had acquired in consequence much wisdom. Hearing that Buddha was about to die, he came to the two [97] (*sâla*) trees, and asked Ânanda, saying, "The Lord is about to die; pray let me ask him respecting some doubts I have, which still hamper me." Ânanda replied, "The Lord is about to die; pray do not trouble him." He said, "I hear that Buddha is difficult to meet in the world, and that the true law is difficult to hear. I have some grave doubts; there is no ground for fear." On being invited, Subhadra at once entered, and first asked Buddha, "There are many different persons who call themselves masters, each having a different system of doctrine, and pretending therewith to guide the people. Is Gautama (Kiu-ta-mo) [98] able to fathom their doctrine?" Buddha said, "I know their doctrine thoroughly;" and then for Subhadra's sake he preached the law.

Subhadra having heard (*the sermon*), his mind, pure and faithful, found deliverance, and he asked to be received into the church as a fully ordained disciple. Then Tathâgata addressed him saying, "Are you able to do so? Unbelievers and other sectaries who prepare themselves for a pure mode of life [99] ought to pass a four years' novitiate, to exhibit their conduct and test their disposition; if their characters and words be unexcep-

[96] For the circumstances attending the conversion of Subhadra (Su-po-t'o-lo), see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, varga 26, p. 290. In Chinese his name is Shen-hien, "the very virtuous."

[97] Here the two trees are referred to. The four which existed in Hiuen Tsiang's time were probably of a later date, and had been planted two at the head and two at the feet where Buddha died.

[98] The expression "Gautama" is used by Subhadra because he was a Brâhmaṇ unbeliever.

[99] This does not, as it appears, refer to the life of a Śramaṇa, but to the preparation of a Brahmachâra; the previous discipline of the Brâhmaṇ (*Fan-hing* . . .). The "unbelievers," in Chinese *Waï-tao*, translated Tirthikas, in the *Mahâvyutpatti*.

tionable, then such persons may enter my profession; but in your case, whilst living amongst men, you have observed their discipline. There should be no difficulty, then, to prevent your full ordination?"

Subhadra said, "The Lord is very pitiful and very gracious, without any partiality. Is he then willing to forego in my case the four years of the threefold preparatory discipline?"[100]

Buddha said, "As I before stated, this has been done whilst living among men."

Then Subhadra, leaving his home immediately, took full orders as a priest. Then applying himself with all diligence, he vigorously disciplined both body and mind, and so being freed from all doubt, in the middle of the night (*of Buddha's Nirvâṇa*), not long after (*the interview*), he obtained the fruit, and became an Arhat without any imperfection. Being thus perfected in purity, he could not bear to await Buddha's death (*great Nirvâṇa*), but in the midst of the congregation, entering the *samâdhi* of "fire-limit" (*Agni-dhâtu*), and after displaying his spiritual capabilities, he first entered *Nirvâṇa*. He was thus the very last convert of Tathâgata, and the first to enter *Nirvâṇa*. This is the same as the hare who was last saved in the story that has just been told.

Beside (*the stûpa of*) Subhadra's *Nirvâṇa* is a *stûpa*; this is the place where the Vajrapâṇi (Chi-kin-kang)[101]

[100] The whole of this passage is obscure; the reference seems to be to a four years' preparatory course of discipline practised by the *Sikshyamâṇa* (pupil); for the threefold character of their discipline, see *Fo-kouc-ki*, p. 182. This previous course of discipline Buddha is willing to remit in the case of Subhadra, because he had already practised it "in the world," that is, in his own religious training.

[101] This incident is also referred to by Fa-hian (Beal, *Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 95). There is some difficulty in the matter, because the Mallas, who were present at the *Nirvâṇa*, are called *lih sse*, and they did "sink prostrate on the earth" (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, ver. 2195). But the text seems to refer to some superhuman being, for the Vajrapâṇi is called "holding-diamond - mace - spiritual - secret - vestige - mighty - lord;" this phrase is explained by Eitel (*Handbook*, sub voc. *Vadjrapâṇi*) to refer to Indra, a sort of demon king, with 500 Yaksha followers. In the great picture of the *Nirvâṇa* brought from Japan by Mr. Borlase, and exhibited for a time at Bethnal Green, there is such a figure lying on the ground.

fell fainting on the earth. The great merciful Lord of the World, having, according to the condition of the persons concerned, finished his work of converting the world, entered on the joy of the *Nirvâṇa* between the two *śâla* trees; with his head to the north, he there lay asleep. The Mallas, with their diamond maces and divine though secret characteristics,[102] seeing Buddha about to die, were deeply affected with pity, and cried, "Tathâgata is leaving us and entering the great *Nirvâṇa*; thus are we without any refuge or protection to defend us; the poisonous arrow has deeply penetrated our vitals, and the fire of sorrow burns us up without remedy!" Then letting go their diamond clubs, they fell prostrate on the earth, and so remained for a long time. Then rising again, and deeply affected with compassion and love, they thus spake together, "Who shall now provide us a boat to cross over the great sea of birth and death? Who shall light a lamp to guide us through the long night of ignorance?"

By the side where the diamond (*mace-holders*) fell to the earth is a *stûpa*. This is the place where for seven days after Buddha had died they offered religious offerings. When Tathâgata was about to die, a brilliant light shone everywhere; men and Dêvas were assembled, and together showed their sorrow as they spake thus one to the other, "Now the great Buddha, Lord of the World, is about to die, the happiness of men is gone, the world has no reliance." Then Tathâgata, reposing on his right side upon the lion-bed, addressed the great congregation thus, "Say not Tathâgata has gone for ever (*perished*), because he dies; the body of the law[103] endures for ever! unchangeable is this! Put away all

[102] I have retained this translation, notwithstanding Dr. Eitel's explanation, as it is literally correct, and in agreement with Aśvaghôsha. Moreover, from the subsequent exclamations, it is plain that the persons who spoke were mortals, and disciples of Buddha, and they offered their services after his death for seven days.

[103] The *Dharmakâya*, the spiritual presence of Buddha in his words.

idleness, and without delay seek for emancipation (*from the world*)."

Then the Bhikshus sobbing and sighing with piteous grief, Aniruddha[104] bade the Bhikshus cease. "Grieve not thus," he said, "lest the Dêvas should deride." Then all the Mallas (Mo-la) having offered their offerings, desired to raise the golden coffin, and bring it to the place of cremation. Then Aniruddha addressed them all, and bade them stop, for the Dêvas desired to offer their worship during seven days.

Then the Dêvas (*the heavenly host*), holding exquisite divine flowers, discoursed through space the praises of his sacred qualities, each in full sincerity of heart offering his sacrifice of worship.

By the side of the place where the coffin was detained is a *stûpa;* this is where the queen Mahâmâyâ[105] wept for Buddha.

Tathâgata having departed, and his body being laid in the coffin, then Aniruddha, ascending to the heavenly mansions, addressed the queen Mâyâ and said, "The supremely holy Lord of Religion has now died!"

Mâyâ having heard of it, suppressed her sobs, and with the body of Dêvas came to the two *sâla* trees. Seeing the *saṅghâṭî* robe, and the *pâtra*, and the religious staff, she embraced them as she recognised each, and then ceased awhile to act,[106] till once again with loud accents she cried, "The happiness of men and gods is done! The world's eyes put out! All things are desert, without a guide!"

104 Aniruddha ('O-ni-liu-t'o). There is some difficulty in knowing whether Aniruddha (cousin of Buddha, being a son of Amṛitôdana), or Anuruddha is referred to in the text; in the one case, Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 294) states that Anuruddha was the personal attendant on Buddha at the time of his death; but, on the other hand, Aśvaghôsha (*Fo-sho*, ver. 2123) derives the name of this person from *a* + *niruddha* not-stopped, in agreement with the Tibetan *ma hgags-pa*, celui qui n'a pas été arrêté (*Lotus*, p. 293); *As. Res.* vol. xx. p. 440). Conf. Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.

105 In the picture alluded to above (n. 97) there is a representation of Anuruddha or Aniruddha conducting Mahâmâyâ from heaven to the scene of the *Nirvâna*.

106 That is, she fainted.

Then by the holy power of Tathâgata the golden coffin of itself opened; spreading abroad a glorious light, with hands conjoined, and sitting upright, he saluted his loving mother (*and said*), "You have come down from far; you who live so religiously need not be sad!"

Ânanda, suppressing his grief, inquired and said, "What shall I say hereafter when they question me?" In answer he rejoined, "(Say this), when Buddha had already died, his loving mother Mâyâ, from the heavenly courts descending, came to the twin *śâla* trees. Then Buddha, bent on teaching the irreverent among[107] men, from out his golden coffin, with hands conjoined, for her sake, preached the law."

To the north of the city, after crossing the river,[108] and going 300 paces or so, there is a *stûpa*. This is the place where they burnt the body of Tathâgata. The earth is now of a blackish yellow, from a mixture of earth and charcoal. Whoever with true faith seeks here, and prays, is sure to find some relics of Tathâgata.

When Tathâgata died, men and Dêvas, moved with love, prepared a coffin made of the seven precious substances, and in a thousand napkins swathed his body; they spread both flowers and scents, they placed both canopies and coverings over it; then the host of Mallas raised the bier and forward marched, with others following and leading on. Passing the golden river (Kin-ho) to the north, they filled the coffin up with scented oil, and piled high up the odorous wood and kindled it. Then, after all was burnt, there were two napkins left—one that lay next the body, the other from the outside covering. Then they divided the *śarîras* for the world's sake, the hair and nails alone remained untouched by fire. By the side of the place of cremation is a *stûpa*; here Tathâgata,

107 That is, those who have no reverence for parents. This incident, which is a late invention, would recommend itself to Hiuen Tsiang as in agreement with the customs of his country, where the highest reverence of parents is inculcated.

108 The Ajitavatî or Hiraṇyavatî.

for Kâśyapa's sake, revealed his feet. When Tathâgata was in his golden coffin, and the oil poured on it and the wood piled up, the fire would not enkindle. When all the beholders were filled with fear and doubt, Aniruddha spoke, "We must await Kâśyapa."

At this time Kâśyapa, with 500 followers from out the forest, came to Kuśinagara, and asked Ânanda saying, "Can I behold Tathâgata's body?" Ânanda said, "Swathed in a thousand napkins, enclosed within a heavy coffin, with scented wood piled up, we are about to burn it."

At this time Buddha caused his feet to come from out the coffin. Above (*or*, on) the wheel sign[109] lo! there were different coloured marks. Addressing Ânanda then, he said, "And what are these?" Answering he said, "When first he died the tears of men and gods, moved by pity, falling upon his feet, left these marks.[110]

Then Kâśyapa worshipped and walked round the coffin uttering his praises. Then the scented wood caught fire of its own accord, and burnt the whole with a great conflagration.

When Tathâgata died he appeared three times from his coffin: first, when he put out his arm and asked Ânanada, "(Have you) prepared the way?"[111] secondly, when he sat up and preached the law for his mother's sake; and thirdly, when he showed his feet to the great Kâśyapa.

By the side of the place where he showed his feet is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. This is the place where the eight kings shared the relics. In front is built a stone pillar on which is written an account of this event.

When Buddha died, and after his cremation, the kings of the eight countries with their troops (*four kinds of*

[109] *Lun siang;* see *ante*, vol. i. p. 94.

[110] In the *Vinaya* it is stated that these marks were made by the tears of a woman who wept at his feet. See *Abstract of Four Lectures*, pp. 69, 82.

[111] This is the literal translation; but it probably refers to Kâśyapa, as Julien explains (n. 1, p. 346); or the word *che* may be equal to "the chief," alluding to Kâśyapa; the sentence would then be, "has the chief arrived?"

troops) sent a right-minded Brâhmaṇ (Drôna)[112] to address the Mallas of Kuśinagara, saying, "The guide of men and gods has died in this country; we have come from far to request a share of his relics." The Mallas said, "Tathâgata has condescended to come to this land; the guide of the world is dead! the loving father of all that lives has gone! We ought to adore the relics of Buddha; your journey here has been in vain, you will not gain your end." Then the great kings having sought humbly for them and failed, sent a second message saying, "As you will not accede to our request, our troops are near." Then the Brâhmaṇ addressing them said, "Reflect how the Lord, the great merciful, prepared religious merit by practising patience; through successive ages his renown will last. Your desire now to try force is not right. Divide then the relics into eight portions, so that all may worship them. Why resort to arms?"[113] The Mallas, obedient to these words, divided the relics into eight parts.

Then Śakra the king of gods said, "The Dêvas also should have a share; dispute not their right."

Anavatapta[114] the Nâga also, and Muchilinda (Wen-lin), and Êlâpatra (I-lo-po-ta-lo) also, deliberated and said, "We ought not to be left without a bequest; if we seek it by force it will not be well for you!" The Brâhmaṇ said, "Dispute not so!" Then he divided the relics into three portions, one for the Dêvas, one for the Nâgas, and one remnant for the eight kingdoms among men. This addition of Dêvas and Nâgas in sharing the relics was a source of great sorrow to the kings of men.[115]

112 This name is given in the *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 2231. The phrase *chi sing* means "right minded," or "impartial;" it may possibly be a proper name (Ṛiju-bhâva), as Julien supposes.

113 The argument of the Brâhman is given in full by Aśvaghôsha, *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, pp. 328, 329.

114 In Tibetan Ma-dros-pa, the king of the Nâgas (snakes) of the lake of the same name. See *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx. p. 448.

115 Julien's translation can hardly be correct; "the eight kings having obtained a double portion, the gods, the Nâgas, and the kings of men grieved much on that account." The eight kings did not, in fact, obtain a double portion. The translation

To the south-west of the relic-dividing *stûpa*, going 200 li or so, we come to a great village; here lived a Brâhmaṇ of eminent wealth and celebrity, deeply learned in all pure literature, versed in the five *Vidyâs*,[116] acquainted with the three treasures (*piṭakas*). By the side of his home he had built a priest's house, and had used all his wealth to adorn it with magnificence. If by chance any priests in their travels stopped on their way, he asked them to halt, and used all his means to entertain them. They might stop one night, or even throughout seven days.

After this, Śaśâṅka-râja having destroyed the religion of Buddha, the members of the priesthood were dispersed, and for many years driven away. The Brâhmaṇ nevertheless retained for them, through all, an undying regard. As he was walking he chanced to see a Śramaṇa, with thick eyebrows and shaven head, holding his staff, coming along. The Brâhmaṇ hurried up to him, and meeting him asked, "Whence come you?" and besought him to enter the priest's abode and receive his charity. In the morning he gave him some rice-milk (*rice balls with milk*). The Śramaṇa having taken a mouthful, thereupon returned it (*i.e.*, *the rest*) to his alms-bowl with a great sigh. The Brâhmaṇ who supplied the food prostrating himself said, "Eminent sir! (*bhadanta*), is there any reason why you should not remain with me one night? is not the food agreeable?" The Śramaṇa graciously answering said, "I pity the feeble merit possessed by the world, but let me finish my meal and I will speak to you further." After finishing his food he gathered up his robes as if to go. The Brâhmaṇ said, "Your reverence agreed to speak with me, why then are you silent?" The Śramaṇa said, "I have not forgotten; but to talk with you is irksome; and the circumstance is likely to create doubt, but yet I will tell you in

is evidently *chung fen*, "the additional division," *tin lung*, "among Dêvas and Nâgas," *jin wang mo puh pi*, "the kings of men were much grieved." That is, the relics were carried away from the world, and this caused the sorrow.

116 See *ante*, vol. i. p. 78.

brief. When I sighed, it was not on account of your offering of rice; for during many hundreds of years I have not tasted such food. When Tathagâta was living in the world I was a follower of his when he dwelt in the Vêṇuvana-vihâra, near Râjagṛiha (Ho-lo-she-ki-li-hi);[117] there it was, stooping down, I washed his *pâtra* in the pure stream of the river—there I filled his pitcher—there I gave him water for cleansing his mouth; but alas! the milk you now offer is not like the sweet water of old! It is because the religious merit of Dêvas and men has diminished that this is the case!" The Brâhmaṇ then said, "Is it possible that you yourself have ever seen Buddha?" The Śramaṇa replied, "Have you never heard of Râhula, Buddha's own son? I am he! Because I desire to protect the true law I have not yet entered *Nirvâṇa.*"

Having spoken thus he suddenly disappeared. Then the Brâhmaṇ swept and watered the chamber he had used, and placed there a figure of him, which he reverenced as though he were present.

Going 500 li through the great forest we come to the kingdom of P'o-lo-ni-sse (Bânâras).

117 In Chinese, Wang-she-ch'ing.

END OF BOOK VI.

BOOK VII.

Includes the following countries, (1) *P'o-lo-ni-sse;* (2) *Chen-chu;* (3) *Fi-she-lai;* (4) *Fo-li-she;* (5) *Ni-po-lo.*

P'O-LO-NI-SSE (VÂRÂNASÎ[1] OR BÂNÂRAS).

THIS country is about 4000 li in circuit. The capital borders (*on its western side*) the Ganges river. It is about 18 or 19 li in length and 5 or 6 li in breadth; its inner gates are like a small-toothed comb;[2] it is densely populated. The families are very rich, and in the dwellings are objects of rare value. The disposition of the people is soft and humane, and they are earnestly given to study. They are mostly unbelievers, a few reverence the law of Buddha. The climate is soft, the crops abundant, the trees (*fruit trees*) flourishing, and the underwood thick in every place. There are about thirty *saṅghârâmas* and 3000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle according to the Saṁmatîya school (Ching-liang-pu). There are a hundred or so Dêva temples with about 10,000 sectaries. They honour principally Mahêśvara (Ta-tseu-tsaï). Some cut their hair off, others tie their hair in a knot, and go

[1] This is the restoration of the Chinese equivalents. A note in the original gives the sound of *ni* as $=n(iu)+(he)\breve{a}$, *i.e.*, *nă*; the restoration, therefore, is Vârâṇâsî, the Sanskrit form of the name of Bânâras. It was so called because it lies between the two streams Varaṇâ and Asi or Asî, affluents of the Ganges. See Sherring, *Sacred City of the Hindus.*

[2] Julien gives here, "the villages are very close together;" but, as noticed before (p. 73, n. 13), the Chinese symbols *leu yen* mean "the inner gates" of a city, and the expression *tsch pi* means "like a tooth comb." I conclude it means that the inner gates of the city consisted of closely joined, and perhaps sharpened, iron or other bars.

naked, without clothes (Nirgranthas); they cover their bodies with ashes (Paśupatas), and by the practice of all sorts of austerities they seek to escape from birth[3] and death.

In the capital there are twenty Dêva temples, the towers and halls of which are of sculptured stone and carved wood. The foliage of trees combine to shade (*the sites*), whilst pure streams of water encircle them. The statue of the Dêva Mahêśvara, made of *teou-shih* (*native copper*), is somewhat less than 100 feet high. Its appearance is grave and majestic, and appears as though really living.

To the north-east of the capital, on the western side of the river Varaṇâ, is a *stûpa*[4] built by Aśôka-râja (Wu-yau). It is about 100 feet high; in front of it is a stone pillar; it is bright and shining as a mirror; its surface is glistening and smooth as ice, and on it can be constantly seen the figure of Buddha as a shadow.

To the north-east of the river Varaṇâ about 10 li or so, we come to the *saṅghârâma* of *Lu-ye* (*stag desert*).[5] Its precincts are divided into eight portions (*sections*),[6] connected by a surrounding wall. The storeyed towers with projecting eaves and the balconies are of very superior work. There are fifteen hundred priests in this convent who study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatîya school. In the great enclosure is a *vihâra* about 200 feet high; above the roof is a golden-covered figure of the Âmra ('*An-mo-lo*—mango) fruit. The foundations of the building are of stone, and the stairs also, but the towers and niches

[3] Not "life and death," but "birth and death;" *i.e.*, to arrive at a condition of uninterrupted life.

[4] Julien here gives *Pó-lo-ni-sse* by mistake, it should be *Pó-lo-ni* (read *na*), referring to the Varaṇâ or Baraṇâ (see Dr. Fitzedward Hall's remarks in the Introduction to Sherring's *Sacred City of the Hindus*; also Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 436 n.)

[5] The same as Mṛigadâva, generally called *Lu-yuen*, "the deer garden." This is the spot where Buddha preached his first sermon to the five mendicants. For an account of his march to Bânâras and the sermon he preached see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, varga 15, p. 168.

[6] Probably meaning that the enclosure was an octagon, as the great tower of Dhamek was (*Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 111).

are of brick. The niches are arranged on the four sides in a hundred successive lines, and in each niche is a golden figure of Buddha. In the middle of the *vihâra* is a figure of Buddha made of *teou-shih* (*native copper*). It is the size of life, and he is represented as turning the wheel of the law (*preaching*).[7]

To the south-west of the *vihâra* is a stone *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. Although the foundations have given way, there are still 100 feet or more of the wall remaining. In front of the building is a stone pillar about 70 feet high. The stone is altogether as bright as jade. It is glistening, and sparkles like light; and all those who pray fervently before it see from time to time, according to their petitions, figures with good or bad signs. It was here that Tathâgata (*ju-lai*), having arrived at enlightenment, began to turn the wheel of the law (*to preach*).

By the side of this building and not far from it is a *stûpa*. This is the spot where Âjñâta Kauṇḍinya ('O-jo-kio-ch'in-ju) and the rest, seeing Bôdhisattva giving up his austerities, no longer kept his company, but coming to this place, gave themselves up to meditation.[8]

By the side of this is a *stûpa* where five hundred Pratyêka Buddhas entered at the same time into *Nirvâṇa*. There are, moreover, three *stûpas* where there are traces of the sitting and walking of the three former Buddhas.

By the side of this last place is a *stûpa*. This is the spot where Maitrêya Bôdhisattva received assurance of his becoming a Buddha. In old days, when Tathâgata was living in Râjagṛĭha (Wang-she), on the Gṛĭdhrakûṭa

[7] The wheel is the symbol of "preaching," or of *dharma*. The scene of Buddha's teaching near Bânâras is the district called Sârnâth, which, according to Cunningham, is a contraction of Sâraṅganâtha, *lord of deer*. Buddha himself was once the "king of deer," and this may be the origin of the name. For an account of the excavations made on this spot see *Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 107 ff.

[8] The five ascetics who had accompanied the Bôdhisattva to Uravilva, and fasted with him for six years, when they saw him receive the rice milk of Nandâ, supposing he had given up the object of his religious life, left him, and came to the deer park at Bânâras.

mountain,[9] he spoke thus to the Bhikshus: "In future years, when this country of Jambudvîpa shall be at peace and rest, and the age of men shall amount to 80,000 years, there shall be a Brâhmaṇ called Maitrêya (*Sse-che*). His body shall be of the colour of pure gold, bright and glistening and pure. Leaving his home, he will become a perfect Buddha, and preach the threefold[10] law for the benefit of all creatures. Those who shall be saved are those who live, in whom the roots of merit have been planted through my bequeathed law.[11] These all conceiving in their minds a profound respect for the three precious objects of worship, whether they be already professed disciples or not, whether they be obedient to the precepts or not, will all be led by the converting power (*of his preaching*) to acquire the fruit (*of Bôdhi*) and final deliverance. Whilst declaring the threefold law for the conversion of those who have been influenced by my bequeathed law, by this means also hereafter others will be converted."[12]

At this time Maitrêya Bôdhisattva (Meï-ta-li-ye-pu-sa) hearing this declaration of Buddha, rose from his seat and addressed Buddha thus: "May I indeed become that lord called Maitrêya." Then Tathâgata spoke thus: "Be it so! you shall obtain this fruit (*condition*), and as I have just

[9] The "Peak of the Vulture," near Râjagṛiha.

[10] Julien translates this by "three great assemblies." It is true *hwuy* means "an assembly," but in this passage *san hwuy* refers to the law "thrice repeated." Hence it is said to be "a triple twelve-part trustworthy knowledge of the four truths" (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 129 and note. Compare also the phrase *tikutiko chakamo* in the Bharhut sculptures, pl. xxviii., the meaning of which has escaped General Cunningham. Mr. B. Nanjio, also, in his *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, pp. 9, 10, has not noticed that the Chinese symbol *hwui* corresponds with the Sanskrit *kûta*, and so has translated the phrase as though it referred to "an assembly."

[11] That is, those who shall be saved by the preaching of Maitrêya are those in whose hearts my bequeathed law shall have worked the necessary preparation.

[12] The same influence, *i.e.*, of Maitrêya's teaching, will act as a "good friend" for their subsequent conversion. The expression "*shen yau*," "illustrious friend," refers to the guidance of *Bôdhi*, or wisdom. There is some difficulty in understanding how this assurance could have been given to Maitrêya whilst Buddha was on the Gṛidhrakûṭa mountain, and yet that the spot should be at Bânâras, unless, indeed, it was repeated there.

explained, such shall be the power (*influence*) of your teaching."

To the west of this place there is a *stûpa*. This is the spot where Śâkya Bôdhisattva (Shih-kia-pu-sa) received an assurance (*of becoming a Buddha*). In the midst of the Bhadra-kalpa when men's years amounted to 20,000, Kâśyapa Buddha (Kia-she-po-fo) appeared in the world and moved the wheel of the excellent law (*i.e., preached the law*), opened out and changed the unclosed mind (*of men*), and declared this prediction to Prabhâpâla Bôdhisattva (Hu-ming-pu-sa).[13] "This Bôdhisattva in future ages, when the years of men shall have dwindled to 100 years, shall obtain the condition of a Buddha and be called Śâkya Muni."

Not far to the south of this spot are traces where the four Buddhas of a bygone age walked for exercise. The length (*of the promenade*) is about fifty paces and the height of the steps (*stepping spots*) about seven feet. It is composed of blue stones piled together. Above it is a figure of Tathâgata in the attitude of walking. It is of a singular dignity and beauty. From the flesh-knot on the top of the head there flows wonderfully a braid of hair. Spiritual signs are plainly manifested and divine prodigies wrought with power (*fineness, éclat*).

Within the precincts of the enclosure (*of the saṅghârâma*)[14] there are many sacred vestiges, with *vihâras* and *stûpas* several hundred in number. We have only named two or three of these, as it would be difficult to enter into details.

To the west of the *saṅghârâma* enclosure is a clear lake of water about 200 paces in circuit; here Tathâgata occasionally bathed himself. To the west of this is a great

[13] Julien translates "and received *from* Prabhâpâla Bôdhisattva the prediction following." But this would destroy the connection of the sentence; it is Kâśyapa Buddha who declares *to* Prabhâpâla that he (Prabhâpâla) shall become a Buddha. See *Wong Pûh* (*J. R. As. S.*, vol. xx. p. 139), §§ 4, 5.

[14] Or of the "deer park," the modern Sârnâth.

tank about 180 paces round; here Tathâgata used to wash his begging-dish.

To the north of this is a lake about 150 paces round. Here Tathâgata used to wash his robes. In each of these pools is a dragon who dwells within it. The water is deep and its taste sweet; it is pure and resplendent in appearance, and neither increases nor decreases. When men of a bad character bathe here, the crocodiles (*kin-pi-lo,—kumbhîras*) come forth and kill many of them; but in case of the reverential who wash here, they need fear nothing.

By the side of the pool where Tathâgata washed his garments is a great square stone, on which are yet to be seen the trace-marks of his *kashâya* (*kia-sha*) robe. The bright lines of the tissue are of a minute and distinct character, as if carved on the stone. The faithful and pure frequently come to make their offerings here; but when the heretics and men of evil mind speak lightly of or insult the stone, the dragon-king inhabiting the pool causes the winds to rise and rain to fall.

By the side of the lake, and not far off, is a *stûpa*. This is where Bôdhisattva, during his preparatory life, was born as a king of elephants, provided with six tusks (*chha-danta*).[15] A hunter, desirous to obtain the tusks, put on a robe in colour like that of a religious ascetic, and taking his bow, awaited the arrival of his prey. The elephant king, from respect to the *kashâya* robe, immediately broke off his tusks and gave them to the hunter.

By the side of this spot, and not far from it, is a *stûpa*. It was here Bôdhisattva, in his preparatory career, grieved to see that there was little politeness (*reverence*) amongst men, took the form of a bird, and joining himself to the

[15] Chhadanta, which seems to mean six-tusked, according to Siamese legend, is the name of an elephant living in a golden palace on the shores of the Himalayan lake Chatthan, attended by eighty thousand ordinary elephants.—Alabaster, *Wheel of the Law*, p. 305; conf. Sp. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 178; *Manual of Budhism*, p. 17; *Mahawanso* (Turnour's trans.), pp. 22, 134; Upham, *Sac. and Hist. Books*, vol. iii. p. 269; Burgess, *Reports, Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, vol. iv. pp. 45, 46; Cunningham, *Bharhut Stûpa*, pp. 62, 63; Beal, *Rom. Leg. Bud.*, p. 367.

company of a monkey and a white elephant, he asked them in this place, "Which of you saw first this Nyagrôdha (*Ni-ku-liu*) tree?" Each having answered according to circumstances, he placed them according to their age.[16] The good effects of this conduct spread itself little by little on every side; men were able to distinguish the high from the low, and the religious and lay people followed their example.

Not far from this, in a great forest, is a *stûpa*. It was here that Dêvadatta and Bôdhisattva, in years gone by, were kings of deer and settled a certain matter. Formerly in this place, in the midst of a great forest, there were two herds of deer, each 500 in number. At this time the king of the country wandered about hunting through the plains and morasses. Bôdhisattva, king of deer, approaching him, said, "Mahârâja! you set fire to the spaces enclosed as your hunting-ground, and shoot your arrows and kill all my followers. Before the sun rises they lie about corrupting and unfit for food. Pray let us each day offer you one deer for food, which the king will then have fresh and good, and we shall prolong our life a little day by day." The king was pleased at the proposition, and turned his chariot and went back home. So on each day a deer from the respective flocks was killed.

Now among the herd of Dêvadatta there was a doe big with young, and when her turn came to die she said to her lord, "Although I am ready to die, yet it is not my child's turn."

The king of the deer (*i.e.*, Dêvadatta) was angry, and said, "Who is there but values life?"

The deer answered with a sigh, "But, O king, it is not humane to kill that which is unborn."[17]

She then told her extremity to Bôdhisattva, the king of deer. He replied, "Sad indeed; the heart of the loving

[16] Here I follow Julien's translation, but there is probably an error in the text.

[17] This may be translated otherwise: "Our king is not humane in putting to death without reprieve;" or, "Our king is not humane; I die without reprieve."

mother grieves (*is moved*) for that which is not yet alive (*has no body*). I to-day will take your place and die."

Going to the royal gate (*i.e., the palace*), the people who travelled along the road passed the news along and said in a loud voice, "That great king of the deer is going now towards the town." The people of the capital, the magistrates, and others, hastened to see.

The king hearing of it, was unwilling to believe the news; but when the gate-keeper assured him of the truth, then the king believed it. Then, addressing the deer-king he said, "Why have you come here?"

The deer-(*king*) replied, "There is a female in the herd big with young, whose turn it was to die; but my heart could not bear to think that the young, not yet born, should perish so. I have therefore come in her place."

The king, hearing it, sighed and said, "I have indeed the body of a man, but am as a deer. You have the body of a deer, but are as a man." Then for pity's sake he released the deer, and no longer required a daily sacrifice. Then he gave up that forest for the use of the deer, and so it was called "the forest given to the deer,"[18] and hence its name, the "deer-plain" (*or*, wild).

Leaving this place, and going 2 or 3 li to the south-west of the *saṅghârâma*, there is a *stûpa* about 300 feet high. The foundations are broad and the building high, and adorned with all sorts of carved work and with precious substances. There are no successive stages (*to this building*) with niches; and although there is a standing pole erected above the cupola (*fau poh*[19]), yet it has no encircling bells.[20] By the side of it is a little *stûpa*. This

[18] Commonly called the Mṛig-dâva. This is the site referred to before,—the present Sârnâth or Sâraṅganâtha.

[19] Julien translates this "a sort of vase belonging to a religious person, inverted;" but I take *fau poh* to mean the cupola of a *stûpa*, in agreement with the account given above, p. 47 and n. 163.

[20] *Lun-to*, circular bells, or encircling bells, referring to the circular plates with bells generally attached to the surmounting pole of a *stûpa*. Julien translates, "it is not crowned with a cupola in form like a bell." This seems to be impossible, as it is before stated that the *stûpa* was surmounted by a pole.

the spot where Âjñâta Kauṇḍinya and the other men, five in number, declined to rise to salute Buddha.[21] When first Sarvârthasiddha (Sa-p'o-ho-la-t'a-si-to [22]) left the city to sojourn in the mountains and to hide in the valleys, forgetful of self and mindful of religion, then Śuddhôdana-râja (Tsing-fan) commanded three persons of his own tribe and household, and two of his maternal uncles, saying, "My son Sarvârthasiddha has left his home to practise wisdom; alone he wanders through mountains and plains and lives apart in the forests. I order you, therefore, to follow him and find out where he dwells. You within (*the family*), his uncles, and you without (*the family*), ministers and people, exert yourselves diligently to find out where he has gone to live." The five men, after receiving the order, went together, casting along the outposts of the country. And now, during their earnest search, the thought of leaving their homes occurred to them also,[23] and so they thus spake one to the other: "Is it by painful discipline or by joyful means we attain to supreme wisdom?" Two of them said, "By rest and by pleasant discipline wisdom is obtained." Three of them said, "It is by painful discipline." Whilst they yet contended without agreeing, two to three, the prince had already entered on the painful discipline of the unbelievers, considering this to be the true way to overcome sorrow; and so, like them, he took only a few grains of rice and millet to support his body.

The two men seeing him thus, said, "This discipline of the prince is opposed to the true way (*of escape*); intel-

[21] For an account of this incident see the *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, p. 172, vv. 1222, 1223. For the origin of Ajñâta Kauṇḍinya's ('O-jo-kiao-ch'in-ju) name see *op. cit.* v. 1268.

[22] This was the name given to Bôdhisattva by his parents. It is explained to mean "one by whom all objects are effected" (Monier Williams, *Sans. Dict.*, sub voc. *Sarva*). In Chinese it is translated into "Yih-tsai-i-shing," which seems to signify "one who is perfected in all ways," or "the completely perfect."

[23] Such appears to be the force of the passage, as though the five men by their long search for the prince had become accustomed to a solitary life, and so were unwilling to return home.

ligence is obtained by agreeable methods, but now he is practising severe discipline, he cannot be our companion." So they departed far off and lived in seclusion under the idea that they would (*in their own way*) attain the fruit (*of enlightenment*). The prince having practised austerities for six years [24] without obtaining *Bôdhi*, desired to give up his rigorous discipline, as being contrary to the truth; he then prepared himself to receive the rice-milk (*offered by the girl*), with a view, by this method, to obtain enlightenment.[25] Then the three men (*who advocated penance*) hearing thereof, sighed and said, "His merit was just ripening, and now it is all dissipated! For six years enduring penance, and now in a day to lose all his merit!" On this they went together to seek for and consult with the two men. Having met them, they sat down and entered on an excited conversation. Then they spake together thus: "In old days we saw the Prince Sarvârthasiddha leave the royal palace for the desert valleys: he put off his jewels and robes, and assumed the skin doublet (*of the hunter*), and then, with all his might and determined will, gave himself to austerities to seek after the deep mysterious law and its perfect fruit. And now, having given all up, he has received the rice-milk of the young shepherd-girl, and ruined his purpose. We know now he can do nothing."

The two men replied, "How is it, my masters, ye have seen this so late, that this man acts as a madman? When he lived in his palace he was reverenced and

[24] The period of mortification is lengthened to seven years in the Southern accounts, or rather that Mâra pursued the Bôdhisattva for seven years up to the last vain attack he made upon him. See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 420, Eng. trans. It is probable that the seven years' torture said to have been undergone by St. George, and the legend generally, is borrowed from the story of Bôdhisattva.

[25] Julien has translated this passage as if it were spoken by "the two men" who were opposed to severe mortification as a method of religious discipline. But this necessitates the prediction that he would receive enlightenment after receiving the rice-milk, "Mais quand il aura reçu une bouillie de riz au lait, il obtiendra l'intelligence" (p. 365). This is highly improbable, and I have therefore translated it as in the text.

powerful; but he was not able to rest in quiet, and so went wandering far off through mountains and woods, giving up the estate of a *Chakravartin* monarch to lead the life of an abject and outcast. What need we think about him more; the mention of his name but adds sorrow to sorrow."

And now Bôdhisattva, having bathed in the Nairañjanâ river, seated himself under the *Bôdhi* tree and perfected himself in supreme wisdom, and was named "The lord of dêvas and men." Then reflecting in silence, he thought who was worthy (*fit*) to be instructed in the way of deliverance—"The son of Râma, Udra by name (Yo-t'eu-lan), he is fit to receive the excellent law, as he has reached the *Samâdhi*, which admits of no active thought."[26]

Then the Dêvas in space raised their voices and said, "Udra-Râmaputra has been dead for seven days." Then Tathâgata sighing (*said*) with regret, "Why did we not meet? ready as he was to hear the excellent law and thereby to obtain quick conversion!"

Again he gave himself to consideration, and cast about through the world to seek (*for some one to whom he might first preach*). There is (*he thought*) Ârâḍa Kâlâma ('*O-lan-kia-lan*), who has reached the ecstatic point "of having nothing to obtain;"[27] he is fit to receive the highest reason. Then again the Dêvas said, "He has been dead for five[28] days."

Again Tathâgata sighed, in knowledge of his incompleted merit. Once more considering who was worthy to receive his instruction, he remembered that in the "deer park" there were the five men,[29] who might first receive the converting doctrine. Then Tathâgata, rising from the *Bôdhi* tree, went forward with measured step[30] and digni-

[26] *Naivasañjñâ samâdhi* (Jul.) The theory of Udra-Râmaputra (*Yu-tau-lan-tseu*) with respect to final deliverance is explained in the twelfth varga of the *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*. His system appears to have been a refinement on that of Kapila.

[27] *Akiñcharyâyatana*—(Julien).

[28] In the *Lalita Vistara* the number of days is *three*. In the *Buddha-charita* there is no period named.

[29] That is, the Mṛigadâva (Sârnâth), at Bânâras.

[30] "Step by step, like the king of beasts (the lion), did he advance

fied mien to the "deer-park garden;" shining with glory; his (*circle of*) hair[31] reflecting its brilliant colours, and his body like gold. Gracefully he advanced to teach those five men. They, on their parts, seeing him afar off, said one to another,[32] "Here comes that Sarvârthasiddha; for years and months he has sought for the sacred fruit, and has not obtained it, and now his mind is relaxed, and so he comes to seek us as disciples (*or*, to seek our company); let us remain silent, and not rise to meet him or pay him respect."

Tathâgata gradually approaching, his sacred appearance affecting all creatures, the five men, forgetting their vow, rose and saluted him, and then attached themselves to him with respect. Tathâgata gradually instructed them in the excellent principles (*of his religion*), and when the double[33] season of rest was finished, they had obtained the fruit (*of Bôdhi*).

To the east of the "deer forest" 2 or 3 li, we come to a *stûpa* by the side of which is a dry pool about 80 paces in circuit, one name of which is "saving life,"[34] another name is "ardent master." The old traditions explain it thus: Many hundred years ago there was a solitary sage (*a sorrowful or obscure master*) who built by the side of this pool a hut to live in, away from the world. He practised the arts of magic, and by the extremest exercise of his spiritual power he could change broken fragments of bricks into

watchfully through the grove of wisdom."—*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 1199.

[31] That is, the circle of hair between his eyes (the *urna*).

[32] According to the *Buddha-charita*, vv. 1220, 1221, the five men were named Kauṇḍinya, Daśabâla-Kâśyapa, Vâśpa, Aśvajit, Bhadrika. The *Lalita Vistara* gives Mahânâmâ instead of Daśabâla. For the incident named in the text see *Buddha-charita*, loc. cit.

[33] That is, the season of rain, during which the disciples retired into fixed homes. But this ordinance was not yet introduced into the Buddhist system; it seems to have been a custom, however, among religious communities before Buddha's time, for in the *Vinaya* complaint is made to Buddha that *his* disciples continued to wander through the country when the seeds were first growing, contrary to the ordinary rule.

[34] There is no expression for "pool," as in the French translation.

precious stones, and could also metamorphose both men and animals into other shapes, but he was not yet able to ride upon the winds and the clouds, and to follow the Ṛĭshis in mounting upwards. By inspecting figures and names that had come down from of old, he further sought into the secret arts of the Ṛĭshis. From these he learned the following: "The spirit-Ṛĭshis are they who possess the art of lengthening life.[35] If you wish to acquire this knowledge, first of all you must fix your mind on this—viz., to build up an altar enclosure 10 feet round; then command an 'ardent master' (*a hero*), faithful and brave, and with clear intent, to hold in his hand a long sword and take his seat at the corner of the altar, to cover his breath, and remain silent from evening till dawn.[36] He who seeks to be a Ṛĭshi must sit in the middle of the altar, and, grasping a long knife, must repeat the magic formulæ and keep watch (*seeing and hearing*). At morning light, attaining the condition of a Ṛĭshi, the sharp knife he holds will change into a sword of diamond (*a gem-sword*), and he will mount into the air and march through space, and rule over the band of Ṛĭshis. Waving the sword he holds, everything he wishes will be accomplished, and he will know neither decay nor old age, nor disease nor death."[37] The man having thus obtained the method (*of becoming a Ṛĭshi*), went in search of such an "ardent master." Diligently he searched for many years, but as yet he found not the object of his desires. At length, in a certain town

[35] The magic art of lengthening life, or of a long life. The "elixir of life" and the art of transmuting metals had been sought after in the East long before the Arabs introduced the study of alchemy into Europe. The philosopher's stone is the *tan sha* of the Chinese, *i.e.*, the red bisulphuret of mercury, or cinnabar. See an article on *Tauism* in the *Trans. of the China Branch of the R.A.S.*, part v. 1855, by Dr. Edkins, p. 86.

[36] We may compare with this the ceremonies observed anciently on conferring the dignity of knighthood, especially the vigil before the altar. (Ingulphus, quoted by Mr. Thoms in his *Book of the Court*, p. 138.)

[37] The account of this magic gem-sword may be compared with the "great brand, Excalibur," of King Arthur—

"But 'ere he dipt the surface, rose an arm
Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,
And caught him by the hilt, and brandished him
Three times. . . ."—*Tennyson*.

he encountered a man piteously wailing as he went along the way. The solitary master seeing his marks (*the marks on his person*),[38] was rejoiced at heart, and forthwith approaching him, he inquired, "Why do you go thus lamenting, and why are you so distressed?" He said, "I was a poor and needy man, and had to labour hard to support myself. A certain master seeing this, and knowing me to be entirely trustworthy, used me (*engaged me for his work*) during five years, promising to pay me well for my pains. On this I patiently wrought in spite of weariness and difficulties. Just as the five years were done, one morning for some little fault I was cruelly whipped and driven away without a farthing. For this cause I am sad at heart and afflicted. Oh, who will pity me?"

The solitary master ordered him to accompany him, and coming to his cabin (*wood hut*), by his magic power he caused to appear some choice food, and ordered him to enter the pool and wash. Then he clothed him in new garments, and giving him 500 gold pieces, he dismissed him, saying, "When this is done, come and ask for more without fear."[39] After this he frequently bestowed on him more gifts, and in secret did him other good, so that his heart was filled with gratitude. Then the "ardent master" was ready to lay down his life in return for all the kindness he had received. Knowing this, the other said to him, "I am in need of an enthusiastic person.[40] During a succession of years I sought for one, till I was fortunate enough to meet with you, possessed of rare beauty and a becoming presence, different from others.[41] Now, therefore, I pray you, during one night (*to watch*) without speaking a word."

The champion said, "I am ready to die for you, much

[38] *Siang*, the marks indicating his noble character.

[39] *Wu-wai* may also mean "seek it not elsewhere." Julien translates it "do not despise me."

[40] "A brave champion"—Julien.

[41] So I translate the passage; but it may be "your beauty (or figure) corresponds to the ideal portrait I had formed of it." So Julien translates; but *fi yau ta* would more naturally be rendered "unlike that of any other."

more to sit with my breath covered."[42] Whereupon he constructed an altar and undertook the rules for becoming a Rĭshi, according to the prescribed form. Sitting down, he awaited the night. At the approach of night each attended to his particular duties. The "solitary master" recited his magic prayers; the champion held his sharp sword in his hand. About dawn suddenly he uttered a short cry, and at the same time fire descended from heaven, and flames and smoke arose on every side like clouds. The "solitary master" at once drew the champion into the lake,[43] and having saved him from his danger, he said, "I bound you to silence; why then did you cry out?"

The champion said, "After receiving your orders, towards the middle of the night, darkly, as in a dream, the scene changed, and I saw rise before me all my past history. My master[44] in his own person came to me, and in consolatory words addressed me; overcome with gratitude, I yet restrained myself and spoke not. Then that other man came before me; towering with rage, he slew me, and I received my ghostly body[45] (*I wandered as a shade or shadowy body*). I beheld myself dead, and I sighed with pain, but yet I vowed through endless ages not to speak, in gratitude to you. Next I saw myself destined to be born in a great Brâhmaṇ's house in Southern India, and I felt my time come to be conceived and to be brought forth. Though all along enduring anguish, yet from gratitude to you no sound escaped me.

[42] From this it seems that the portion relating to "holding the breath" is omitted in the previous sentence.

[43] That is, to escape the fire.

[44] That is, "my lord or master, whom I now serve"—the solitary master or Rĭshi. It cannot be my old master, the one who treated him so cruelly (as Julien construes it), for he comes on the scene in the next sentence. The symbols *sih sse* are not to be taken with *chu*, as though it were "my old master;" but with *kin*, as I have translated it, "there arose before me the former events of my life."

[45] This ghostly body or shade (*chung yin shan*) corresponds with the εἴδωλον of the Greeks—

Ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον, ἀτὰρ
φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν.

—*Iliad*, xxiii. 104

After a while I entered on my studies, took the cap (*of manhood*), and I married; my parents dead, I had a child. Each day I thought of all your kindness, and endured in silence, uttering no word. My household connections and clan relatives all seeing this, were filled with shame. For more than sixty years and five I lived. At length my wife addressed me, 'You must speak; if not, I slay your son!' And then I thought, 'I can beget no other child, for I am old and feeble; this is my only tender son.' It was to stop my wife from killing him I raised the cry."

The "solitary master" said, "All was my fault; 'twas the fascination of the devil."[46] The champion, moved with gratitude, and sad because the thing had failed, fretted himself and died. Because he escaped the calamity of fire, the lake is called "Saving the Life," and because he died overpowered by gratitude, it has its other name, "The Champion's Lake."

To the west of this lake there is a *stûpa* of "the three animals." In this place, when Bôdhisattva was practising his preparatory life, he burnt his own body. At the beginning of the kalpa in this forest wild, there lived a fox, a hare, and a monkey, three creatures of different kinds but mutually affectionate. At this time Śakra, king of Dêvas, wishing to examine into the case of those practising the life of a Bôdhisattva, descended spiritually in shape as an old man. He addressed the three animals thus: "My children, two or three,[47] are you at ease and without fear?" They said, "We lie upon (*tread on*) the rich herbage, wander through the bosky brakes, and though of different kinds we are agreed together, and are at rest and joyful." The old man said, "Hearing that you, my chil-

[46] Of Mâra: it is plain that this weird story, taken in connection with the dream, the inability to move or speak, and the actual reference of it all to Mâra, is but an account of "the enthusiastic hero's" suffering from "nightmare."

[47] There appears to be an error in the text, as though *san* (three) had been repeated, but the middle stroke of the first symbol erased. But as the same symbols are used in the next sentence, the meaning may be simply, "My children."

dren, two or three, were peaceful at heart and living in sweet accord, though I am old, yet have I come from far alone, forgetting my infirmities, to visit you; but now I am pressed with hunger, what have you to offer me to eat?" They said, "Wait here awhile, and we will go ourselves in search of food." On this, with one mind and with single purpose, they searched through the different ways for food. The fox having skirted a river, drew out from thence a fresh carp fish. The monkey in the forest gathered fruits and flowers of different kinds. Then they came together to the appointed place and approached the old man. Only the hare came empty, after running to and fro both right and left. The old man spake to him and said, "As it seems to me, you are not of one mind with the fox and monkey; each of those can minister to me heartily, but the hare alone comes empty, and gives me nought to eat; the truth of what I say can easily be known." The hare, hearing these words and moved by their power, addressed the fox and monkey thus, "Heap up a great pile of wood for burning, then I will give (*do*) something." The fox and monkey did accordingly; running here and there, they gathered grass and wood; they piled it up, and when it was thoroughly alight the hare spake thus: "Good sir! I am a small and feeble thing; it is difficult for me to obtain you food, but my poor body may perhaps provide a meal." On this he cast himself upon the fire, and forthwith died. Then the old man reassumed his body as King Śakra, collected all the bones, and after dolorous sighs addressed the fox and monkey thus: "He only could have done it (*or*, unprecedented event). I am deeply touched; and lest his memory should perish, I will place him in the moon's disc to dwell." Therefore through after ages all have said, "The hare is in the moon." After this event men built a *stûpa* on the spot.[48]

[48] The preceding story is known as *The Hare Jâtaka*. It is given in Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*; it is found also in the Chinese Jâtaka-book; see also Fausböll, *Five Jâtakas*, p. 58.

Leaving this country and going down the Ganges eastward 300 li or so, we come to the country of Chen-chu.

THE KINGDOM OF CHEN-CHU[49] [GHÂZIPUR].

This kingdom is about 2000 li in circuit; its capital, which borders on the Ganges river, is about 10 li in circuit. The people are wealthy and prosperous; the towns and villages are close together. The soil is rich and fertile, and the land is regularly cultivated. The climate is soft and temperate, and the manners of the people are pure and honest. The disposition of the men is naturally fierce and excitable; they are believers both in heretical and true doctrine. There are some ten *saṅghârâmas* with less than 1000 followers, who all study the doctrines of the Little Vehicle. There are twenty Dêva temples, occupied by sectaries of different persuasions.

In a *saṅghârâma* to the north-west of the capital is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. The Indian tradition[50] says this *stûpa* contains a peck of the relics of Tathâgata. Formerly, when the Lord of the World dwelt in this place,[51] during seven days he preached the excellent law for the sake of an assembly of the Dêvas.

Beside this place are traces where the three Buddhas of the past age walked and where they sat.

Close by is an image of Maitrêya Bôdhisattva: although of small dimensions, its spiritual presence is great, and its divine power is exhibited from time to time in a mysterious manner.

Going east from the chief city about 200 li, we come to a *saṅghârâma* called 'O-pi-t'o-kie-la-na ("Ears not

[49] Chen-chu, meaning "lord of conflict or battle," is the translation of Garjanapati, and has been identified by Cunningham with Ghâzipur, a town on the Ganges just 50 miles east of Bânâras. The original Hindu name of the place was Garjapur.

[50] Or the work called *In-tu-ki*, *i.e.*, the Records of India.

[51] Julien translates "in this convent," but the original names only "the place." It would be natural to suppose that Aśôka built the *stûpa*, and the *saṅghârâma* was erected subsequently.

pierced"—Aviddhakarṇa[52]). The circuit (*encircling wall*) is not great, but the ornamental work of the building is very artistic. The lakes reflect the surrounding flowers, and the eaves of the towers and pavilions (*or*, the tower-pavilions) touch one another in a continuous line. The priests are grave and decorous, and all their duties are properly attended to. The tradition states: Formerly there were two or three Śramaṇas, passionately fond of learning, who lived in the country of Tu-ho-lo[53] (Tukharâ), to the north of the Snowy Mountains, and were of one mind. Each day during the intervals of worship and reciting the scriptures, they talked together in this way: "The excellent principles of religion are dark and mysterious, not to be fathomed in careless talk. The sacred relics (*traces*) shine with their own peculiar splendour; let us go together from place to place, and tell our faithful (*believing*[54]) friends what sacred relics we ourselves have seen."

On this the two or three associates, taking their religious staves,[55] went forth to travel together. Arrived in India, at whatever convent gates they called, they were treated with disdain as belonging to a frontier country, and no one would take them in. They were exposed to

[52] The distance and bearing from Ghâzipur given in the text would indicate Baliya as the site of this convent. There is a village called Bikapur, about one mile east of Baliya, which Cunningham thinks may be a corruption of Aviddhakarṇa-pura. It may be the same *vihâra* as that called "Desert" by Fa-hian (cap. xxxiv.) But we can hardly accept Cunningham's restoration of *Kwang ye* (which simply means "wilderness" or "desert") to Vṛihadâraṇya or Bṛihadâraṇya, which he thinks may have been corrupted into Biddhkarn.

[53] See vol. i. p. 37. For further remarks on the country Tu-ho-lo and the Tokhari people see a pamphlet by G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu on the probable origin of the Toukhari (*De l'Origine probable des Toukhares*), Louvain, 1883. This writer combats the opinion of Baron Richtofen and others that the Yue-chi and the Tokhari are identical. This is in agreement with vol. i. p. 57, n. 121, of the present work.

[54] "Our non-heretical friends or relatives," or it may be simply "our attached friends."

[55] There are two such foreign pilgrims with their staves sculptured at Amarâvatî. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxxxii. fig. 1. Mr. Fergusson suggests they may be Scythians; probably they are these Tokhari people. If this be so, their position beneath the palm-tree indicates the misery they endured, as described in the text; and the grouping may be compared with the "Judæa capta" medal.

the winds and the rains without, and within they suffered from hunger; their withered bodies and pallid faces showed their misery. At this time the king of the country in his wandering through the suburbs of the city saw these strange priests. Surprised, he asked them, "What region, mendicant masters, come you from? and why are you here with your unpierced ears[56] and your soiled garments?" The Sramaṇas replied, "We are men of the Tu-ho-lo country. Having received with respect the bequeathed doctrine,[57] with high resolve we have spurned the common pursuits of life, and following the same plan, we have come to see and adore the sacred relics. But alas! for our little merit, all alike have cast us out; the Śramaṇs of India deign not to give us shelter, and we would return to our own land, but we have not yet completed the round of our pilgrimage. Therefore, with much fatigue and troubled in heart, we follow on our way till we have finished our aim."

The king hearing these words, was much affected with pity, and forthwith erected on this fortunate (*excellent*) site a *saṅghârâma*, and wrote on a linen scroll the following decree: "It is by the divine favour of the three precious ones (*Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha*) that I am sole ruler of the world and the most honoured among men. Having acquired sovereignty over men, this charge has been laid on me by Buddha, to protect and cherish all who wear the garments of religion (*soiled or dyed garments*). I have built this *saṅghârâma* for the special entertainment of strangers. Let no priest with pierced ears ever dwell in this convent of mine." Because of this circumstance the place received its name.

Going south-east from the convent of 'O-pi-t'o-kie-la-na about 100 li, and passing to the south of the Ganges, we come to the town Mo-ho-sa-lo (Mahâsâra),[58] the in-

[56] Hence the name, *Aviddhakarṇa*.

[57] That is, the bequest or testamentary doctrine of Buddha's religion.

[58] The town of Mahâsâra, has been identified by M. V. de St. Martin with Masâr, a village six miles to the west of Ârâ (Arrah).

habitants of which are all Brâhmaṇs, and do not respect the law of Buddha. Seeing the Śramaṇ, they first inquired as to his studies, and ascertaining his profound knowledge, they then treated him with respect.

On the north side of the Ganges[59] there is a temple of (Na-lo-yen) Nârâyaṇa-dêva.[60] Its balconies and storied towers are wonderfully sculptured and ornamented. The images of the Dêvas are wrought of stone with the highest art of man. Miraculous signs, difficult to explain, are manifested here.

Going east from this temple 30 li or so, there is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. The greater part (*a great half*) is buried in the earth. Before it is a stone pillar about 20 feet high, on the top of which is the figure of a lion. There is an inscription cut in it (*i.e., the pillar*) respecting the defeat of the evil spirits. Formerly in this place there was some desert[61] demons, who, relying on their great strength and (*spiritual*) capabilities, fed on the flesh and blood of men. They made havoc of men and did the utmost mischief. Tathâgata, in pity to living creatures, who were deprived of their natural term of days, by his spiritual power converted the demons, and led them, from reverence to him (*kwai i*[62]), to accept the command against murder. The demons, receiving his instruction respectfully, saluted him (*by the pradakshiṇa*). Moreover, they brought a stone, requesting Buddha to sit down, desiring to hear the excellent law (*from his mouth*), that they might learn how to conquer their thoughts and hold themselves in check. From that time the disciples of the unbelievers have all endeavoured to remove the stone which the demons placed for a seat; but though 10,000

[59] According to Cunningham, the pilgrim must have crossed the Ganges above Revelganj, which is nearly due north of Masâr exactly 16 miles. This point, near the confluence of the Ganges and Ghâgrâ, is deemed especially holy.

[60] That is, of Vishṇu.

[61] The expression used for "desert" (*kwang ye*) is the same as that found in Fa-hian, referred to above, n. 49.

[62] The Chinese phrase *kwai i* corresponds with the Sanskrit *śaraṇa*, "to take refuge in." Hence General Cunningham traces the name of this district Sâran to the incident recorded in the text.

of them strove to do so, they would be unable to turn it. Leafy woods and clear lakes surround the foundation on the right and left, and men who approach the neighbourhood are unable to restrain a feeling of awe.

Not far from the spot where the demons were subdued there are many *saṅghârâmas*, mostly in ruins, but there are still some priests, who all reverence the doctrine of the Great Vehicle.

Going south-east from this 100 li or so, we come to a ruined *stûpa*, but still several tens of feet high. Formerly, after the *Nirvâṇa* of Tathâgata, the great kings of the eight countries[63] divided his relics. The Brâhmaṇ who meted out their several portions, smearing the inside of his pitcher with honey,[64] after allotting them their shares, took the pitcher and returned to his country. He then scraped the remaining relics from the vessel, and raised over them a *stûpa*, and in honour to the vessel (*pitcher*) he placed it also within the *stûpa*, and hence the name (*of Drôṇa stûpa*) was given it.[65] Afterwards Aśôkarâja, opening (*the stûpa*), took the relics and the pitcher, and in place of the old[66] one built a great *stûpa*. To this

[63] See above, pp. 40, 41.

[64] This translation is somewhat forced. Literally the passage runs thus — "honey - smearing - pitcher - within."

[65] The Drôṇa *stûpa* (called the Kumbhân *stûpa* by Turnour, *J. A. S. B.*, vol. vii. p. 1013) is said to have been built by Ajâtaśatru (*Aśôkâvadâna*, translated by Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 372). It may have stood near a village called Degwâra. It is named the "golden pitcher *stûpa*" by Aśvaghôsha, *Fo-sho*, v. 2283 (compare Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 351). The Brâhman himself is sometimes called Drôṇa, or Drôha, or Dauna. Drôṇa corresponds with the Chinese *p'ing*, a pitcher or vase. Julien, in a note (p. 383, n. 1), seems to imply that Drôṇa is simply a measure of capacity, and so he restores *p'ing* to *kurka*. But it also means a vessel or vase; probably in this case the Brâhman's pitcher. Compare *Fo-sho*, v. 1408; see also Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 442.

[66] Julien translates, "then he reconstructed the monuments and enlarged it;" but in the original, as in all cases when speaking of Aśôka's building, it is implied that he destroyed the old erection, and in its place he built "a great *stûpa*." It would be gratifying if we could ascertain the character of the pre-Aśôka monuments. They are said by Cunningham to have been "mere mounds of earth," the sepulchral monuments of the early kings of the country even before the rise of Buddhism.—*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 449.

day, on festival occasions (*fast-days*), it emits a great light.

Going north-east from this, and crossing the Ganges, after travelling 140 or 150 li, we come to the country of Fei-she-li (Vaiśâlî).

FEI-SHE-LI (VAIŚÂLÎ).

This kingdom[67] is about 5000 li in circuit.[68] The soil is rich and fertile; flowers and fruits are produced in abundance. The *âmra* fruit (*mango*) and the *môcha* (*banana*) are very plentiful and much prized. The climate is agreeable and temperate. The manners of the people are pure and honest. They love religion and highly esteem learning. Both heretics and believers are found living together. There are several hundred *saṅghârâmas*, which are mostly dilapidated. The three or five[69] which still remain have but few priests in them. There are several tens of Dêva temples, occupied by sectaries of different kinds. The followers of the Nirgranthas are very numerous.

The capital city of Vaiśâlî (*or*, called Vaiśâlî) is to a great extent in ruins. Its old foundations are from 60 to 70 li in circuit. The royal precincts are about 4 or 5 li round: there are a few people living in it. North-west

[67] The pilgrim must have crossed the Gaṇḍak river, not the Ganges. This river flows within 12 miles of Degwâra, the probable site of the Drôṇa *stûpa*. Vaiśâli, therefore, is to the east of the Gaṇḍak, and is placed by Cunningham on the site of the present village of Besârh, where there is an old ruined fort still called Râja-Bisal-ka-garh, or the fort of the Râja Visala. It is exactly 23 miles north-north-east from Degwâra. Vaiśâli was probably the chief town, or the first in importance, of the people called Vṛîjjis or Vajjis. These people were a northern race who had taken possession of this part of India (viz., from the foot of the mountains to the Ganges on the south, and from the Gaṇḍak on the west to the Mahânadî on the east) from an early period; how early we cannot say, but as early as the redaction of the Buddhist books at least. They may have been allied to the Viddhals, the Yue-chi of Chinese authors. (See *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xiv. part ii.)

[68] This is much in excess of the actual measurement, even if the country of Vṛîjji be included. But for these calculations of area or circuit the pilgrim had no data except the ordinary statements of the people, which would be certainly exaggerated.

[69] Julien proposes to substitute *four* for *five*. I have kept to the original, which is in accordance with Oriental idiom.

of the royal city (*precincts*) 5 or 6 li, is a *saṅghârâma* with a few disciples. They study the teaching of the Little Vehicle, according to the Saṁmatîya school.

By the side of it is a *stûpa*. It was here Tathâgata delivered the *Vimalakîrttî Sûtra* (*Pi-mo-lo-kie-king*), and the son of a householder, Ratnâkara,[70] and others offered precious parasols (*to Buddha*).[71] To the east of this is a *stûpa*. It was here Śâriputra and others obtained perfect exemption (*became Arhats*).

To the south-east of this last spot is a *stûpa*; this was built by a king of Vaiśâlî. After the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha, a former king of this country obtained a portion of the relics of his body, and to honour them as highly as possible raised (*this building*).[72]

The records of India state: In this *stûpa* there was at first a quantity of relics equal to a "*hoh*" (ten pecks). Aśôka-râja opening it, took away nine-tenths of the whole, leaving only one-tenth behind. Afterwards there was a king of the country who wished again to open the *stûpa*, but at the moment when he began to do so, the earth trembled, and he dared not proceed to open (*the stûpa*).

To the north-west is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja; by the side of it is a stone pillar about 50 or 60 feet high, with the figure of a lion[73] on the top. To the south of

70 So Julien restores *p'ao-tsi*, treasure heap. It is sometimes restored to Ratnakûṭa (B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, p. 10 ss.); but, as before stated, the Chinese symbol for *kûṭa* is *hwui*, not *tsi*. Ratnâkara is perhaps the same as Yaśada.

71 Yaśada is generally represented with a parasol over his head. Much of the later Buddhist legend appears to have been borrowed or adopted from the history of Yaśada. Pl. lxiii. fig. 3, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, probably relates to him.

72 The Lichhavis of Vaiśâlî obtained a share of the relics of Buddha, and raised over them a *stûpa*. (See Varga 28 of the *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*). The scene found at Sâñchi (pl. xxviii. fig. 1, *Tree and Serpent Worship*) probably refers to this *stûpa* and its consecration. The appearance of the men shows they were a Northern race; their hair and flowing hair-bands and musical instruments agree with the account given of the people of Kuché (vol. i. p. 19, *ante*). It is stated both in the Pâli and Northern Buddhist books that the Lichhavis were distinguished for their bright coloured and variegated dresses and equipages. All the evidence seems to point to these people being a branch of the Yue-chi.

73 The Lichhavis were called "lions." See *Fo-sho*, v. 1906. It would seem that the four animals

the stone pillar is a tank. This was dug by a band of monkeys (Markaṭahrada) for Buddha's use. When he was in the world of old, Tathâgata once and again dwelt here. Not far to the south of this tank is a *stûpa;* it was here the monkeys, taking the alms-bowl of Tathâgata, climbed a tree and gathered him some honey.

Not far to the south is a *stûpa;* this is the place where the monkeys offered the honey[74] to Buddha. At the north-west angle of the lake there is still a figure of a monkey.

To the north-east of the *saṅghârâma* 3 or 4 li is a *stûpa;* this is the old site of the house of Vimalakîrttî (Pi-mo-lo-ki);[75] various spiritual signs (*manifestations*) are exhibited here.

Not far from this is a spirit-dwelling[76] (*a chapel?*), its shape like a pile of bricks. Tradition says[77] this stone-pile is where the householder Vimalakîrttî preached the law when he was sick.

Not far from this is a *stûpa;* this is the site of the old residence of Ratnâkara (P'ao tsi).[78]

Not far from this is a *stûpa;* this is the old house of the lady Âmra.[79] It was here the aunt of Buddha and other Bhikshunîs obtained *Nirvâṇa.*

named in vol. i. pp. 11, 12, are typical of the four regions respectively; the "lion" would therefore typify Northern nations.

[74] This scene is also found at Sanchi (pl. xxvi. fig. 2, *Tree and Serpent Worship*). It is on the same pillar as the consecration scene alluded to above. The pillar was evidently the work or gift of the Vaiśâlî people.

[75] Vimalakîrtti is explained by the Chinese equivalents *wu kau ching, i.e.*, undefiled reputation. He was a householder (chang-ché) of Vaiśâlî and a convert to Buddhism. There is little said about him in the books; but he is supposed to have visited China (Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.)

[76] This was probably one of the Vajjian shrines, Chetiyâni or Yakkha-chetiyâni, of which we read in the *Book of the Great Decease*, and elsewhere. (Compare *Sac. Bks. of the East*, vol. xi. p. 4.)

[77] Julien translates—"Tradition has preserved for it the name of 'piled-up stone' (Aśmakûṭa?)." But there is no symbol for "name;" it is simply "tradition says." Julien has omitted the title of "householder" (*chang-ché*).

[78] There is some difficulty in restoring *P'ao tsi.* Julien, in the passage before us, restores it to Ratnâkara, but in note 1 (same page) he restores the same symbols to Ratnakûṭa.

[79] For an account of the lady Âmra, see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, varga 22. Julien restores the expression to "daughter of the Âmra" (Âmradârikâ). It may be so; but

To the north of the *sanghârâma* 3 or 4 li is a *stûpa*; this indicates the place where Tathâgata stopped when about to advance to Kuśinagara to die, whilst men and Kinnaras followed him.[80] From this not far to the north-west is a *stûpa*; here Buddha for the very last time gazed upon the city of Vaiśâlî.[81] Not far to the south of this is a *vihâra*, before which is built a *stûpa*; this is the site of the garden of the Âmra-girl,[82] which she gave in charity to Buddha.

By the side of this garden is a *stûpa*; this is the place where Tathâgata announced his death.[83] When Buddha formerly dwelt in this place, he told Ânanda as follows:— "Those who obtain the four spiritual faculties are able to extend their lives to a kalpa. What is the term of years of Tathâgata then?" Thrice he asked this question, and Ânanda answered not, through the fascination of Mâra. Then Ânanda rising from his seat, gave himself up to silent thought in a wood. At this time Mâra coming to Buddha,[84] asked him, saying, "Tathâgata has for a long time dwelt in the world teaching and converting. Those whom he has saved from the circling streams (*of transmi-*

"the lady Âmra" appears more natural. She is called the "Mango girl" in the Southern records (*Sac. Books of the East*, vol. xi. p. 33), and the Chinese would bear this translation. She was a courtesan, and otherwise called Ambapâli. For an account of her birth and history, see *Manual of Budhism*, p. 327 *ss.*

80 The Kinnaras are said to be the horse-faced musicians of Kuvêra (Eitel, *sub voc.*); but the Chinese symbols describe them as "something different from men." They may be seen figured in the sculpture at Sanchi, pl. xxvi. fig. 1, where they are coming to the place where Buddha stopped (figured by the oblong stone); this is another sculpture of the Vaiśâlî pillar, and illustrates the notice in the text.

81 The incident connected with Buddha's last look at Vaiśâlî is narrated, *Fa-hian*, cap. xxv.; *Sac. Books of the East*, vol. xi. p. 64, and vol. xix. p. 283.

82 Or, the lady Âmra; for an account of the gift of the garden, see *Fo-sho* as above.

83 For an account of this incident compare *Fa-hian*, cap. xxv.; *Sac. Books of the East*, vol. xi. p. 41, and vol. xix. p. 267.

84 This interview of Mâra (called Piśuna, the wicked one, in the Chinese version, *S. B. E.*, vol. xix. p. 267) is again found among the Sâñchi sculptures on the Vaiśâli pillar, pl. xxvi. fig. 1, lower scene. Mâra is known by the escort of women, his daughters; he is here standing in front of the tree which symbolises Buddha's presence. His appearance and escort here are the same as in pl. xxx. fig. 1, upper part; he is there represented above the scene of rejoicing among the Dêvas of the Trayastrimśas heaven around

gration) are as numerous as the dust or the sands. This surely is the time to partake of the joy of *Nirvâṇa*." Tathâgata taking some grains of dust on his nail, asked Mâra, saying, "Are the grains of dust on my nail equal to the dust of the whole earth or not?" He answered, "The dust of the earth is much greater." Buddha said, "Those who are saved are as the grains of earth on my nail; those not saved like the grains of the whole earth; but after three months I shall die." Mâra hearing it, was rejoiced and departed.

Meantime Ânanda in the wood suddenly had a strange dream, and coming to Buddha he told it to him, saying, "I was in the wood, when I beheld in my dream a large tree, whose branches and leaves in their luxuriance cast a grateful shade beneath, when suddenly a mighty wind arose which destroyed and scattered the tree and its branches without leaving a mark behind. Oh, forbid it that the lord is going to die! My heart is sad and worn, therefore I have come to ask you if it be so or not?"

Buddha answered Ânanda, "I asked you before, and

the head-turban of Buddha after the great renunciation; he is fitly placed above that heaven as being the "lord of the world of desire," and therefore always described as occupying the upper mansion of this tier of heavens. His distress and rage are indicative of his condition of mind in knowledge of Bôdhisattva's renunciation. If the four identifications on this pillar are correct, we may conclude that the people of Vaiśâli were a Northern people allied to the Yue-chi, which illustrates the observation of Csoma Körösi, "that Tibetan writers derive their first king about 250 B.C. from the Litsabyis or Lichhavis" (*Manual of Budhism*, p. 236, note). The Śâkya family of Buddha is also said to belong to this tribe. *Mémoire* by V. de St. Martin, p. 367, note. The symbols used by the Chinese for the Yue-chi and for the Vṛijjis are the same. Unless we are to suppose a much earlier incursion of these people into India than is generally allowed, the date of the Southern books of Buddhism (the book of the *Great Decease* and others), which contain accounts respecting the character, habits, and dress of the Lichhavis (which correspond with the Northern accounts), must be brought down considerably later than the assumed date of the redaction of the Pâli canon. But, on the other hand, if it be true that the incursion of these people took place when Pâṭaliputra was strengthened as a fortified outpost to repel their advance, *i.e.*, about the time of Buddha, then we must allow an early advance on their part into India. We know they were regarded as intruders, for Ajâtaśatru, king of Magadha, was desirous to attack and root out "these Vajjians," and it was he also who strengthened the city of Pâṭaliputra. The question deserves consideration.

Mâra so fascinated you that you did not then ask me to remain in the world. Mâra-râja has urged me to die soon, and I have covenanted to do so, and fixed the time. This is the meaning of your dream."[85]

Not far from this spot is a *stûpa*. This is the spot where the thousand sons beheld their father and their mother.[86] Formerly there was a Rishi who lived a secret life amid the crags and valleys. In the second month of spring he had been bathing himself in a pure stream of water. A roe-deer which came to drink there just after, conceived and brought forth a female child, very beautiful beyond human measure, but she had the feet of a deer. The Rishi having seen it, adopted and cherished it (*as his child*). As time went on, on one occasion he ordered her to go and seek some fire. In so doing she came to the hut of another Rishi; but wherever her feet trod there she left the impression of a lotus-flower on the ground. The other Rishi having seen this, was very much surprised, and bade her walk round his hut and he would give her some fire. Having done so and got the fire, she returned. At this time Fan-yu-wang (Brahmadatta-râja[87]) going out on a short excursion, saw the lotus-flower traces, and followed them to seek (*the cause*). Admiring her strange and wonderful appearance, he took her back in his carriage. The soothsayers casting her fortune said, "She will bear a thousand sons." Hearing this, the other women did nothing but scheme against her. Her time having been accomplished, she brought forth a lotus-flower of a thousand leaves, and on each leaf was seated a boy. The other women slandered her on its account, and saying it was "an unlucky omen," threw (*the lotus*) into the Ganges, and it was carried away by the current.

85 For a full account of this incident, see, as before, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xi. and xix.

86 Compare *Fa-hian*, p. 97 (Beal's edition). Julien has no notice of "the father" of the children: perhaps it is an error in my text.

87 If *yu* be taken in the sense of "given," Brahmadatta may be the right restoration. Julien proposes Brahmânadita doubtfully.

The king of Ujiyana (U-shi-yen), down the stream going out for an excursion, observed a yellow-cloud-covered box floating on the water and coming towards him. He took it and opened it, and there saw a thousand boys; being well nourished, when they came to perfect stature, they were of great strength. Relying on these, he extended his kingdom in every direction, and encouraged by the victories of his troops, he was on the point of extending his conquests to this country (*i.e.*, Vaiśâlî). Brahmadatta-râja hearing of it, was much alarmed; fearing his army was not able to contend successfully with the invaders, he was at a loss what to do. At this time the deer-footed girl, knowing in her heart that these were her sons, addressed the king thus: "Now that these youthful warriors are approaching the frontier, from the highest to the lowest there is an absence of courage (*heart*). Your feeble wife by her thought is able to conquer those redoubtable champions." The king not yet believing her, remained overwhelmed with fear. Then the deer-girl, mounting the city wall, waited the arrival of the warriors. The thousand youths having surrounded the city with their soldiers, the deer-girl said to them, "Do not be rebellious! I am your mother; you are my sons." The thousand youths replied, "What extravagant words are these!" The deer-girl then pressing both her breasts, a thousand jets of milk flowed out therefrom, and by divine direction fell into their mouths. Then they laid aside their armour, broke their ranks, and returned to their tribe and family. The two countries mutually rejoiced, and the people rested in peace.

Not far from this spot is a *stûpa*. This is where Tathâgata walked for exercise, and left the traces thereof. In teaching (*or*, pointing to the traces) he addressed the congregation thus: "In ancient days, in this place, I returned to my family [88] on seeing my mother. If you would

[88] Fa-hian calls this place the spot where Buddha "laid aside his bow and his club."

know then, those thousand youths are the same as the thousand Buddhas of this Bhadra-kalpa."

To the east of the spot where Buddha explained this birth (*jâtaka*) is a ruined foundation above which is built a *stûpa*. A bright light is from time to time reflected here. Those who ask (*pray*) in worship obtain their requests. The ruins of the turretted preaching-hall, where Buddha uttered the *Samantamukha*[89] *dhâraṇi* and other *sûtras*, are still visible.

By the side of the preaching-hall, and not far from it, is a *stûpa* which contains the relics of the half body of Ânanda.[90]

No far from this are several *stûpas*—the exact number has not yet been determined. Here a thousand Pratyêka Buddhas (To-kio) attained *Nirvâṇa*. Both within and without the city of Vaiśâlî, and all round it, the sacred vestiges are so numerous that it would be difficult to recount them all. At every step commanding sites and old foundations are seen, which the succession of seasons and lapse of years have entirely destroyed. The forests are uprooted; the shallow lakes are dried up and stinking; nought but offensive remnants of decay can be recorded.

Going north-west of the chief city 50 or 60 li, we come to a great *stûpa*. This is where the Lichhavas (Li-ch'e-p'o) took leave of Buddha.[91] Tathâgata having left the city of Vaiśâlî on his way to Kuśinagara, all the Lichhavas, hearing that Buddha was about to die, accompanied him wailing and lamenting. The Lord of the World having observed their fond affection, and as words were useless to calm them, immediately by his spiritual power caused to appear a great river with steep sides and deep, the waves of which flowed on impetuously. Then the Lichhavas were abruptly stopped on their way, moved with grief

89 *Pu-men-t'o-lô-ni-king;* this is a section of the *Saddharma puṇḍarika Sûtra*, but we cannot suppose that any portion of this work is as old as the time of Buddha.

90 For an account of the division of Ânanda's body consult *Fa-hian*, cap. xxvi.

91 For this event see *Fa-hian*, cap. xxiv.

as they were. Then Tathâgata left them his *pâtra* as a token of remembrance.

Two hundred li to the north-west of the city of Vaiśâlî, or a little less, is an old and long-deserted city, with but few inhabitants. In it is a *stûpa*. This is the place where Buddha dwelt when, in old days, for the sake of an assembly of Bôdhisattvas, men, and Dêvas, he recited an explanatory *jâtaka* of himself when as a Bôdhisattva he was a *Chakravartin* monarch of this city and called Mahâdêva (Ta-tien). He was possessed of the seven treasures,[92] and his rule extended over the world (*the four empires*). Observing the marks of decay in himself,[93] and concluding in his mind about the impermanency of his body, he took a high resolve (*being secretly affected by his reflections*), left his throne, gave up his country, and, becoming a hermit, assumed the dark robes and gave himself to study.

Going south-east from the city 14 or 15 li, we come to a great *stûpa*. It was here the convocation of the seven hundred sages and saints was held.[94] One hundred and ten years after the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha there were in Vaiśâlî some Bhikshus who broke the laws of Buddha and perverted the rules of discipline. At this time Yaśada (Ye-she-t'o) Âyushmat[95] was stopping in the country of Kôsala (Kiao-so-lo); Sambôgha (San-pu-kia) Âyushmat was dwelling in the country of Mathurâ; Rêvata (Li-po-to) Âyushmat was stopping in the country of Han-jo (Kanyâkubja?[96]); Sâla[97] (Sha-lo) Âyushmat was stopping in the country of Vaiśâlî; Pujasumira (Fu-she-su-mi-lo=Kujjasôbhita?) Âyushmat

[92] That is, the seven treasures of a holy-wheel king, or Chakravartin. For an account of these treasures see Sénart, *La Legende du Buddha*, pp. 20 ff.

[93] These marks of decay were the first white hairs that appeared on his head On seeing these he resigned the throne to his son and became an ascetic. He is called Makhâdêwa by Spence Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*, pp. 129, 130.

[94] This is generally called "the second Buddhist convocation." For an account of it see Oldenberg, *Vinayapiṭakam*, vol. i.; *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 83, *ss.*, &c.

[95] So the Chinese *Chang-lo* may be rendered.

[96] Julien restores this doubtfully as Hañjna.

[97] Julien has omitted all mention of Sâla.

was stopping in the country of Sha-lo-li-fo (Salaṙbhu ?): all these were great Arhats, possessed of independent power, faithful to the three *piṭakas*, possessed of the three enlightenments (*vidyâs*), of great renown, knowing all that should be known, all of them disciples of Ânanda.

At this time Yaśada sent a message to summon the sages and saints to a convocation at the city of Vaîśâlî. There was only wanting one to make up the 700, when Fu-she-su-mi-lo by the use of his divine sight saw the saints and sages assembled and deliberating about religious matters. By his miraculous power he appeared in the assembly. Then Sambôgha in the midst of the assembly, baring his right breast and prostrating himself, (*arose*) and exclaimed with a loud voice, "Let the congregation be silent, respectfully thoughtful! In former days the great and holy King of the Law, after an illustrious career, entered *Nirvâṇa*. Although years and months have elapsed since then, his words and teaching still survive. But now the Bhikshus of Vaîśâlî have become negligent and pervert the commandments. There are ten points in which they disobey the words of the Buddha (*the ten-power-daśabâla*). Now then, learned sirs, you know well the points of error; you are well acquainted with the teaching of the highly virtuous (*bhadanta*) Ânanda: in deep affection to Buddha let us again declare his holy will."

Then the whole congregation were deeply affected; they summoned to the assembly the Bhikshus, and, according to the *Vinaya*, they charged them with transgression, bound afresh the rules that had been broken, and vindicated the holy law.

Going south 80 or 90 li from this place, we come to the *saṅghârâma* called Śvêtapura (Shi-fei-to-pu-lo); its massive towers, with their rounded shapes and double storeys, rise in the air. The priests are calm and respectful, and all study the Great Vehicle. By the side of this building are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked. By the side of these is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. It

was here, when Buddha was alive, that, on going southwards to the Magadha country, he turned northwards to look at Vaiśâlî, and left there, on the road where he stopped to breathe, traces of his visit.

Going south-east from the Śvêtapura *saṅghârâma* 30 li or so, on either (south and north) side of the Ganges river there is a *stûpa;* this is the spot where the venerable Ânanda divided his body between the two kingdoms. Ânanda was on his father's side cousin of Tathâgata. He was a disciple (*śaiksha*[98]) well acquainted with the doctrine (*collectanea*), thoroughly instructed in ordinary matters (*men and things*), and of masculine understanding. After Buddha's departure from the world he succeeded the great Kâśyapa in the guardianship of the true law, and became the guide and teacher of men devoted to religion (*men not yet Arhats*). He was dwelling in the Magadha country in a wood; as he was walking to and fro he saw a Śrâmaṇêra (*novice*) repeating in a bungling way a *sûtra* of Buddha, perverting and mistaking the sentences and words. Ânanda having heard him, his feelings were moved towards him, and, full of pity, he approached the place where he was; he desired to point out his mistakes and direct him in the right way. The Śrâmanêra, smiling, said, "Your reverence is of great age; your interpretation of the words is a mistaken one. My teacher is a man of much enlightenment; his years (*springs and autumns*) are in their full maturity. I have received from him personally the true method of interpreting (*the work in question*); there can be no mistake." Ânanda remained silent, and then went away, and with a sigh he said, "Although my years are many, yet for men's sake I was wishful to remain longer in the world, to hand down and defend the true law. But now men (*all creatures*) are stained with sin, and it is exceedingly difficult to instruct them. To stay longer would be useless: I will die soon." On this, going from Magadha, he went towards the city of Vaiśâlî,

[98] In Chinese, *To-wan*. He was the son of Śuklôdana-râja.

and was now in the middle of the Ganges in a boat, crossing the river. At this time the king of Magadha, hearing of Ânanda's departure, his feelings were deeply affected towards him, and so, preparing his chariot, he hastened after him with his followers (*soldiers*) to ask him to return. And now his host of warriors, myriads in number, were on the southern bank of the river, when the king of Vaiśâlî, hearing of Ânanda's approach, was moved by a sorrowful affection, and, equipping his host, he also went with all speed to meet him. His myriads of soldiers were assembled on the opposite bank of the river (*the north side*), and the two armies faced each other, with their banners and accoutrements shining in the sun. Ânanda, fearing lest there should be a conflict and a mutual slaughter, raised himself from the boat into mid-air, and there displayed his spiritual capabilities, and forthwith attained *Nirvâṇa*. He seemed as though encompassed by fire, and his bones fell in two parts, one on the south side, the other on the north side of the river. Thus the two kings each took a part, and whilst the soldiers raised their piteous cry, they all returned home and built *stûpas* over the relics and paid them religious worship.

Going north-east from this 500 li or so, we arrive at the country of Fo-li-shi (Vṛijji).[99]

FO-LI-SHI (VṚIJJI).[100]

This kingdom is about 4000 li in circuit. From east to west it is broad, and narrow from north to south. The soil is rich and fertile; fruits and flowers are abundant.

[99] Northern people call this San-fa-shi-Samvaji. It is in Northern India.—*Ch. Ed.*

[100] The country of the Vṛijjis or Samvṛijjis, *i.e.*, united Vṛijjis, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vṛijjis or Vajjis, one of which, viz., that of the Lichhavis, dwelt at Vaiśâlî. They were republicans, and, if we may rely on the inferences found in note 80 *ante*, they were a confederation of Northern tribes who had at an early date taken possession of this part of India. They were driven back by Ajâtaśatru, king of Magadha. Compare Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 449. *Sacred Books of the East*, xi. 2 ss.

The climate is rather cold; the men are quick and hasty in disposition. Most of the people are heretics; a few believe in the law of Buddha. There are about ten *saṅghârâmas;* the disciples (*priests*) are less than 1000. They study assiduously both the Great and Little Vehicles. There are several tens of Dêva temples, with a great number of unbelievers. The capital of the country is called Chen-shu-na.[101] It is mostly in ruins. In the old royal precinct (*citadel or inner city*) there are yet some 3000 houses; it may be called either a village or a town.

To the north-east of the great river is a *saṅghârâma.* The priests are few, but they are studious and of a pure and dignified character.

From this going west along the side of the river, we find a *stûpa* about 30 feet high. To the south of it is a stretch of deep water. The great merciful Lord of the World converted here some fishermen. In days long past, when Buddha was living, there were 500 fishermen who joined in partnership to fish for and catch the finny tribes, whereupon they entangled in the river stream a great fish with eighteen heads; each head had two eyes. The fishermen desired to kill it, but Tathâgata being then in the country of Vaiśâlî, with his divine sight saw what was going on, and raising within him a compassionate heart, he used this opportunity as a means for converting and directing (*men*). Accordingly, in order to open their minds, he said to the great congregation, "In the Vṛiji country there is a great fish; I wish to guide it (*into the right way*), in order to enlighten the fishermen; you therefore should embrace this opportunity."

[101] Julien restores this to Chañ-śuṇa. V. de St. Martin connects the name with Janaka and Janakapura, the capital of Mithilâ (*Mémoire*, p. 368). Compare Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 445. The interesting account the last writer gives of the old mounds or *stûpas* (arranged as a cross) at the old town of Navandgarh in this territory (p. 449 *op. cit.*), and the respect which the Vajjians observed towards them, reminds us of the record of Herodotos respecting the veneration of the Skythians for the tombs (mounds) of their ancestors (*Melpomene*, 135).

On this the great congregation surrounding him, by their spiritual power passed through the air and came to the river-side. He sat down as usual, and forthwith addressed the fishermen: "Kill not that fish. By my spiritual power I will open the way for the exercise of expedients, and cause this great fish to know its former kind of life; and in order to this I will cause it to speak in human language and truly to exhibit human affections (*feelings*)." Then Tathâgata, knowing it beforehand, asked (*the fish*), "In your former existence, what crime did you commit that in the circle of migration you have been born in this evil way and with this hideous body?" The fish said, "Formerly, by the merit I had gained, I was born in a noble family as the Brâhman Kapitha (Kie-pi-tha). Relying on this family origin, I insulted other persons; relying on my extensive knowledge, I despised all books and rules, and with a supercilious heart I reviled the Buddhas with opprobrious words, and ridiculed the priests by comparing them to every kind of brute beast, as the ass, or the mule, or the elephant, or the horse, and every unsightly form. In return for all this I received this monstrous body of mine. Thanks, however, to some virtuous remnants during former lives, I am born during the time of a Buddha's appearance in the world, and permitted to see his sacred form, and myself to receive his sacred instruction and to confess and repent of my former misdeeds."

On this Tathâgata, according to the circumstance, instructed and converted him by wisely opening his understanding. The fish having received the law, expired, and by the power of this merit was born in heaven. On this he considered his body, and reflected by what circumstances he was thus born. So, knowing his former life and recollecting the circumstances of his conversion, he was moved with gratitude to Buddha, and, with all the Dêvas, with bended form he bowed before him and worshipped, and then having circumambulated him, he withdrew, and, standing apart, offered precious flowers and

unguents in religious service. The Lord of the World having directed the fishermen to consider this, and on their account preached the law, they were all forthwith enlightened and offered him profound respect. Repenting of their faults, they destroyed their nets, burnt their boats, and having taken refuge in the law, they assumed the religious habit, and by means of the excellent doctrine they heard came out of the reach of worldly influences and obtained the holy fruit (*of Arhats*).

Going north-east from this spot about 100 li, we come to an old city, on the west of which is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja, in height about 100 feet. Here Buddha, when living in the world, preached the law for six months and converted the Dêvas. Going north 140 or 150 paces is a little *stûpa;* here Buddha, for the sake of the Bhikshus, established some rules of discipline. West of this not far is a *stûpa* containing hair and nail relics. Tathâgata formerly residing in this place, men from all the neighbouring towns and villages flocked together and burnt incense, and scattered flowers, and lighted lamps and torches in his honour.

Going north-west from this 1400 or 1500 li, crossing some mountains and entering a valley, we come to the country of Ni-po-lo (Nêpâla).

NI-PO-LO (NÊPÂL).

This country is about 4000 li in circuit, and is situated among the Snowy Mountains. The capital city is about 20 li round. Mountains and valleys are joined together in an unbroken succession. It is adapted for the growth of cereals, and abounds with flowers and fruits. It produces red copper, the *Yak* and the *Mingming* bird (*jîvañjîva*). In commerce they use coins made of red copper. The climate is icy cold; the manners of the people are false and perfidious. Their temperament is hard and fierce, with little regard to truth or honour. They are unlearned but skilful in the arts; their appearance is ungainly and

revolting. There are believers and heretics mixed together. The *saṅghârâmas* and Dêva temples are closely joined. There are about 2000 priests, who study both the Great and Little Vehicle. The number of heretics and sectaries of different sorts is uncertain. The king is a Kshattriya, and belongs to the family of the Licchavas. His mind is well-informed, and he is pureand dignified in character. He has a sincere faith in the law of Buddha.

Lately there was a king called Aṁśuvarman[102] (An-chu-fa-mo), who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity. He himself had composed a work on "sounds" (*Śabdavidyâ*); he esteemed learning and respected virtue, and his reputation was spread everywhere.

To the south-east of the capital is a little stream and a lake. If we fling fire into it, flames immediately arise; other things take fire if thrown in it, and change their character.

From this going back[103] to Vaiśâlî, and crossing the Ganges to the south, we arrive at the country of Mo-kie-t'o (Magadha).

END OF BOOK VII.

[102] In Chinese, Kwang-cheu: the only Aṁśuvarman in the lists of Nepâl dynasties is placed by Prinsep immediately after Śivadêva, whose date he adjusted tentatively to A.D. 470. In Wright's lists Śivadêva is omitted, and Aṁśuvarman stands at the head of the Thâkuri dynasty. In an inscription of Śivadêva, Aṁśuvarman is spoken of as a very powerful feudal chieftain, who probably ruled at first in the name of Śivadêva, but afterwards assumed the supreme power; and in other inscriptions dated Saṁ. 39 and 45, he is styled king, and the traditional account says he married the daughter of his predecessor and began a new dynasty; but it makes him contemporary with Vikramâditya of Ujjani (? cir. 540 to 580 A.D., Max Müller, *India*, p. 289). From Hiuen Tsiang's allusion we should be inclined to place Aṁśuvarman's reign about A.D. 580–600. His sister Bhôgadêvî was married to a Prince Sûrasêna, and by him was the mother of Bhôgavarman and Bhâgyadêvî. Aṁśuvarman was probably succeeded by Jishṇugupta, of whom we have an inscription dated Saṁ. 48. If these dates refer to the Śrî Harsha era, then Aṁśuvarman ruled about A.D. 644–652—at the close of the lifetime of Hiuen Tsiang—which is rather late. See Wright's *History of Nepâl*, p. 130 f.; Prinsep's *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ii., *U. T.*, p. 269; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix. pp. 169–172.

[103] But the pilgrim does not appear himself to have gone into Nepâl. He went to the capital of the Vṛijjis, and there speaks from report. His return therefore must be calculated from this place.

BOOK VIII.

Contains the First Part of the Account of the Country of Magadha (Mo-kie-t'o).

THE country of Magadha (Mo-kie-t'o)[1] is about 5000 li in circuit. The walled cities have but few inhabitants, but the towns[2] are thickly populated. The soil is rich and fertile and the grain cultivation abundant. There is an unusual sort of rice grown here, the grains of which are large and scented and of an exquisite taste. It is specially remarkable for its shining colour. It is commonly called "the rice for the use of the great."[3] As the ground is low and damp, the inhabited towns are built on the high uplands. After the first month of summer and before the second month of autumn, the level country is flooded, and communication can be kept up by boats. The manners of the people are simple and honest. The temperature is pleasantly hot; they esteem very much the pursuit of learning and profoundly respect the religion of Buddha. There are some fifty *saṅghârâmas*, with about 10,000 priests, of whom the greater number study the teaching of the Great Vehicle. There are ten Dêva temples, occupied by sectaries of different persuasions, who are very numerous.

To the south of the river Ganges there is an old city about 70 li round. Although it has been long deserted, its foundation walls still survive. Formerly, when men's

[1] Or, it may mean the chief city or capital.

[2] *Yih*, the towns; Julien gives *villages*.

[3] This appears to be the rice called *Mahâśâlî* and *Sugandhikâ* (Julien).

lives were incalculably long, it was called **Kusumapura** (K'u-su-mo-pu-lo),[4] so called because the palace of the king had many flowers. Afterwards, when men's age reached several thousands of years, then its name was changed to **Pâṭaliputra**[5] (Po-ch'a-li-tsu-ch'ing).

At the beginning there was a Brâhmaṇ of high talent and singular learning. Many thousands flocked to him to receive instruction. One day all the students went out on a tour of observation; one of them betrayed a feeling of unquiet and distress. His fellow-students addressed him and said, "What troubles you, friend?" He said, "I am in my full maturity (*beauty*) with perfect strength, and yet I go on wandering about here like a lonely shadow till years and months have passed, and my duties (*manly duties*)[6] not performed. Thinking of this, my words are sad and my heart is afflicted."

On this his companions in sport replied, "We must seek then for your good a bride and her friends." Then they supposed two persons to represent the father and mother of the bridegroom, and two persons the father and mother of the bride,[7] and as they were sitting under a *Paṭali* (*Po-ch'a-li*) tree, they called it the tree of the son-in-law.[8] Then they gathered seasonable fruits and pure

[4] Explained in a note to mean Hiang-hu-kong-sh'ing,—the city, or royal precinct, of the scented flower (*kusuma*).

[5] The text seems to refer the foundation of this city to a remote period, and in this respect is in agreement with Diodoros, who says (lib. ii. cap. 39) that this city ἐπιφανεστάτη καὶ μεγίστη was founded by Herakles. The Buddhist accounts speak of it as a village, Pâṭaligâma, which was being strengthened and enlarged by Ajâtaśatru, contemporary of Buddha, for the purpose of repelling the advance of the Vṛijjis. See *Sac. Books of the East*, vol. xi. pp. 16, 17; Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, p. 257; *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, p. 249, n. 3; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 453.

[6] So it seems, from the story following, the passage must be understood. Julien confines the meaning to his "studies" not yet completed. But there would be no point in the pretended marriage, if that were his regret.

[7] This is the natural translation of the passage, and makes good sense without the alteration proposed by Julien.

[8] That is, they made the tree the father-in-law of the student; in other words, he was to marry the daughter of the tree, a *Pâṭali* flower (*Bignonia suaveolens*). I can find no authority for Julien's statement that the word son-in-law corresponds to *Pâṭali*; this statement is also repeated by Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc. *Pâṭala*.

water, and followed all the nuptial customs, and requested a time to be fixed. Then the father[9] of the supposed bride, gathering a twig with flowers on it, gave it to the student and said, "This is your excellent partner; be graciously pleased to accept her." The student's heart was rejoiced as he took her to himself. And now, as the sun was setting, they proposed to return home; but the young student, affected by love, preferred to remain.

Then the other said, "All this was fun; pray come back with us; there are wild beasts in this forest; we are afraid they will kill you." But the student preferred to remain walking up and down by the side of the tree.

After sunset a strange light lit up the plain, the sound of pipes and lutes with their soft music (*was heard*), and the ground was covered with a sumptuous carpet. Suddenly an old man of gentle mien was seen coming, supporting himself by his staff, and there was also an old mother leading a young maiden. They were accompanied by a procession along the way, dressed in holiday attire and attended with music. The old man then pointed to the maiden and said, "This is your worship's wife (*lady*)." Seven days then passed in carousing and music, when the companions of the student, in doubt whether he had been destroyed by wild beasts, went forth and came to the place. They found him alone in the shade of the tree, sitting as if facing a superior guest. They asked him to return with them, but he respectfully declined.

After this he entered of his own accord the city, to pay respect to his relatives, and told them of this adventure from beginning to end. Having heard it with wonder, he returned with all his relatives and friends to the middle of the forest, and there they saw the flowering tree become a great mansion; servants of all kinds were hurrying to and fro on every side, and the old man came forward and received them with politeness, and entertained them with all kinds of dainties served up amidst the sound of music.

[9] We must suppose him to represent the tree, the real father.

After the usual compliments, the guests returned to the city and told to all, far and near, what had happened.

After the year was accomplished the wife gave birth to a son, when the husband said to his spouse, "I wish now to return, but yet I cannot bear to be separated from you (*your bridal residence*); but if I rest here I fear the exposure to wind and weather."

The wife having heard this, told her father. The old man then addressed the student and said, "Whilst living contented and happy why must you go back? I will build you a house; let there be no thought of desertion." On this his servants applied themselves to the work, and in less than a day it was finished.

When the old capital of Kusumapura[10] was changed, this town was chosen, and from the circumstance of the genii building the mansion of the youth the name henceforth of the country was Pâṭaliputra pura (the city of the son of the Pâṭali tree).

To the north of the old palace of the king is a stone pillar several tens of feet high; this is the place where Aśôka (Wu-yau) râja made "a hell." In the hundredth year after the *Nirvâṇa* of Tathâgata, there was a king called Aśôka ('O-shu-kia), who was the great-grandson of Bimbisâra-râjâ.[11] He changed his capital from Râjagṛiha to Pâṭali (pura), and built an outside rampart to surround the old city. Since then many generations have

10 From this it would appear that Kusumapura was not on the same site as Pâṭaliputra. Râjagṛiha was the capital in the time of Ajâtaśatru, and it was he who strengthened Pâṭaliputra. In the next clause it is said that Aśôka changed his capital from Râjagṛiha to Pâṭaliputra. He is described as the great-grandson of Bimbasâra, and therefore the grandson of Ajâtaśatru. The *Vâyu Purâṇa* states that Kusumapura or Pâṭaliputra was founded by Râja Udayâśva, the grandson of Ajâtaśatru; but the *Mahâwanso* makes Udaya the son of the king. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 453.

11 Hiuen Tsiang uses in this passage the phonetic equivalents for Aśôka, *'O-shu-kia*; on this Dr. Oldenberg founds an argument that the king referred to is not Dharmâśôka, but Kâlâśôka (*Vinaya Piṭakam*, vol. i., Introd., p. xxxiii. n.) But a note in the text states that *'O-shu-kia* is the Sanskrit form of *Wu-yau*; the latter in the Chinese form, signifying "sorrowless." For Bimbisara, see p. 102, n. 41.

passed, and now there only remain the old foundation walls (*of the city*). The *saṅghârâmas*, Dêva temples, and *stûpas* which lie in ruins may be counted by hundreds. There are only two or three remaining (*entire*). To the north of the old palace,[12] and bordering on the Ganges river, there is a little town which contains about 1000 houses.

At first when Aśôka (Wu-yau) râja ascended the throne, he exercised a most cruel tyranny; he constituted a hell for the purpose of torturing living creatures. He surrounded it with high walls with lofty towers. He placed there specially vast furnaces of molten metal, sharp scythes, and every kind of instrument of torture like those in the infernal regions. He selected an impious man[13] whom he appointed lord of the hell. At first every criminal in the empire, whatever his fault, was consigned to this place of calamity and outrage; afterwards all those who passed by the place were seized and destroyed. All who came to the place were killed without any chance of self-defence.

At this time a Śramaṇa, just entered the religious order, was passing through the suburbs begging food, when he came to hell-gate. The impious keeper of the place laid hold upon him to destroy him. The Śramaṇa, filled with fear, asked for a respite to perform an act of worship and confession. Just then he saw a man bound with cords enter the prison. In a moment they cut off his hands and feet, and pounded his body in a mortar, till all the members of his body were mashed up together in confusion.

The Śramaṇa having witnessed this, deeply moved with pity, arrived at the conviction of the impermanence (*anitya*) of all earthly things, and reached the fruit of "exemption from learning" (*Arhatship*). Then the infernal

[12] This may refer to Kusumapura, the "flowery palace" city, or to the palace in the old town of Pâṭaliputra.

[13] There seems to be only one man; Julien has "un troupe de scélérats." The story of this place of torment is found also in *Fa-hian*, cap. xxxii.

lictor said, "Now you must die." The Śramaṇa having become an Arhat, was freed in heart from the power of birth and death, and so, though cast into a boiling caldron, it was to him as a cool lake, and on its surface there appeared a lôtus flower, whereon he took his seat. The infernal lictor, terrified thereat, hastened to send a messenger to the king to tell him of the circumstance. The king having himself come and beheld the sight, raised his voice in loud praise of the miracle.

The keeper, addressing the king, said, "Mahârâja, you too must die." "And why so?" said the king. "Because of your former decree with respect to the infliction of death, that all who came to the walls of the hell should be killed; it was not said that the king might enter and escape death."

The king said, "The decree was indeed established, and cannot be altered. But when the law was made, were *you* excepted? You have long destroyed life. I will put an end to it." Then ordering the attendants, they seized the lictor and cast him into a boiling caldron. After his death the king departed, and levelled the walls, filled up the ditches, and put an end to the infliction of such horrible punishments.

To the south of the earth-prison (*the hell*), and not far off, is a *stûpa*. Its foundation walls are sunk, and it is in a leaning, ruinous condition. There remains, however, the crowning jewel of the cupola.[14] This is made of carved stone, and has a surrounding balustrade.[15] This was the

[14] *Shai pao*, the distinctive or strong ornament. It seems to refer to "the *tee* (*htî*)," as it is called; the ornamental enclosure above the cupola would represent the region of the heaven of the thirty-three Dêvas.

[15] So the dome of Sañchi is surmounted as restored by Mr. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. ii. (see also the remarks of the same writer, *op. cit.* p. 100, 1st ed.) The enclosed space or box on the summit of the *stûpa* is not, however, a simulated relic-box, but represents the first heaven, or the Trayastriṁśas heaven of Śakra and the thirty-two Dêvas. The Dêvas, therefore, are constantly represented in the sculptures as surrounding this enclosure and offering their gifts, in token of the relics of Buddha (his hair, golden bowl, &c.), taken there for worship. The Tee or Htî is the cone of metal circles, raised above this enclosed space, representing the lands (*khêttas*, or *kshêtras*) above the Trayastriṁśas heaven.

first (*or*, one) of the 84,000 (*stûpas*). Aśôka-râja erected it by the power (*merit*) of man [16] in the middle of his royal precinct (*or* palace). It contains a *ching* (measure) of relics of Tathâgata. Spiritual indications constantly manifest themselves, and a divine light is shed round it from time to time.

After King Aśôka had destroyed the hell, he met Upagupta,[17] a great Arhat, who, by the use of (*proper*) means,[18] allured him in a right way according as the opportunity (*or*, springs of action, *i.e.*, his power or capacity to believe) led, and converted him. The king addressed the Arhat and said, "Thanks to my acquired merit in former births, I have got (*by promise*) my kingly authority, but in consequence of my faults I did not, by meeting Buddha, obtain conversion. Now, then, I desire in all the greater degree to honour the bequeathed remains of his body by building *stûpas*."

The Arhat said, "My earnest desire is that the great king by his merits may be able to employ the invisible powers (*the spirits*) as agents in fulfilling his vow to protect the three precious ones." And then, because of the opportune occasion, he entered largely on the narrative of his offering the ball of earth, and on that account of Buddha's prediction, as the origin of his desire to build.[19]

The king having heard this, was overpowered, and he summoned the spirits to assemble, and commanded them, saying, "By the gracious disposal and spiritual efficacy of the guiding power of the King of the Law I have become, as the result of my good actions in former states of life, the highest amongst them. (*I wish now*) with especial care

[16] Or it may probably be "by his religious merit as a man."

[17] For some remarks on Upagupta (Kin-hu), see vol. i. p. 182, n. 48.

[18] *Upâya*, expedients or skilful use of means.

[19] The offering of the ball of earth refers to the circumstance related by Fa-hian at the opening of chap. xxxii. Julien has overlooked this, and refers the offering to the charity of Aśôka in giving Jambudvîpa to the priests. But it is plain that no prediction of Buddha hinged on this. Kanishka is said also to have been converted by the relation of a prediction referring to him made by Buddha, and explained by a shepherd boy.

to prepare a means of paying religious worship to the bequeathed body of Tathâgata. Do you, then, spirits and genii, by your combined strength and agreement of purpose, raise *stûpas* for the relics of Buddha throughout the whole of Jambudvîpa, to the very last house of all [20] (*i.e.*, to the extremity of the land). The mind (*or* purpose) is mine, the merit of completing it shall be yours. The advantage to be derived from this excellent act of religion I wish not to be confined to one person only; let each of you, then, raise a building in readiness (*for completion*), and then come and receive my further commands."

Having received these instructions, the genii commenced their meritorious work in the several quarters where they were; and having finished the task (*so far*), they came together to ask for further directions. Aśôka-râja (Wu-yau-wang) having opened the *stûpas* of the eight countries where they were built, divided the relics, and having delivered them to the genii, he addressed the Arhat [21] and said, "My desire is that the relics should be dsposited in every place at the same moment exactly: although ardently desirous of this, my mind has not yet been able to perfect a plan for accomplishing it." [22]

The Arhat addressed the king and said, "Command the genii to go each to his appointed place and regard the sun.[23] When the sun becomes obscured and its shape as if a hand covered it, then is the time: drop the relics into the *stûpas*." The king having received these intructions, gave orders accordingly to the genii to expect the appointed day.

Meantime the king, Aśôka, watching the sun's disc,

[20] The text is difficult. Julien translates it "dans chaque ville possédant un *keou-tchi* (un kôti de souvarnas)." This may be correct, but the phrase *mwan keou chi* seems to me to refér to the full tale of inhabited places—everywhere.

[21] That is, Upagupta.

[22] Such appears to be the meaning of the passage. Julien translates it, "my desire is not yet accomplished." His desire was to find out a plan or method for depositing the relics at the same instant.

[23] Or it may be, "await an appointed day."

waited for the sign; then at noon (*or* the day) the Arhat, by his spiritual power, stretched forth his hand and concealed the sun. At the places where the *stûpas* had been built for completion, all (*the genii*[24]) observing this event, at the same moment concluded the meritorious undertaking.

By the side of the *stûpa*, and not far from it, in a *vihâra*, is a great stone on which Tathâgata walked. There is still the impression of both his feet on it, about eighteen inches long and six inches broad; both the right and left impress have the circle-sign,[25] and the ten toes are all fringed with figures of flowers (*or* flower scrolls) and forms of fishes, which glisten brightly in the light (*morning light*). In old time Tathâgata, being about to attain *Nirvâṇa*, was going northward to Kuśinagara, when turning round to the south and looking back at Magadha, he stood upon this stone and said to Ânanda, "Now for the very last time I leave this foot-impression, being about to attain *Nirvâṇa*, and looking at Magadha. A hundred years hence there shall be a King Aśôka;[26] he shall build here his capital and establish his court; he shall protect the three religious treasures and command the genii."

When Aśôka (Wu-yau) had ascended the throne, he changed his capital and built this town; he enclosed the stone with the impression; and as it was near the royal precinct, he paid it constant personal worship. Afterwards the kings of the neighbourhood wished to carry it off to

[24] So it must signify, not the inhabitants of the several places, but the genii who were awaiting the signal.

[25] The circle-sign is the *chakra*; this is the principal mark on the sole of Buddha's feet; see Alabaster's *Wheel of the Law*, p. 286 and *plate*. Julien translates the passage as if the *chakra* were visible on the right and left of the feet, instead of on the right and left imprint of the feet.

[26] It is plain that this prediction concerning Wu-yau-wang, supposed by Oldenberg always to refer to Dharmâśôka (see above, *note* 11), relates to O-chu-kia or Kâlâśôka, for it was he, the grandson of Ajâtaśatru, who established his capital at Pâṭaliputra; so also in the next sentence. Hiuen Tsiang probably translated all the records relating to Aśôka as though referring to the same person, using either 'O-shu-kia or 'O-yu, or Wu-yau, indifferently.

their own country; but although the stone is not large, they could not move it at all.

Lately Śaśâṅka-râja, when he was overthrowing and destroying the law of Buddha, forthwith came to the place where that stone is, for the purpose of destroying the sacred marks. Having broken it into pieces, it came whole again, and the ornamental figures as before; then he flung it into the river Ganges, but it came back to its old place.

By the side of the stone is a *stûpa*, which marks the place where the four past Buddhas walked and sat down, the traces of which still remain.

By the side of the *vihâra* which contains the traces of Buddha, and not far from it, is a great stone pillar about thirty feet high, with a mutilated inscription on it. This, however, is the principal part of it, viz., "Aśôka-râja with a firm principle of faith has thrice bestowed Jambudvîpa as a religious offering on Buddha, the Dharma, and the assembly, and thrice he has redeemed it with his jewels and treasure; and this is the record thereof." Such is the purport of the record.

To the north of the old palace is a large stone house. It looks outside like a great mountain, and within it is many tens of feet wide. This is the house which Aśôka-râja commanded the genii to build for his brother who had become a recluse. Early in his life Aśôka had a half-brother (*mother's brother*) called Mahêndra[27] (Mo-hi-in-to-lo), who was born of a noble tribe. In dress he arrogated the style of the king; he was extravagant, wasteful, and cruel. The people were indignant, and the ministers and aged officers of the king came to him (*the king*), and remonstrated thus, "Your proud brother assumes a dignity as though he were some great one in comparison with others. If the government is impartial,

[27] Mahêndra (translated *Ta-ti*, great ruler) is generally spoken of as the son of Aśôka. The Simhalese historical works speak of him as the first Buddhist missionary sent to Ceylon. See *Mahawanso*, Turnour's transl., p. 76. Dr. Oldenberg doubts the truth of this tradition. *Vinayapiṭaka*, i., *Introduction*, lii.

then the country is contented; if men are agreed, then the ruler is in peace: these are the principles which have been handed down to us from our fathers. We desire that you will preserve the rules of our country, and deliver to justice those who would change them." Then Aśôka-râja addressed his brother as he wept, and said, "I have inherited (*as my rule of*) government the duty of protecting and cherishing the people; how then have you, my brother, forgotten my affection and my kindness? It is impossible at the very beginning of my reign to neglect the laws. If I punish you, I fear the anger of my ancestors; on the other hand, if I excuse you, I fear the opinion of the people."

Mahêndra, bowing his head, replied, "I have not guarded my conduct, and have transgressed the laws of the country; I ask only an extension of my life for seven days."

On this the king placed him in a dark dungeon, and placed over him a strict guard. He provided him with every kind of exquisite meat and every necessary article. At the end of the first day the guard cried out to him, "One day has gone; there are six days left." The sixth day having expired, as he had greatly sorrowed for his faults and had afflicted (*disciplined*) his body and his heart, he obtained the fruit of sanctity (*became an Arhat*); he mounted into the air and exhibited his miraculous powers (*spiritual traces*). Then separating himself from the pollution of the world, he went afar, and occupied the mountains and valleys (*as a recluse*).

Aśôka-râja, going in his own person, addressed him as follows, "At first, in order to put in force the laws of the country, I desired to have you punished, but little did I think you would have attained to this highest rank of holiness.[28] Having, however, reached this condition of detachment from the world, you can now return to your country."

[28] That you would have mounted up in pure conduct to attain to and possess this holy fruit.

The brother replied, "Formerly I was ensnared in the net of (*worldly*) affections, and my mind was occupied with love of sounds (*music*) and beauty; but now I have escaped all this (*the dangerous city*), and my mind delights in (*the seclusion of*) mountains and valleys. I would fain give up the world for ever (*men's society*) and dwell here in solitude."

The king said, "If you wish to subdue your heart in quiet, you have no need to live in the mountain fastnesses. To meet your wishes I shall construct you a dwelling."

Accordingly he summoned the genii to his presence and said to them, "On the morrow I am about to give a magnificent feast. I invite you to come together to the assembly, but you must each bring for your own seat a great stone."[29] The genii having received the summons, came at the appointed time to the assembly. The king then addressed them and said, "The stones which are now arranged in order on the ground you may pile up, and, without any labour to yourselves, construct of them for me an empty house." The genii having received the order, before the day was over finished the task. Aśôka-râja then himself went to invite his brother to fix his abode in this mountain cell.

To the north of the old palace, and to the south of "the hell," is a great stone with a hollow trough in it. Aśôka-râja commissioned the genii as workmen to make this hollow (*vase*) to use for the food which he gave to the priests when he invited them to eat.

To the south-west of the old palace there is a little mountain. In the crags and surrounding valleys there are several tens of stone dwellings which Aśôka-râja made for Upagupta and other Arhats, by the intervention of the genii.

By the side of it is an old tower, the ruins of which are a mass of heaped-up stones. There is also a pond, the gentle ripples of which play over its surface as pure as a

[29] Compare *Fa-hian*, chap. xxvii.

mirror. The people far and near call it the sacred water. If any one drinks thereof or washes in it, the defilement of their sins is washed away and destroyed.

To the south-west of the mountain is a collection of five *stûpas*. The foundations are lofty but ruinous; what remains, however, is a good height. At a distance they look like little hills. Each of them is several tens of paces in front. Men in after-days tried to build on the top of these little *stûpas*. The records of India state, "In old time, when Aśôka-râja built the 84,000 *stûpas*, there was still remaining five measures of relics. Therefore he erected with exceptional grandeur five other *stûpas*, remarkable for their spiritual portents (*miraculous exhibitions*), with a view to indicate the fivefold spiritual body of Tathâgata.[30] Some disciples of little faith talking together argued thus, 'In old time Nanda-râja[31] built these five (*stûpas*) as treasure-places for his wealth (*seven precious substances*).' In consequence of this gossip, in after-time a king of insincere faith, and excited by his covetousness, put his troops in movement, and came with his followers to dig (*the stûpas*). The earth shook, the mountains bent (*fell*), and the clouds darkened the sun, whilst from the *stûpas* there came a great sound like thunder. The soldiers with their leaders fell backward, and the elephants and horses took to flight. The king thus defeated, dared no longer to covet (*the treasures*). It is said, moreover (*i.e., in the Indian records*), 'With respect to the gossip of the priests there has been some doubt expressed, but we believe it to be true according to the old tradition.'"

[30] Literally, the body of the law of Tathâgâta (*Ju-lai*) divided into five parts. It may refer to the five skandhas; these are *rûpa* (*sih*), *vêdanâ* (*sheu*), *samjñâna* (*siang*), *sâñskâra* (*hing*), *vijñâna* (*chi*).

[31] This refers to Nanda, the son of Mahânanda, called Mahâpadma, who was exceedingly avaricious. He was the son of a woman of the Śûdra class. He brought the whole earth under one umbrellâ (*Vishnu-Purâna*, p. 466, Wilson's translation). In the *Mahâvanso* he is called Dhana-nando, because he personally devoted himself to the hoarding of treasure (Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansc. Lit.*, p. 281). The statement in the text, derived from "the old records of India," appears to identify Nanda with Aśôka, *i.e.*, Kâlâśôka.

To the south-east of the old city there is the *saṅghârâma* called K'iu-cha-'o-lan-mo[32] (Kukkuṭârâma), which was built by Aśôka-râja when he first became a believer in the religion of Buddha. It was a sort of first-fruit (*preparation in planting the root of virtue*), and a pattern of majestic construction (*lofty building*). He gathered there a thousand priests; a double congregation of lay people and saints made their offerings of the four necessary things, and provided gratuitously all the articles for use. This building has long been in ruins, but the foundation walls are still preserved.

By the side of the *saṅghârâma* is a great *stûpa* called 'O-mo-lo-kia (Âmalaka), which is the name of a fruit used as a medicine in India. King Aśôka having fallen sick and lingering for a long time, felt that he would not recover, and so desired to offer all his possessions (*gems and valuables*) so as to crown his religious merit (*to plant high the field of merit*). The minister[33] who was carrying on the government was unwilling to comply with his wish. Some time after this, as he was eating part of an Âmalaka fruit, he playfully[34] put the half of it (*in the hand of the king*) for an offering. Holding the fruit in his hand he said with a sigh to his minister, "Who now is lord of Jambudvîpa?"

The minister replied, "Only your majesty."

The king answered, "Not so! I am no longer lord; for I have only this half fruit to call my own! Alas! the wealth and honour of the world are as difficult to keep as

[32] This convent or *saṅghârâma* must not be confounded with the Kukkuṭapâdagiri, near Gayâ. See *Fa-hian*, cap. xxxiii. p. 132 n., also *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. xv. p. 4; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii. p. 327; compare also Julien's remark (p. 428, n. 1).

[33] It may be "ministers;" the story of the text is found among Aśvaghôsha's sermons. It is No. 20 as given in the *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 103.

[34] In a trifling way. This translation is difficult. Julien translates it as though the king were amused as he played with the fruit, until he had reduced it to a half. This translation is more agreeable to the text. But, on the other hand, in Aśvaghôsha's rendering of the story, he says that the minister offered the king a half Âmala fruit, to bestow in charity. The translation I have given requires the substitution of *tan* (to give in charity) for *lan* (cooked or thoroughly dressed).

it is to preserve the light of a lamp in the wind! My wide-spread possessions, my name and high renown, at close of life are snatched from me, and I am in the hands of a minister violent and powerful. The empire is no longer mine; this half fruit alone is left!"

Then he commanded an attendant officer to come, and he addressed him thus: "Take this half fruit and offer it in the garden (*ârâma*) of the cock (*monastery*) to the priests, and speak thus to the venerable ones, 'He who was formerly lord of Jambudvîpa, but now is master of only this half Âmala fruit, bows down before the priests (*chief priest*). I pray you (*on behalf of the king*) receive this very last offering. All that I have is gone and lost, only this half fruit remains as my little possession. Pity the poverty of the offering, and grant that it may increase the seeds of his religious merit.'"

The Sthavira, in the midst of the priests, spake thus in reply: "Aśôka-râja by his former deeds may hope to recover. Whilst the fever has held his person, his avaricious ministers have usurped his power and amassed wealth not their own. But this offering of half a fruit will secure the king an extension of life." The king having recovered from his sickness, gave large offerings to the priests. Moreover he ordered the manager of the affairs of the convent (Tin-see—Karmmadâna) to preserve the seeds [35] of the fruit in a vessel of liquid fit for the purpose, and he erected this *stûpa* as a mark of gratitude for his prolonged life.[36]

To the north-west of Âmalaka *stûpa*, in the middle of an old *saṅghârâma*, is a *stûpa*; it is called "establishing the sound of the *ghaṇṭâ* (*Kin-t'i*)." At first there were about 100 *saṅghârâmas* in this city; the priests were grave

[35] Or, the stone or kernel. The Karmmadâna is the steward of the convent.

[36] This passage is obscure, and the translation I give is not in agreement with M. Julien's. He makes the words of the Sthavira to be addressed to the other priests, and not to the messenger from the king. It appears to me that they were made in reply to the king's message, and include in them a promised anticipation of the king's recovery.

and learned, and of high moral character. The scholars among the heretics were silent and dumb. But afterwards, when that generation of priests had died out, their successors were not equal to those gone before. Then the teachers of the heretics, during the interval, gave themselves to earnest study with a view to the mastery. Whereupon they summoned their partisans, numbering 1000 to 10,000, to assemble together within the priest's precincts, and then they addressed them saying, with a loud voice, "Strike loudly the *ghaṇṭâ* and summon all the learned men; let the foolish ones also stop and dispute; if we are wrong, let them overthrow us" (*or*, to overthrow their errors).

They then addressed the king and asked him to decide between the weak and the strong. And now the heretical masters were men of high talent and marked learning; the priests, although numerous, were weak in their points of verbal discussion.

The heretics said, "We have got the victory; from this time forth let no *saṅghârâma* dare to sound the *ghaṇṭâ* to call together a congregation." The king confirmed this result of the discussion, and, in agreement with it, bound the priests to the penalty. They on their part retired with shame and chagrin. For twelve years the *ghaṇṭâ* was not sounded.

At this time lived (Na-kia-'o-la-chu-na) Nâgârjuna Bôdhisattva in Southern India, as a youth of high renown for scholarship. When grown up he assumed a lofty title. Giving up his home and its pleasures, he practised himself in the acquisition of the deepest and most excellent principle of learning, and arrived at the first earth (*the first degree*). He had a great disciple called (Ti-po) Dêva, a man illustrious for wisdom and spiritual energy. This man, arousing himself to action, said, "At Vaiśâlî the followers of learning (*Buddhist learners*) have been defeated in argument by the heretics, and now for twelve years, days, and months together, they have not sounded

the *ghaṇṭâ*. I am bold enough to wish to overturn the mountain of heresy and to light the torch of true religion."

Nâgârjuna replied, "The heretics of Vaiśâlî are singularly learned; you are no match for them. I will go myself."

Dêva said, "In order to trample down some rotten stems why should we overthrow a mountain? I am bold enough to think that by the instructions I have received I can silence all the heretics. But let my master assume the side of the heretics, and I will refute you according to the points of the thesis; and according as the question is decided, let my purpose to go or not be settled."

Then Nâgârjuna took the side of the heretics, and Dêva set himself to overthrow his arguments. After seven days Nâgârjuna lost his superiority (*was defeated*), and said with a sigh, "False positions are easily lost; erroneous doctrines are defended with difficulty. You yourself can go; you will overthrow those men."

Dêva Bôdhisattva's early reputation being known to the heretics of Vaiśâlî, they forthwith called an assembly, and went at once to the king, saying, "Mahârâja! you formerly condescended to attend to us and bind the Śramaṇas, not to sound the *ghaṇṭâ*. We pray you issue an order that no foreign Śramaṇa be allowed to enter the city, lest they should combine together to bring about an alteration in the former law." The king consented to their request, and gave strict orders to his officers to carry it out (*to spy narrowly*).

Dêva having come to the city, was not able to enter it; having understood the order, he made arrangements to change his garments, and wrapped up his *kashâya* robe in a bundle of grass (*shrubs*); then tucking up his garments, he went straight on with his bundle on his back, and entered the city. Having come to the middle of the city, he threw away his grass bundle, put on his robes, and came to this *saṅghârâma*, intending to stop there.

Knowing few people there, he had no place to lodge, and so he took up his night's rest in the Ghaṇṭâ Tower, and at early dawn he struck it (*the ghaṇṭâ*) with all his might.

The people hearing it, on investigating the matter, found that the stranger of yesternight was a travelling Bhikshu. Forthwith all the *saṅghârâmas* repeated the sounds (*of the ghaṇṭâ*).

The king hearing the noise, and inquiring about it closely, could not ascertain the origin of it all; coming to this *saṅghârâma*, they at length charged Dêva with the deed. Dêva answering said, "The *ghaṇṭâ* is struck to assemble the congregation; if it is not used for that purpose, what use is it?"

The king's people answered, "In former days the congregation of priests having been defeated in argument, it was decided the *ghaṇṭâ* should not be sounded any more, and this is twelve years since."

Dêva said, "Is it so? Nevertheless, I venture to sound afresh the drum of the law."

The messenger told the king saying, "There is a strange Śramaṇa who wishes to wipe out the former disgrace (*of the priests*)."

Then the king assembled the men of learning (*the Buddhists*), and said, by way of decree, "Whoever is defeated shall die, as a proof of his inferiority."

Then the heretics came together with their flags and drums, and began to discuss together with respect to their opinions; each displayed the point of his argument to his best ability. Then Dêva Bôdhisattva, having mounted the preaching-throne, attending to their former arguments, and following each point, refuted them one by one. In less than one hour he refuted the sectaries, and the king and his ministers being satisfied, raised this venerable monument in honour of his extreme virtue (*reverence*).

To the north of the *stûpa* built where the *ghaṇṭâ* was

sounded is an old foundation. This was the dwelling-place of a Brâhmaṇ that was inspired by demons. At the beginning there was in this city a Brâhmaṇ who had constructed for himself a hut in a wild and desert spot far from the haunts of men; he sacrificed to demons, seeking religious merit. By the assistance of such spiritual connection he discoursed in a high tone and disputed with eagerness. The report (*echo*) of his eloquent discourses resounded through the world. If any one came to propose a difficult question, he answered him after letting down a curtain. Old men of learning and of high talent could not wrest from him his precedence. Officers and people were silenced in his presence, and looked on him as a saint. At this time lived Aśvaghôsha Bôdhisattva (*'O-shi-po-kiu-sha-pu-sa*).[37] His wisdom embraced all subjects, and in his career he had traversed the arguments of the three Vehicles (*Little, Great, and Middle Vehicle?*). He constantly spoke (*about the Brâhmaṇ*) thus: "This Brâhmaṇ is learned without a master; he is skilful without examining the ancients; he lives apart in the gloomy desert, and arrogates a great name. It is all done by the connivance of the evil spirits and the assistance of occult powers; this is the way he does it! Men, therefore, on account of his eloquence derived from the devil, are unable to reply, and exalt his renown and say he is invincible. I will go to his place, and see what all this means, and expose it."

Forthwith he went to his cabin and addressed him thus: "I have long felt respect for your illustrious qualities; pray keep up your curtain whilst I venture to

[37] Translated into Chinese by *Ma-ming*, "the voice of the horse." For some remarks respecting him, see *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 95 ss. He is spoken of as the twelfth Buddhist patriarch. According to Tibetan accounts, he is the same as Mâtṛijeta (mother-child), who composed hymns for Buddhist worship (*op. cit.*, p. 141). Nâgârjuna also was a poet, and composed a work called *Suhṛid lêkha* (or *likh*), which he dedicated to his patron, Sadvaha, king of Southern Kôsala (*I-tsing*, k. iv. fol. 5 b.)

express my mind to you." But the Brâhmaṇ, maintaining an air of proud indifference, let down his curtain in order to reply, and to the end would not face his adversary.

Aśvaghôsha feeling in his heart the presence of the evil spirits, his feelings revolted, and he finished the discussion; but as he retired he said, "I have found him out, and he shall be overthrown." Going straightway to the king, he said, "Pray condescend to permit me to propose a subject and discuss it with that lay-doctor!"

The king, hearing the request, said with feeling, "Do you know your man? Unless well learned in the three *vidyâs* and in the six supernatural faculties, who can discuss with him?" Giving permission, he himself ordered his chariot in order to be present during the discussion, and to decide as to the victory.

Then Aśvaghôsha discoursed on the minute words of the three *Piṭakas,* and alluded to the great principles of the five *Vidyâs,* and nicely divided the length and breadth of his argument with a high and various discourse. Then the Brâhmaṇ following in the argument, Aśvaghôsha said, "You have lost the thread of the subject. You must follow my points consecutively."

The Brâhmaṇ then was silent and closed his mouth.

Aśvaghôsha finding fault, said, "Why do you not solve the difficulty? Call the spirits to your help to give you words as quickly as you can;" and then he lifted up his curtain to see how he looked.

The Brâhmaṇ, terrified, cried out, "Stop! stop!"

Aśvaghôsha, retiring, said, "This doctor has forfeited his high renown. 'A hollow fame lasts not long,' as the saying is."

The king answered and said, "Without the eminent ability of a master, who can detect the errors of the ignorant! The acumen of the person who knows men casts honour on his ancestors, and shuts out possibility of

superiority among his successors. The country has a standing rule that such a person should ever be honoured and remembered."

Leaving the south-west angle of the city and going about 200 li,[38] there is an old ruined *saṅghârâma*, by the side of which is a *stûpa* which from time to time reflects a divine light and displays many miracles. This place is frequented by crowds from a distance and near by, who offer up their prayers[39] in worship. There are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked to and fro.

To the south-west of the old *saṅghârâma* about 100 li is the *saṅghârâma* of Tilaḍaka (Ti-lo-shi-kia).[40] This building has four halls, belvideres of three stages, high towers, connected at intervals with double gates that open inwards (*deeply*). It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisâra-râja (Pin-pi-sha-lo).[41] He made much of high talent and exalted the virtuous. Learned men from different cities and scholars from distant countries flock

[38] In the French translation the distance given is 200 *paces*. The text does not require the distance of 200 li to be reckoned in a south-westerly direction from the city; the construction, indeed, is unusual, and it is possible that the symbol *yu* (corner) is an error for *hing* (going); but as it stands, the text reads, "about two hundred li (from) the south-west angle of the city there is," &c. If the text be correct, some of the difficulties noticed by Cunningham (*Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, p. 456) will be explained.

[39] Make their requests in worship. Whatever the theory is as to the possibility of prayer in the Buddhist religion, the fact remains that prayer was offered up.

[40] So Cunningham restores it. And the symbol *shi* may represent *ḍa* as in Chanḍaka. It might also be made to represent Darśika, and as the last descendant of Bimbisâra-râja was Nâga-dâsaka, I thought at one time that this might be the right restoration. But I-tsing gives *Ti-lo-ch'a* as an alternative reading (*Nan hae*, k. iv. fol. 12 b.), which can only represent Tilaḍa (as in *Man ch'a* for *Manḍaka*, &c.) This monastery of Tilaḍaka was three yôjanas west of Nâlanda, or about twenty-one miles (*Vie de H. T.*, p. 211). In this last passage Hiuen Tsiang notices that there was an eminent priest called Prajñabhadra residing in this monastery when he visited it. When I-tsing was there a few years later, there was a priest called Prajñachandra there. Prof. Max Müller by some mistake has placed this temple of Tilaḍaka in Surat (*India*, p. 312), and he speaks of it as *Si-ra-chu*, but it is not so in I-tsing.

[41] Or Vimbasâra, juice of the *Bimba*' (*Bryonia grandis*), (see *ante*, p. 85) his descendant Nâgadâśaka, who appears to have preceded the nine Nandas; he seems to be the same as Mahâ-Nandin. Conf. R. David's *Numis. Orient.*, pp. 50 and 45. Is he the same as Kâlâśôka? Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 859, and *Anh.*, p. xxxviii.

together in crowds, and reaching so far, abide in this *saṅghârâma.* There are 1000 priests in it who study the Great Vehicle. In the road facing the middle gate there are three *vihâras,* above which are placed the connected succession of metal rings (*circles*) with bells suspended in the air; below they are constructed storey above storey, from the bottom to the top. They are surrounded by railings, and the doors, windows, the pillars, beams, and staircases are all carved with gilt copper in relief, and in the intervals highly decorated. The middle *vihâra* contains an erect image of Buddha about thirty feet high. On the left is an image of Târa (*To-lo*) Bôdhisattva;[42] on the right, one of Avalôkitêsvara (Kwan-tsz'-tsai) Bôdhisattva. Each of these images is made of metallic stone; their spiritually composed appearance inspires a mysterious awe, and their influence is felt from far (*or,* spreads far). In each *vihâra* there is a measure of relics which emit a supernatural brilliancy, and from time to time shed forth miraculous indications.

To the south-west of the Tilaḍaka *saṅghârâma* about 90 li we come to a great mountain of blue-clouded (*variegated*) marble,[43] dark and tangled with wood. Here the divine Ṛishis dwell; poisonous snakes and savage dragons inhabit their dens, whilst numerous beasts and birds of prey dwell in the forests. On the top is a large and remarkable rock, on which is built a *stûpa* about ten feet or so high. This is the place where Buddha entered on ecstatic meditation. Of old, when Tathâgata descended as a spirit (*to be born*),[44] he rested on this rock, and entered here the *samâdhi* called "perfectly destroyed," and passed the night so. Then the Dêvas and spiritual saints offered

[42] Târa, said to be a female deity of Tibetan origin, worshipped by the followers of the Yôgachara school (Eitel). Târâvatî is also a form of Durgâ. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. x. p. 273.

[43] *Yun shih* is "variegated marble" (cloud-stone). Whether this be the meaning in the text it is difficult to say. Julien gives "enveloped with dark clouds." This may be so; the original is literally, "cloud-rock-dark-tangled."

[44] The phrase *Kiang shin,* descend spiritually, is generally applied to the incarnation of Buddha; in this passage, however, it may simply mean "descended as a spirit."

their offerings to Tathâgata, and sounded the drums and heavenly music, and rained down great flowers. Tathâgata leaving his ecstasy, the Dêvas all reverenced him, and raised a *stûpa* composed of gold, silver, and precious stones. Now so long time has elapsed since then, that the precious substances are changed into stone. No one has visited the spot for ages; but looking at the mountain from a distance, one can see different kinds of beasts and snakes turning round it to the right. The Dêvas and Rishis and spiritual saints accompany them in a body, praising and worshipping.

On the eastern summit of the mountain there is a *stûpa*. Here Tathâgata formerly stood for a time beholding the country of Magadha.

To the north-west of the mountain 30 li or so, on a declivity of the mountain, is a *saṅghârâma;* it is flanked by a high precipice, and the lofty walls and towers stand up in intervals of the rocks. The priests are about fifty in number, who all study the great Vehicle. This is the place where Guṇamati (Kiu-na-mo-ti) Bôdhisattva overcame the heretic. In the early time there was in this mountain a heretic called Mâdhava (Mo-ta-po), who at first followed the law of the Sankhyâ (Seng-kie) system, and practised the acquirement of wisdom. He had studied to the bottom the doctrine of "the extreme void," as found in the orthodox and erroneous (*books*). His fame was great, and surpassed that of former teachers, and outweighed all then living. The king honoured him exceedingly, and named him "the treasure of the country." The ministers and people regarded him with admiration, and spoke of him as "the teacher of the household." The learned men of the neighbouring countries acknowledged his merits and honoured his virtue, and compared him to the most eminent of his predecessors; a man, verily! highly accomplished. He had as his means of subsistence two towns of the district, and the surrounding houses paid him for the privilege of building (*tenant dues?*).

At this time in Southern India there lived Guṇamati[45] Bôdhisattva, who in his youth had displayed great talents and acquired in early life a brilliant reputation. By close study he had penetrated the meaning of the three *Piṭakas*, and investigated the four truths.[46] Hearing that Mâdhava discussed on the most mysterious and subtle questions, he desired to humble him by overcoming him (*in argument*). He ordered one of his followers to carry a letter thus written (*to his adversary*): "I have heard with all respect of Mâdhava's virtuous ease. You must now, without thought of fatigue, take up again your ancient studies, for in three years' time I intend to overthrow your brilliant reputation."

And so in the second and third years he sent a messenger with the same tidings; and now when he was about to go to meet him, he again wrote a letter, saying: "The appointed period has expired; your studies, such as they are, I am now coming (*to investigate*); you ought to know the fact."

Mâdhava now was alarmed, and gave orders to his disciples and to the inhabitants of the towns:[47] "From this time forth give no hospitality to the Śramaṇa heretics; let this order be generally known and obeyed."

At this time Guṇamati Bôdhisattva, with his staff in hand, arrived at the town of Mâdhava. The people who guarded the town, in agreement to the order, would give him no hospitality.[48] The Brâhmaṇs, moreover, deriding him, said, "What mean you by your shaven head and your singular dress? Begone from this! there is no place here for you to stop."

[45] Translated by the Chinese "virtue and wisdom" (*Tih hwui*).

[46] The four truths, the foundation of the Buddhist dogma, are—(1) the truth of "suffering" (*duḥkha*); (2) the increase or accumulation of misery from the passions (*samudaya*); (3) the extinction or destruction of suffering is possible (*nirôdha*); (4) the way or means (*mârga*). See Childers, *Pali Dict.*, sub voc. *Ariyasaccam*; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 517; *Manual of Budhism*, p. 496; also Julien *in loco*, n. 1.

[47] That is, the two towns he held in feoffment.

[48] Would have no intercourse with him.

Guṇamati Bôdhisattva desiring to overthrow the heretic, sought to remain the night in the town, and so he said with gentle words, "You, in pursuing your worldly studies, observe a pure conduct. I also, in studying higher truth, observe a pure line of conduct.[49] Our life being alike,[50] why do you exclude me?"

But the Brâhmaṇs would have no words with him, and only drove him from the place. Leaving the town, he went into a great forest in which savage beasts prowled about to destroy all passers-by. At this time there was a faithful brother[51] who, fearing (*the risk he ran from*) the beasts and the prickly thorns, hastened to him, staff in hand. Having met him, he said to the Bôdhisattva, "In Southern India there is a Bôdhisattva called Guṇamati, of far-spread renown; because this man wants to come here to discuss principles of belief, the master of the town, being afraid of him and his fame, has strictly enjoined to give no shelter to the Śramaṇas, and because I am afraid lest some accident should happen to him, I have come to accompany him in his journey, and to assure him of safety (*that he may rest free from fear of the other*)."

Guṇamati replied, "Most kind believer, I am Guṇamati." The disciple having heard this, with the greatest reverence replied to Guṇamati thus: "If what you say be true, you must go quickly (*onwards*)." Leaving the deep forest, they stopped awhile on the open plain; the faithful believer, following with his torch (?) and holding his bow, kept guard on the right and left. The (*first*) division of the night being past, he addressed Guṇamati and said, "It is better for us to go, lest men, knowing that you have come, should plot together to kill you."

Guṇamati, expressing his gratitude, said, "I dare not disobey you!" On this, following him, they came to the king's palace and said to the door-keeper, there is a

[49] They were both men of "pure conduct." The expression "pure brother" is applied to the Buddhist convert. The word Brâhmaṇ also is explained by "a pure-lived man."

[50] As we both aim at pure conduct.

[51] A pure believer

Śramaṇa here who has come from a distance; he prays the king to agree in condescension to permit him to discuss with Mâdhava.

The king hearing the news, moved by his feelings, said, "This man is bereft of reason," and then he ordered an officer to go to the place where Mâdhava was, with this royal order: "There is a foreign Śramaṇa come here who seeks to discuss with you. I have now ordered the hall for the discussion to be prepared and watered; I have told those in the neighbourhood and far off to await the usual arrangements after your coming. Pray condescend to come forthwith."

Mâdhava asked the messenger of the king, "This surely is the doctor Guṇamati of South India." "Yes," he said, "it is he."

Mâdhava hearing this, his heart was very sad, but as he could not well avoid the difficulty, he set out for the hall of discussion, where the king, the ministers, and the people were all assembled desiring to hear this great controversy. Guṇamati first laid down the principles of his school, and continued his speech till the setting of the sun. Then Mâdhava excusing himself on account of his age and infirmities, to defer his answer, asked permission to retire and meditate. He would then return and answer every objection (*difficulty*) in order.[52] At the early morn he returned and ascended the throne, and so they went on to the sixth day, but on that day he vomited blood and died. When on the point of death he gave this command to his wife, "You have high talent; do not forget the affront paid to me." When Mâdhava was dead, she concealed the fact and had no funeral ceremonies; and clothing herself in shining apparel, she entered forthwith the assembly where the discussion was held, and a general clamour was raised as the people said one to another, "Mâdhava, who boasted of his talents, is unable to reply

[52] This sentence appears to be parenthetical, and is introduced to explain the language used by Guṇamati.

to Guṇamati, and so he sends his wife to make up for his deficiency."

Guṇamati, addressing the wife, said, "He who could bind you, has been bound by me."

Mâdhava's wife, seeing the difficulty, retired. The king then said, "What secret words are these at which she remains silent?"

Guṇamati said, "Alas! Mâdhava is dead! and his wife desires to come and discuss with me!"

The king said, "How know you this? Pray explain it to me."

Then Guṇamati said, "When the wife came her face was pale as death, and her words were toned in bitter enmity. I knew therefore that Mâdhava is dead! 'Able to bind you,' is a phrase applicable to her husband."

The king having sent a messenger to verify the statement, he found it even so; then the king in gratitude said, "The law of Buddha is a mysterious one! Eminent sages succeed one another without interruption; with no personal object they guard themselves in wisdom and use their secret knowledge for the purpose of converting (*transforming the world*). According to the old rules of the country the praises of such a sage (*or*, of your virtue) should be ever celebrated."

Guṇamati replied, "Whatever poor talents I have, I reserve them for the benefit of all that lives; and when I would draw them to the truth first of all I subdue their pride, then use the influences of converting power. Now then, in this case, O king, let the descendants of Mâdhava's territory for a thousand generations employ themselves in the service of a *saṅghârâma*. Your instructions will extend, then, from age to age, and your reputation will be immortal. Persons of a pure faith, conscious of protection, their religious merit will benefit the country for ages. They will be nourished as the priests are, and so the faithful will be encouraged to honour their virtue."

On this he founded the *saṅghârâma* to celebrate the victory.

At first, after the defeat of Mâdhava, six Brâhmaṇs (*pure-lived men*), fleeing to the frontiers, told the heretics of the reverse they had suffered, and they selected men of eminent talent with a view hereafter to wipe out their disgrace.

The king having a sincere respect for Guṇamati, went in person, and addressed the following invitation to him: "Now the heretics, not measuring their strength aright, have plotted together, and dare to sound the drum of discussion. Pray, sir, condescend to crush these heretics."

Guṇamati replied, "Let those who wish to discuss come together!"

Then the learned men among the heretics were rejoiced, and said, "We shall be sure of the victory to-day!" The heretics then laid down their principles with energy for the purpose of opening the discussion.

Guṇamati Bôdhisattva replied, "Now those heretics who fled from the difficulty they were in of obeying the king's command, these are mean men. What have I to do to discuss with and answer such persons?" Then he added, "There is a young servant here by the pulpit who has been accustomed to listen to these discussions. He is well acquainted with abstract questions from attending by my side and listening to the high language of the disputants."

Then Guṇamati, leaving the pulpit, said to the servant, "Take my place, and carry on the discussion." Then all the assembly was moved with astonishment at this extraordinary proceeding. But the servant, sitting by the pulpit, immediately proceeded to examine the difficulties proposed. His arguments were clear like the water that wells from the fountain, and his points were true as the sound of the echo. After three replies the heretics were defeated, and once more they were obliged

to hide their disgrace and clip their wings. From this time forth the *saṅghârâma* enjoyed the endowment of the town and dwellings.

South-west of the convent of Guṇamati about 20 li we come to a solitary hill on which is a convent called (the *saṅghârâma* of) Śîlabhadra (Shi-lo-po-t'o-lo).[53] This is the convent which the master of *śâstras* after his victory caused to be built out of the funds of a village which were given up. It stands by the side of a single sharp crag like a *stûpa*. It contains some sacred relics of Buddha. This master of *śâstras* belonged to the family of the king of Samataṭa (San-mo-ta-ch'a), and was of the Brâhmaṇ caste. He loved learning and had gained a wide reputation. Travelling through the Indies to examine into and seek after religious truth, he came to this kingdom, and in the *saṅghârâma* of Nâlanda (Na-lan-t'o) he encountered Dharmapâla Bôdhisattva (Hu-fa-pu-sa). Hearing him explain the law, his understanding was opened, and he requested to become a disciple.[54] He inquired into the most subtle questions,[55] and investigated the way of deliverance to its conclusion; and thus having reached the highest point of intelligence, he estab-

[53] In Chinese, Kiai hien, "the sage of moral conduct."

[54] To assume the soiled or coloured robes of a mendicant.

[55] He inquired as to "the extreme point of the end of all." This idea of "a terminal fixed point of all things" (*yih-tsai-ssc kau-keng kin-ku*) corresponds to the Sanskrit *dhruva*, and may be rendered "final truth." It is the name of a Samâdhi; it is also used as a definition of *Nirvâṇa*; it is the formal definition of the title of a well-known Buddhist *sûtra*, the *S'uraṇgama*. In this connection it denotes the investigation of the highest (mystical) truth. This *sûtra* was written at Nâlanda; it was probably the work of Dharmapâla (it must not be confused with another work of the same name translated by Kumârajîva, and recited by Fa-hian at the Vulture Peak near Râjagṛiha); it was brought to China and translated A.D. 705. In the commentary (k. viii. fol. 30 b) it is said, "This *sûtra* was brought from India and belongs to the Mûrdhâbhishikta school (*K'un teng pu*). According to Colebrooke (Essays, p. 272), the Mûrdhâbhishiktas were a mixed class sprung from a Brâhmaṇa and a Kshatriya girl. The school named, therefore, was probably founded on a mixture of Brâhmaṇ and Buddhist doctrine. Now Nâlanda was especially a place of study both for the Brahmanical and Buddhist books (Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 289). This school, therefore, probably originated there.

lished his fame over men of his time, even to distant countries.

There was a heretic of South India who delighted in examining profound questions and searching out hidden matters, in penetrating obscure and abstruse points of doctrine. Hearing of Dharmapâla's fame, the pride of self rose up within him, and, moved by profound envy, he passed over mountains and rivers in order to sound the drum[56] and seek discussion. He said, "I am a man of Southern India. It is reported that in the king's country there is a great master of *śâstras;*[57] I am but ignorant, yet I would wish to discuss with him."

"It is true, as you affirm," the king said; and forthwith he sent a messenger to ask Dharmapâla thus: "There is a heretic of Southern India who has come from a long distance here, and desires to discuss with you. Will you condescend to come to the hall of assembly and discuss with him?"

Dharmapâla having heard the tidings, gathered up his garments and went, whilst Śîlabhadra and the inferior disciples surrounded him as he advanced. Then Śîlabhadra (the chief disciple) addressed him thus: "Whither goest thou so quickly?" Dharmapâla answered, "Since the sun of wisdom went down,[58] and only the lamp of the inherited doctrine burns quietly, the heretics like clouds of ants and bees have risen; therefore I am now going to crush that one in discussion."

Śîlabhadra said, "As I have myself attended at various discussions, let me destroy this heretic." Dharmapâla, knowing his history, allowed him to have his way.

At this time Śîlabhadra was just thirty years old. The assembly, despising his youth, feared that it would be difficult for him alone to undertake the discussion. Dharmapâla knowing that the mind of his followers was

[56] To sound the drum is an expression for a challenge to discuss the law.

[57] *Ta lun sse*, explained by Julien (note 1, p. 453) to be equivalent to *Mahâvâdi.*

[58] That is, since the death of Buddha.

disturbed, hastened to relieve them and said, "In honouring the conspicuous talent of a person we do not say, 'He has cut his teeth' (*count his years according to his teeth*). As I see the case before us now, I feel sure that he will defeat the heretic; he is strong enough."

On the day of discussion (*assembly for discussion*) the people came together from far and near; both old and young in numbers assembled. Then the heretical teacher on his part laid open his case with great emphasis, and penetrated to the utmost the abstruse points (*of his argument*). Śîlabhadra followed his arguments (*principles*), and refuted them by profound and subtle allegations. The heretic, his words being exhausted, was covered with shame and retired.

The king, in order to reward the virtue (*of Śîlabhadra*), gave him the revenues of this town as a bequest. The master of *śâstras*, declining the offer, said, "A master who wears the garments of religion (*dyed garments*) knows how to be contented with little and to keep himself pure. What would he do with a town?"

The king in reply said, "The King of the Law has passed into the obscure (*abode*), and the vessel of wisdom has been engulfed in the stream. If there are no distinctions now made (*between the learned and ignorant*), then no encouragement is given to the scholar to press forward in the attainment of religion. Pray, of your pity, accept my offering."

The doctor, not persisting in his refusal, accepted the town and built this *saṅghârâma*, vast and magnificent, and endowed it with the revenues of the town,[59] as a means of providing it with the offerings necessary for religious service.

Going to the south-west of the *saṅghârâma* of Śîlabhadra about 40 or 50 li, and crossing the Nairañjanâ[60]

[59] Of the houses of the town. I understand it to mean the revenues of the *saṅghârâma* were derived from the rentals of the place; not that the people or the inhabitants were bound to the service of the priests.

[60] This river is now called Phalgu; the name Lilâjan or Nilâñjana is confined to the western branch, which joins the Mohâni five miles above Gayâ (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 457).

river we come to the town of Gayâ.[61] This town is naturally strong (*situated amid crags* or *precipices*). It has but few inhabitants; there are about 1000 families of Brâhmans only; they are the offspring (*successors*) of a Rishi. The king does not regard them as vassals and the people everywhere highly respect them.

To the north of the town 30 li or so there is a pure fountain of water. The tradition handed down in India is that it is called "holy water;" all who bathe or drink thereof are cleansed from whatever defilement of sin they have.

To the south-west of the town 5 or 6 li we come to Mount Gayâ (Kia-ye), with its sombre valley, streams, and steep and dangerous crags. In India the name commonly given to this is the divine (*spiritual*) mountain. From old days it has been the custom for the ruling sovereign when he comes to the throne, with a view to conciliate his subjects at a distance and to cause his renown to exceed previous generations, to ascend (*this mountain*) and declare his succession with accompanying ceremonies (*religious ceremonies*). On the top of the mountain is a *stûpa* about 100 feet high, which was built by Aśôka-râja. Divine prodigies are exhibited by it, and a sacred effulgency often shines from it. In old days Tathâgata here delivered the *P'ao-yun*[62] and other *sûtras.*

To the south-east of Mount Gayâ is a *stûpa.* This is the spot where Kâśyapa (Kia-she-po) was born. To the south of this *stûpa* are two others. These are the spots where Gayâkâśyapa (Kia-ye-kia-she-po) and Nadîkâśyapa (Nai-ti-kia-she-po) sacrificed as fire-worshippers.[63]

61 Now called Brahma-Gayâ to distinguish it from Bauddha-Gayâ, the place where Buddha reached enlightenment. The distance from Pâtna to Gayâ is 60 miles by the highroad, about 70 by the route of Hiuen Tsiang. We do not know the direction of the "old convent," 200 li from Pâtna, and therefore cannot test the correctness of Hiuen Tsiang's figures.

62 Restored to *Ratnamêgha Sûtra* by Julien.

63 For an account of the three Kâśyapas and their conversion see *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, varga 16, vv. 1304 ss. For the scene of the "fire grot" see *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xxiv. fig. 1.

To the east of the place where Gayâkâśyapa sacrificed to fire, crossing a great river, we come to a mountain called Prâgbôdhi (Po-lo-ki-po-ti).[64] Tathâgata, after diligently seeking for six years and not yet obtaining supreme wisdom, after this gave up his penance and accepted the rice-milk (*of Sujatâ*). As he went to the north-east he saw this mountain that it was secluded and dark, whereupon he desired to seek enlightenment thereon. Ascending the north-east slope and coming to the top, the earth shook and the mountain quaked, whilst the mountain Dêva in terror spake thus to Bôdhisattva: "This mountain is not the fortunate spot for attaining supreme wisdom. If here you stop and engage in the '*Samadhi* of diamond,'[65] the earth will quake and gape and the mountain be overthrown upon you."

Then Bôdhisattva descended, and half-way down the south-west slope he halted. There, backed by the crag and facing a torrent, is a great stone chamber. Here he sat down cross-legged. Again the earth quaked and the mountain shook. Then a Dêva of the pure abode (*Śuddhavâsas*) cried out in space, "This is not the place for a Tathâgata to perfect supreme wisdom. From this south-west 14 or 15 li, not far from the place of penance, there is a *Pippala* (*Pi-po-lo*) tree under which is 'a diamond throne.'[66] All the past Buddhas seated on this throne have obtained true enlightenment, and so will those yet to come. Pray, then, proceed to that spot."[67]

Then Bôdhisattva, rising up, the dragon dwelling in the cave said, "This cave is pure and excellent. Here you

[64] In Chinese *Tsin-ching-kio-shan*, *i.e.*, "the mountain leading to (before) perfect intelligence." When Tathâgata was about to attain to enlightenment he first ascended this mountain; hence the name.

[65] *Vajra samâdhi*, because it penetrates all conditions of being (*fa*).

[66] Vajrâsana, an imperishable throne. It was supposed to be the centre of the earth, and the spot where all the Buddhas arrived at complete wisdom.

[67] The whole of this passage is spoken by the Dêva. Julien translates it differently.

may accomplish the holy (*aim*). Would that of your exceeding love you would not leave me."

Then Bôdhisattva having discovered that this was not the place for accomplishing his aim, to appease the dragon, he left him his shadow and departed. The Dêvas going before, led the way, and accompanied him to the *Bôdhi* tree. When Aśôka-râja came into power, he signalised each spot up and down this mountain which Bôdhisattva had passed, by erecting distinguishing posts and *stûpas*. These, though of different sizes, yet are alike in spiritual manifestations. Sometimes flowers fall on them from heaven; sometimes a bright light illumines the dark valleys. Every year, on the day of breaking up the season of *Wass* (*Varshâs*), religious laymen from different countries ascend this mountain for the purpose of making religious offerings to the faithful. They stop one night and return.

Going south-west from Mount Prâgbôdhi about 14 or 15 li, we come to the Bôdhi tree. It is surrounded by a brick wall (*a wall of piled bricks*) of considerable height, steep and strong. It is long from east to west, and short from north to south. It is about 500 paces round. Rare trees with their renowned flowers connect their shade and cast their shadows; the delicate *sha*[68] herb and different shrubs carpet the soil. The principal gate opens to the east, opposite the Nairañjanâ river. The southern gate adjoins a great flowery bank. The western side is blocked up and difficult of access (*steep and strong*). The northern gate opens into the great *saṅghârâma*. Within the surrounding wall the sacred traces touch one another in all directions. Here there are *stûpas*, in another place *vihâras*. The kings, princes, and great personages throughout all Jambudvîpa, who have accepted the bequeathed teaching as handed down to them, have erected these monuments as memorials.

In the middle of the enclosure surrounding the *Bôdhi*

68 The *Sha t'so* is the *Cyperus iria* of Linnæus (Doolittle's *Handbook*, ii. 432).

tree is the diamond throne (*Vajrâsana*). In former days, when the Bhadra-kalpa was arriving at the period of perfection (*vivartta*), when the great earth arose, this (*throne*) also appeared. It is in the middle of the great *chiliocosm*; it goes down to the limits of the golden wheel (*the gold circle*), and upwards it is flush with the ground. It is composed of diamond. In circuit it is 100 paces or so. On this the thousand Buddhas of the Bhadra-kalpa have sat and entered the diamond *Samâdhi*; hence the name of the diamond throne. It is the place where the Budddas attain the holy path (*the sacred way of Buddhahood*). It is also called the *Bôdhimaṇḍa*. When the great earth is shaken, this place alone is unmoved. Therefore when Tathâgata was about to reach the condition of enlightenment, and he went successively to the four angles of this enclosure, the earth shook and quaked; but afterwards coming to this spot, all was still and at rest. From the time of entering on the concluding portion of the kalpa, when the true law dies out and disappears, the earth and dust begin to cover over this spot, and it will be no longer visible.

After the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha, the rulers of the different countries having learned by tradition the measurement of the diamond throne, decided the limits from north to south by two figures of Kwan-tsz'-tsai (Avalôkitêśvara) Bôdhisattva, there seated and looking eastward.

The old people say that "as soon as the figures of this Bôdhisattva sink in the ground and disappear, the law of Buddha will come to an end." The figure at the south angle is now buried up to its breast. The *Bôdhi* tree above the diamond throne is the same as the *Pippala* tree. In old days, when Buddha was alive, it was several hundred feet high. Although it has often been injured by cutting, it still is 40 or 50 feet in height. Buddha sitting under this tree reached perfect wisdom, and therefore it is called the (*Samyak sambôdhi*) tree of knowledge (*Pu-ti-Bôdhi*). The bark is of a yellowish-white colour, the leaves and twigs

of a dark green. The leaves wither not either in winter or summer, but they remain shining and glistening all the year round without change. But at every successive *Nirvâṇa*-day (*of the Buddhas*) the leaves wither and fall, and then in a moment revive as before. On this day (of the *Nirvâṇa*?) the princes of different countries and the religious multitude from different quarters assemble by thousands and ten thousands unbidden, and bathe (*the roots*) with scented water and perfumed milk; whilst they raise the sounds of music and scatter flowers and perfumes, and whilst the light of day is continued by the burning torches, they offer their religious gifts.

After the *Nirvâṇa* of Tathâgata, when Aśôka-râja began to reign, he was an unbeliever (*a believer in heresy*), and he desired to destroy the bequeathed traces of Buddha; so he raised an army, and himself taking the lead, he came here for the purpose of destroying (*the tree*). He cut through the roots; the trunk, branches, and leaves were all divided into small bits and heaped up in a pile a few tens of paces to the west of the place. Then he ordered a Brâhmaṇ who sacrificed to fire to burn them in the discharge of his religious worship. Scarcely had the smoke cleared away, when lo! a double tree burst forth from the flaming fire, and because the leaves and branches were shining like feathers, it was called the "ashes bôdhi tree." Aśôka-râja, seeing the miracle, repented of his crime. He bathed the roots (*of the old tree*) with perfumed milk to fertilise them, when lo! on the morning of the next day, the tree sprang up as before. The king, seeing the miraculous portent, was overpowered with deep emotion, and himself offered religious gifts, and was so overjoyed that he forgot to return (*to the palace*). The queen, who was an adherent of the heretics, sent secretly a messenger, who, after the first division of night, once more cut it down. Aśôka-râja in the morning coming again to worship at the tree, seeing only the mutilated trunk, was filled with exceeding grief. With the utmost sincerity he prayed as

he worshipped; he bathed the roots with perfumed milk, and in less than a day again the tree was restored. The king, moved by deep reverence at the prodigy, surrounded the tree with a stone (*brick*) wall above 10 feet, which still remains visible. In late times Śaśâṅka-râja (She-shang-kia), being a believer in heresy, slandered the religion of Buddha, and through envy destroyed the convents and cut down the *Bôdhi* tree, digging it up to the very springs of the earth; but yet he did not get to the bottom of the roots. Then he burnt it with fire and sprinkled it with the juice of the sugar-cane, desiring to destroy it entirely, and not leave a trace of it behind.

Some months afterwards, the king of Magadha, called Pûrṇavarmâ (Pu-la-na-fa-mo), the last of the race of Aśôka-râja, hearing of it, sighed and said, "The sun of wisdom having set, nothing is left but the tree of Buddha, and this they now have destroyed, what source of spiritual life is there now?" He then cast his body on the ground overcome with pity; then with the milk of a thousand cows he again bathed the roots of the tree, and in a night it once more revived and grew to the height of some 10 feet. Fearing lest it should be again cut down, he surrounded it with a wall of stone 24 feet high. So the tree is now encircled with a wall about 20 feet high.

To the east of the *Bôdhi* tree there is a *vihâra* about 160 or 170 feet high. Its lower foundation-wall is 20 or more paces in its face. The building (*pile*) is of blue tiles (*bricks*) covered with chunam (*burnt stone, lime*); all the niches in the different storeys hold golden figures.[69] The four sides of the building are covered with wonderful ornamental work; in one place figures of stringed pearls (*garlands*), in another figures of heavenly Ṛishis. The whole is surrounded by a gilded copper *Âmalaka* fruit.[70] The eastern face adjoins a storeyed pavilion, the projecting eaves of which rise one over the other to the height

69 There is no mention made of "figures of Buddha."

70 *Myrobolan-embilc*; it is also called "a precious pitcher" or "a precious gourd." But see note at end of this Book.

of three distinct chambers; its projecting eaves, its pillars, beams, doors, and windows are decorated with gold and silver ornamental work, with pearls and gems let in to fill up interstices. Its sombre chambers and mysterious halls have doors in each of the three storeys. To the right and left of the outside gate are niches like chambers; in the left is a figure of Avalôkitêśvara Bôdhisattva, and in the right a figure of Maitrêya (T'se-shi) Bôdhisattva. They are made of white silver, and are about 10 feet high. On the site of the present *vihâra* Aśôka-râja at first built a small *vihâra*. Afterwards there was a Brâhmaṇ who reconstructed it on a larger scale. At first this Brâhmaṇ was not a believer in the law of Buddha, and sacrificed to Mahêśvara. Having heard that this heavenly spirit (*god*) dwelt in the Snowy Mountains, he forthwith went there with his younger brother to seek by prayer (*his wishes*). The Dêva said, "Those who pray should aim to acquire some extensive religious merit. If you who pray have not this ground (*of merit*), then neither can I grant what you pray for."

The Brâhmaṇ said, "What meritorious work can I set about, to enable me to obtain my desire?"

The god said, "If you wish to plant a superior root (*growth*) of merit, then seek a superior field (*in which to acquire it*). The *Bôdhi* tree is the place for attaining the fruit of a Buddha. You should straightway return there, and by the *Bôdhi* tree erect a large *vihâra*, and excavate a large tank, and devote all kinds of religious offerings (*to the service*). You will then surely obtain your wishes."

The Brâhmaṇs having received the divine communication, conceived a believing heart, and they both returned to the place. The elder brother built the *vihâra*, the younger excavated the tank, and then they prepared large religious offerings, and sought with diligence their heart's desire (*vow*). The result followed at once. The Brâhmaṇ became the great minister of the king. He devoted all his emoluments to the work of charity. Having finished

the *vihâra,* he invited the most skilful artists to make a figure (*likeness*) of Tathâgata when he first reached the condition of Buddha. Years and months passed without result; no one answered the appeal. At length there was a Brâhmaṇ who came and addressed the congregation thus: "I will thoroughly execute (*paint and mark*) the excellent figure (*or* distinguishing points) of Tathâgata."

They replied, "For the purpose of doing this, what do you require?"

"Place in the *vihâra* a pile of scented earth and a lighted lamp; then when I have gone in, fasten the doors. After six months you may open them again."

Then the priests did as he directed. After four months, the six not being passed, the priests being astonished at the strange circumstance, opened the door to see what had happened. In the *vihâra* they found a beautiful figure of Buddha in a sitting position, the right foot uppermost, the left hand resting, the right hand hanging down. He was sitting facing the east, and as dignified in appearance as when alive. The throne was 4 feet 2 inches high, and 12 feet 5 inches broad. The figure was 11 feet 5 inches high; the two knees were 8 feet 8 inches apart, and the two shoulders 6 feet 2 inches. The signs and marks (*of a Buddha*) were perfectly drawn. The loving expression of his face was like life, only above his right breast the material was not yet completely rounded off. Having seen no man, they were satisfied that this was a miracle, and all of them were filled with strong emotion (*piteously sighed*) as they diligently sought to find out the secret (*earnestly inquired in order to know*). Now there was a Śramaṇa who was passing the night there. He was of an honest and truthful heart, and being affected by the circumstance (*just related*), he had a dream, in which he saw the forementioned Brâhmaṇ who addressed him thus: "I am Maitrêya Bôdhisattva. Fearing that the mind of no artist could conceive the beauty of the sacred features, therefore I myself have come to paint and

delineate the figure of Buddha. His right hand hangs down[71] in token that when he was about to reach the fruit of a Buddha, and the enticing Mâra came to fascinate him, then the earth-spirits came to tell him thereof. The first who came forth advanced to help Buddha to resist Mâra, to whom Tathâgata said, 'Fear not! By the power of patience he must be subdued!' Mâra-râja said, 'Who will bear witness for you?' Tathâgata dropped his hand and pointed to the ground, saying, 'Here is my witness.' On this a second earth-spirit leapt forth to bear witness (*to testify*). Therefore the present figure is so drawn, in imitation of the old posture of Buddha."

The brethren having understood this sacred miracle (*spiritual reflection*), were all moved with a tender emotion, and they placed above the breast, where the work was as yet unfinished, a necklace of precious stones and jewels, whilst on the head they placed a diadem of encircling gems, exceedingly rich.

Śaśâṅka-râja having cut down the *Bôdhi* tree, wished to destroy this image; but having seen its loving features, his mind had no rest or determination, and he returned with his retinue homewards. On his way he said to one of his officers, "We must remove that statue of Buddha and place there a figure of Mahêśvara."

The officer having received the order, was moved with fear, and, sighing, said, "If I destroy the figure of Buddha, then during successive kalpas I shall reap misfortune; if I disobey the king, he will put me to a cruel death and destroy my family; in either case, whether I obey or disobey, such will be the consequences; what, then, shall I do?"

On this he called to his presence a man with a believing heart (*i.e., a believer in Buddha*) to help him, and sent him to build up across the chamber and before the figure of Buddha a wall of brick. The man, from a feeling of shame at the darkness, placed a burning lamp (*with the*

71 This is the *Bhûmisparśa mudrâ*.

concealed figure); then on the interposing wall he drew a figure of (*or*, he made a figure of)[72] Mahêśvara-dêva.

The work being finished, he reported the matter. The king hearing it, was seized with terror; his body produced sores and his flesh rotted off, and after a short while he died. Then the officer quickly ordered the intervening wall to be pulled down again, when, although several days had elapsed, the lamp was still found to be burning (*unextinguished*).

The figure still exists in its perfect state as it was made by the sacred art of the god. It stands in a dark chamber; lamps and torches are kept burning therein; but those who wish to see the sacred features cannot do so by coming into the chamber; they should in the morning reflect the sunlight by means of a great mirror on the interior of the room; the sacred marks may, then be seen. Those who behold them find their religious emotions much increased. Tathâgata obtained complete enlightenment (*Samyak sambodhi*) on the eighth day of the latter half of the Indian month Vaiśâkha (Fei-she-kie), which is with us the eighth day of the third month. But the Sthavira school (Shang-tso-pu) say on the fifteenth day of the second half of Vaiśâkha, which corresponds with us to the fifteenth day of the third month. Tathâgata was then thirty years old, or, according to others, thirty-five years.

To the north of the *Bôdhi* tree is a spot where Buddha walked up and down. When Tathâgata had obtained enlightenment, he did not rise from the throne, but remained perfectly quiet for seven days, lost in contemplation. Then rising, he walked up and down during seven days to the north of the tree; he walked there east and west for a distance of ten paces or so. Miraculous flowers sprang up under his foot-traces to the number of eighteen. Afterwards this space was covered in by a brick wall about three feet high. According to the old belief, these

[72] Julien thinks a translation should be adopted that would apply equally to a statue or a picture.

holy traces thus covered in, indicate the length or shortness of a man's life. First of all, having offered up a sincere prayer, then count the measurement (*or*, pace the distance and measure); according as the person's life is to be long or short, so will the measurement be greater or less.

On the left side of the road, to the north of the place where Buddha walked, is a large stone, on the top of which, as it stands in a great *vihâra*, is a figure of Buddha with his eyes raised and looking up Here in former times Buddha sat for seven days contemplating the *Bôdhi* tree; he did not remove his gaze from it during this period, desiring thereby to indicate his grateful feelings towards the tree by so looking at it with fixed eyes.

Not far to the west of the *Bôdhi* tree is a large *vihâra* in which is a figure of Buddha made of *teou-shih* (*brass*), ornamented with rare jewels; he stands with his face to the east. Before it is a blue stone with wonderful marks upon it and strangely figured. This is (*the place where*) Buddha sat on a seven-gemmed throne made by Śakra Dêva-râja when Brahma-râja built a hall for him of seven precious substances, after he had arrived at complete enlightenment. Whilst he thus sat for seven days in reflection, the mysterious glory which shone from his person lit up the *Bôdhi* tree. From the time of the holy one till the present is so long that the gems have changed into stone.

Not far to the south of the *Bôdhi* tree is a *stûpa* about 100 feet high, which was built by Aśôka-râja. Bôdhisattva having bathed in the Nairañjanâ river, proceeded towards the *Bôdhi* tree. Then he thought, "What shall I do for a seat? I will seek for some pure rushes when the day breaks." Then Śakra-râja (Shi) transformed himself into a grass-cutter, who, with his burden on his back, went along the road. Bôdhisattva addressing him said, "Can you give me the bundle of grass you are carrying on your back?"

The assumed grass-cutter, hearing the request, offered the grass with respect. Bôdhisattva having received it, went onwards to the tree.

Not far to the north of this spot is a *stûpa*. Bôdhisattva, when about to obtain enlightenment (*the fruit of Buddha*), saw a flock of blue birds rising up (*rohin?*) [73] according to the lucky way. Of all the good omens recognised in India this is the most so. Therefore the Dêvas of the pure abodes (*Śuddhavâsas* accommodated their proceedings to the customary modes of the world, and caused the birds thus to encircle him as spiritually (*miraculously*) indicating his holiness.

To the east of the *Bôdhi* tree, on the left and right of the great road, there are two *stûpas* (*one on each side*). This is the place where Mâra-râja tempted Bôdhisattva. Bôdhisattva, when on the point of enlightenment, was tempted by Mâra to become a Chakravarttin (Lun-wang) monarch.[74] On his refusing, he went away heavy and sorrowful. On this his daughters, asking him, went to try to entice the Bôdhisattva, but by his spiritual power he changed their youthful appearance into that of decrepit old women. Then leaning together on their sticks they went away.[75]

To the north-west of the *Bôdhi* tree in a *vihâra* is the image of Kâśyapa Buddha. It is noted for its miraculous and sacred qualities. From time to time it emits a glorious light. The old records say, that if a man actuated by sincere faith walks round it seven times, he obtains the power of knowing the place and condition of his (*former?*) births.

[73] The expression in the text seems to be phonetic. Julien translates "*luh*" literally by "deer." But the reference is to the blue birds rising up and circling round Bôdhisattva in a fortunate way, vid. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lviii. fig. 2, *first section*. The account of these signs is to be found in *Wong Püh*, and in other legendary lives of Buddha.

[74] To accept the letter inviting him to be a Chakravarttin, or the *lot* cast by the soothsayers with respect to his being a Chakravarttin (Ch'uen-lun-wang).

[75] The temptation scene is represented in all the sculptures. See, *e.g.*, *Cave Temples*, by Dr. Burgess, pl. xx. For an account of the different events named in the text and a description of the great temple of Gayâ built by a king of Ceylon, see *Buddha Gayâ*, by Dr. Raj. Mitra.

To the north-west of the *vihâra* of Kâśyapa Buddha there are two brick chambers, each containing a figure of an earth-spirit. Formerly, when Buddha was on the point of obtaining enlightenment, Mâra came to him, and each one (*or* one) became witness for Buddha. Men afterwards, on account of his merit, painted or carved this figure of him with all its points of excellence.

To the north-west of the wall of the *Bôdhi* tree is a *stûpa* called Yuh-kin-hiang (the saffron scent, Kuṅkuma); it is about 40 feet high; it was built by a merchant chief (*srêshṭhî*) of the country of Tsao-kiu-ch'u (Tsaukuta). In old days there was a merchant-prince of this country who worshipped the heavenly spirits and sacrificed to them with a view to seek religious merit. He despised the religion of Buddha, and did not believe in the doctrine of "deeds and fruits." After a while, he took with him some merchants to engage in commercial transactions (*to take goods for having or not having, i.e., for exchange*). Embarking in a ship on the southern sea, a tempest arising, they lost their way, whilst the tumultuous waves encircled them. Then after three years, their provisions being gone and their mouths parched with thirst, when there was not enough to last the voyagers from morning till evening, they employed all their energies with one mind in calling on the gods to whom they sacrificed. After all their efforts no result followed (*their secret desire not accomplished*), when unexpectedly they saw a great mountain with steep crags and precipices, and a double sun gleaming from far. Then the merchants, congratulating themselves, said, "We are fortunate indeed in encountering this great mountain; we shall here get some rest and refreshment." The merchant-master said, "It is no mountain; it is the *Makara* fish; the high crags and scarped precipices are but its fins and mane; the double suns are its eyes as they shine." Scarce had he finished when the sails of the ship began to draw; on which the merchant-master said to his companions, "I have heard

say that Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhisattva is able to come to the help of those in difficulties and give them rest; we ought then with all faith to call upon that name." So with one accord and voice they paid their adorations[76] and called on the name. The high mountains disappeared, the two suns were swallowed up, and suddenly they saw a Śramaṇa with dignified mien and calm demeanour holding his staff, walking through the sky, and coming towards them to rescue them from shipwreck, and in consequence they were at their own country immediately.[77] Then because their faith was confirmed, and with a view not to lose the merit of their condition, they built a *stûpa* and prepared their religious offerings, and they covered the *stûpa* from top to bottom with saffron paste. After thus, conceiving a heart of faith, those who were like-minded resolved to pay their adoration to the sacred traces; beholding the *Bôdhi* tree, they had no leisure for words about returning; but now, a month having elapsed, as they were walking together, they said in conversation, "Mountains and rivers separate us from our native country, and now as to the *stûpa* which we built formerly, whilst we have been here, who has watered and swept it?" On finishing these words and coming to the spot (*where this stûpa stands*), they turned round in token of respect; when suddenly they saw a *stûpa* rise before them, and on advancing to look at it, they saw it was exactly like the one they had built in their own country. Therefore now in India they call it the Kuṅkuma stûpa.

At the south-east angle of the wall of the *Bôdhi* tree is a *stûpa* by the side of a Nyagrôdha (*ni-ken-liu*) tree. Beside it there is a *vihâra* in which is a sitting figure of Buddha. This is the spot where the great Brahmadêva exhorted Buddha, when he had first acquired enlightenment, to turn the wheel of the excellent law.[78]

[76] *Kwai-ming*, pay their adorations; the same as *kwai-i*. Julien translates it "placed their lot in his hands."

[77] Can this be the scene represented in the Ajaṇṭa frescoes? See Burgess, *Cave Temples*, pl. xvi.

[78] Buddha was in doubt whether

Within the walls of the *Bôdhi* tree at each of the four angles is a great *stûpa.* Formerly, when Tathâgata received the grass of good omen (*Santi*), he walked on the four sides of the *Bôdhi* tree from point to point; then the great earth trembled. When he came to the diamond throne, then all was quiet and peaceable again. Within the walls of the tree the sacred traces are so thick together that it would be difficult to recite each one particularly.

At the south-west of the *Bôdhi* tree, outside the walls, there is a *stûpa;* this is where the old house of the two shepherd-girls stood who offered the rice-milk to Buddha. By the side of it is another *stûpa* where the girls boiled the rice; by the side of this *stûpa* Tathâgata received the rice. Outside the south gate of the *Bôdhi* tree is a great tank about 700 paces round, the water of which is clear and pure as a mirror. Nâgas and fishes dwell there. This was the pond which was dug by the Brâhmaṇs, who were uterine brothers, at the command of Mahêśvara (Ta-thseu-thsaï).

Still to the south there is a tank; formerly, when Tathâgata had just acquired perfect enlightenment, he wished to bathe; then Śakra (Shi), king of Dêvas, for Buddha's sake, caused a pond to appear as a phantom.

On the west is a great stone where Buddha washed his robes, and then wished to dry them; on this, Śakra, king of Dêvas, brought this rock from the great Snowy Mountains. By the side of this is a *stûpa;* this is where Tathâgata put on (?) the old garments offered him. Still to the south in a wood is a *stûpa;* this is where the poor old woman gave the old garments which Tathâgata accepted.

any were fit to hear him preach. On this, Brahmâ (Fan), the lord of the "Saha world" (Mahâbrahmâ Sahâmpati), came and exhorted him to "turn the wheel," for, he said, "as on the surface of a pond there are white and blue lotus flowers, some only in bud, some opening, others fully opened; thus it is with men; some are not yet fit to be taught, others are being made fit, whilst some are ready to receive the saving doctrine." See the account in the *Chung-hu-mo-ho-ti Sûtra.* See also *Fo-sho,* varga 14, v. 1183.

To the east of the pond which Śakra caused to appear, in the midst of a wood, is the lake of the Nâga king Muchilinda (Mu-chi-lin-t'o). The water of this lake is of a dark blue colour, its taste is sweet and pleasant; on the west bank is a small *vihâra* in which is a figure of Buddha. Formerly, when Tathâgata first acquired complete enlightenment, he sat on this spot in perfect composure, and for seven days dwelt in ecstatic contemplation. Then this Muchilinda Nâga-râja kept guard over Tathâgata; with his folds seven times round the body of Buddha, he caused many heads to appear, which overshadowed him as a parasol; therefore to the east of this lake is the dwelling of the Nâga.

To the east of the tank of Muchilinda in a *vihâra* standing in a wood is a figure of Buddha, which represents him as thin and withered away.

At the side of this is the place where Buddha walked up and down, about 70 paces or so long, and on each side of it is a *Pippala* tree.

Both in old times and now, among the better classes and the poor, those who suffer from disease are accustomed to anoint the figure with scented earth, on which they get cured in many cases. This is the place where Bôdhisattva endured his penance. Here it was Tathâgata subdued the heretics and received the request of Mâra, and then entered on his six years' fast, eating a grain of millet and of wheat each day; his body then became thin and withered and his face marred. The place where he walked up and down is where he took the branch of the tree (*as he left the river*) after his fast.

By the side of the *Pippala* tree which denoted the place of Buddha's fast is a *stûpa;* this is where Ajñâta-Kauṇḍinya and the rest, to the number of five, resided. When first the prince left his home, he wandered through the mountains and plains; he rested in forests and by wells of water. Then Suddhôdana-râja ordered five men to

follow him and wait on his person. The prince having entered on his penance, then Ajñâta Kauṇḍinya and the rest gave themselves also to a diligent practice of the same.

To the south-west of this spot there is a *stûpa*. This is where Bôdhisattva entered the Nairañjanâ river to bathe. By the side of the river, not far off, is the place where Bôdhisattva received the rice-milk.

By the side of this is a *stûpa* where the merchant-prince (*householder*) offered him the wheat and honey. Buddha was seated with his legs crossed beneath a tree, lost in contemplation, experiencing in silence the joys of emancipation. After seven days he aroused himself from his ecstasy. Then two merchant-princes travelling by the side of the wood were addressed by the Dêva of the place thus: "The prince-royal of the Śâkya family dwells in this wood, having just reached the fruit of a Buddha. His mind fixed in contemplation, he has for forty-nine days eaten nothing. By offering him whatsoever you have (*as food*) you will reap great and excellent profit."

Then the two merchants offered some wheat-flour and honey from their travelling store. The World-honoured accepted and received it.

By the side of the merchant-offering place is a *stûpa*. This is the spot where the four Dêva-râjas presented (*Buddha*) with a *pâtra*. The merchant-princes having made their offering of wheat-flour and honey, the Lord thought with himself in what vessel he should receive it. Then the four Dêva-râjas coming from the four quarters, each brought a golden dish and offered it. The Lord sat silently and accepted not the offerings, on the ground that such a costly dish became not the character of a hermit. The four kings casting away the golden dishes, offered silver ones; afterwards they offered vessels of crystal (*po-ch'i*), lapis-lazuli (*liu-li*), cornelian (*ma-nao*), amber (*ku-ch'i*), ruby (*chin chu*), and so on. The Lord of the World would accept neither of them. The four kings then returned to

their palaces and brought as an offering stone *pâtras*, of a deep blue colour and translucent. Again presenting these, the Lord, to avoid accepting one and rejecting the others, forthwith joined them all in one and accepted them thus. Putting them one within the other, he made one vessel of the four. Therefore may be seen the four borders on the outside of the rim (*of the dish*).

Not far from this spot is a *stûpa*. This is the place where Tathâgata preached the law for the sake of his mother. When Tathâgata had acquired complete enlightenment, he was termed "the teacher of gods and of men." His mother, Mâyâ, then came down from heaven to this place. The Lord of the World preached to her according to the occasion, for her profit and pleasure.

Beside this spot is a dry pool, on the border of which is a *stûpa*. This is where in former days Tathâgata displayed various spiritual changes to convert those who were capable of it.

By the side of this spot is a *stûpa*. Here Tathâgata converted Uravilvâ-Kâśyapa (Yeu-leu-pin-lo-kia-she-po) with his two brothers and a thousand of their followers. Tathâgata, for the purpose of following out his office as "illustrious guide," according to his opportunity (*or* in a suitable way), caused him (*i.e.*, Kâśyapa) to submit to his teaching. On this occasion, when 500 followers of Uravilvâ-Kâśyapa had requested to receive the instruction of Buddha, then Kâśyapa said, "I too with you will give up the way of error." On this, going together, they came to the place where Buddha was. Tathâgata, addressing them, said, "Lay aside your leather garments and give up your fire-sacrificing vessels." Then the disciples, in obedience to the command, cast into the Nairañjanâ river their articles of worship (*service* or *use*). When Nadî-Kâśyapa (Nai-ti-kia-she-po) saw these vessels following the current of the river, he came with his followers to visit his brother. Having seen his conduct and changed behaviour, he also

took the yellow robes. Gayâ-Kâśyapa also, with two hundred followers, hearing of his brother's change of religion, came to the place where Buddha was, and prayed to be allowed to practise a life of purity.

To the north-west of the spot where the Kâśyapa brothers were converted is a *stûpa*. This is the place where Tathâgata overcame the fiery Nâga to which Kâśyapa sacrificed. Tathâgata, when about to convert these men, first subdued the object of their worship, and rested in the house of the fiery Nâga of the Brahmachârins. After the middle of the night the Nâga vomited forth fire and smoke. Buddha having entered *Samâdhi*, likewise raised the brilliancy of fire, and the house-cell seemed to be filled with fiery flames. The Brahmachârins, fearing that the fire was destroying Buddha, all ran together to the spot with piteous cries, commiserating his fate. On this Uravilvâ-Kâśyapa addressed his followers and said, "As I now gather (*see*), this is not a fire, but the Śramaṇa subduing the fiery Nâga." Tathâgata having got the fiery dragon firmly fixed in his alms-bowl, on the morrow came forth holding it in his hand, and showed it to the disciples of the unbelievers. By the side of this monument is a *stûpa*, where 500 Pratyêka Buddhas at the same time entered *Nirvâṇa*.

To the south of the tank of Muchilinda Nâga is a *stûpa*. This indicates the spot where Kâśyapa went to save Buddha during an inundation. The Kâśyapa brothers still opposing the divine method,[79] all who lived far off or near reverenced their virtue, and submitted themselves to their teaching. The Lord of the World, in his character as guide of those in error, being very intent on their conversion, raised and spread abroad the thick clouds and caused the torrents to fall. The fierce waves surrounded the place where Buddha dwelt; but he alone was free from the flood. At this time Kâśyapa, seeing the clouds and

[79] *I.e.*, the methods Buddha had used for their conversion.

rain, calling his disciples, said, "The place where the Shaman dwells must be engulfed in the tide!"

Embarking in a boat to go to his deliverance, he saw the Lord of the World walking on the water as on land; and as he advanced down the stream, the waters divided and left the ground visible. Kâśyapa having seen (*the miracle*), his heart was subdued, and he returned.[80]

Outside the eastern gate of the wall of the *Bôdhi* tree, 2 or 3 li distant, there is the house of the blind Nâga. This Nâga, by the accumulated effect of his deeds during former existences, was born blind, as a punishment, in his present birth. Tathâgata going on from Mount Prâgbôdhi, desired to reach the *Bôdhi* tree. As he passed this abode, the eyes of the Nâga were suddenly opened, and he saw Bôdhisattva going on to the tree of intelligence (*Bôdhi*). Then addressing Bôdhisattva, he said, "O virtuous master! erelong you will become perfectly enlightened! My eyes indeed have long remained in darkness; but when a Buddha appears in the world, then I have my sight restored. During the Bhadra-kalpa, when the three past Buddhas appeared in the world, then I obtained light and saw (*for a while*); and now when thou, O virtuous one! didst approach this spot, my eyes suddenly opened; therefore I know that you shall become a Buddha."

By the side of the eastern gate of the wall of the *Bôdhi* tree is a *stûpa*. This is where Mâra-râja tried to frighten Bôdhisattva. When first Mâra-râja knew that Bôdhisattva was about to obtain perfect enlightenment, having failed to confuse him by his enticements or to terrify him by his arts, he summoned his host of spirits and arranged his demon army, and arrayed his soldiers, armed with their weapons, as if to destroy the Bôdhisattva. On this the winds arose and the rains descended, the thunders rolled in space and the lightning gleamed, as it lit up the darkness; flames of fire and clouds of smoke burst forth;

[80] See *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xxxi. fig. 2.

sand and hailstones fell like lances, and were as arrows flying from the bow. Whereupon the Bôdhisattva entered the *samâdhi* of "great love," and changed the weapons of the host to lotus flowers. Mâra's army, smitten by fear, retreated fast and disappeared.

Not far from this are two *stûpas* built by Śakra, king of Dêvas, and by Brahma-râja.

Outside the northern gate of the wall of the *Bôdhi* tree is the Mahâbodhi *saṅghârâma.* It was built by a former king of Siṁhala (*Ceylon.*) This edifice has six halls, with towers of observation (temple towers) of three storeys; it is surrounded by a wall of defence thirty or forty feet high. The utmost skill of the artist has been employed; the ornamentation is in the richest colours (*red and blue*). The statue of Buddha is cast of gold and silver, decorated with gems and precious stones. The *stûpas* are high and large in proportion, and beautifully ornamented; they contain relics of Buddha. The bone relics are as great as the fingers of the hand, shining and smooth, of a pure white colour and translucent. The flesh relics are like the great true pearl, of a bluish-red tint. Every year on the day of the full moon of (*the month when*) Tathâgata displayed great spiritual changes, they take these relics out for public exhibition.[81] On these occasions sometimes a bright light is diffused, sometimes it rains flowers. The priests of this convent are more than 1000 men; they study the Great Vehicle and belong to the Sthavira (Shang-tso-pu) school. They carefully observe the *Dharma Vinaya,* and their conduct is pure and correct.

In old days there was a king of Ceylon, which is a country of the southern sea, who was truthful and a believer in the law of Buddha. It happened that his brother, who had become a disciple of Buddha (*a houseless one*), thinking on the holy traces of Buddha, went forth to wander through India. At all the convents he visited,

[81] In India, the thirtieth day of the twelfth month; in China, the fifteenth day of the first month.

he was treated with disdain as a foreigner (*a frontier countryman*). On this he returned to his own country. The king in person went out to a distance to meet him, but the Śramaṇa was so affected that he could not speak. The king said, "What has so afflicted you as to cause this excessive grief?" The Śramaṇa replied, "I, relying on the dignity of your Majesty's kingdom, went forth to visit the world, and to find my way through distant regions and strange cities. For many years all my travels, during heat and cold, have been attended with outrage, and my words have been met with insults and sarcasm. Having endured these afflictions, how can I be light-hearted?"

The king said, "If these things are so, what is to be done?"

He replied, "In truth, I wish your Majesty in the field of merit would undertake to build convents throughout all India. You would thus signalise the holy traces, and gain for yourself a great name; you would show your gratitude for the advantage derived from your predecessors, and hand down the merit thereof to your successors."

He replied, "This is an excellent plan; how have I but just heard of it?"

Then he gave in tribute to the king of India all the jewels of his country. The king having received them as tribute, from a principle of duty and affection to his distant ally, he sent messengers to say, "What can I now do in return for the decree?"

The minister said, "The king of Siṁhala salutes the king of India (Mahâ Śrî râja). The reputation of the Mahârâja has spread far and wide, and your benefits have reached to distant regions. The Śramaṇas of this inferior country desire to obey your instructions and to accept your transforming influences. Having wandered through your superior country in visiting the sacred traces, I called at various convents and found

great difficulty in getting entertainment, and so, fatigued and very much worn by affronts, I returned home. I have therefore formed a plan for the benefit of future travellers; I desire to build in all the Indies a convent for the entertainment of such strangers, who may have a place of rest between their journey there and back. Thus the two countries will be bound together and travellers be refreshed."

The king said, "I permit your royal master to take (*for this purpose*) one of the places in which Tathâgata has left the traces of his holy teaching."

On this the messenger returned home, having taken leave of the king, and gave an account of his interview. The ministers received him with distinction and assembled the Śramâṇas and deliberated as to the foundation of a convent. The Śramaṇas said, "The (*Bôdhi*) tree is the place where all the past Buddhas have obtained the holy fruit and where the future ones will obtain it. There is no better place than this for carrying out the project."

Then, sending all the jewels of the country, they built this convent to entertain priests of this country (*Ceylon*), and he caused to be engraved this proclamation on copper, "To help all without distinction is the highest teaching of all the Buddhas; to exercise mercy as occasion offers is the illustrious doctrine of former saints. And now I, unworthy descendant in the royal line, have undertaken to found this *saṅghârâma*, to enclose the sacred traces, and to hand down their renown to future ages, and to spread their benefits among the people. The priests of my country will thus obtain independence, and be treated as members of the fraternity of this country. Let this privilege be handed down from generation to generation without interruption."

For this cause this convent entertains many priests of Ceylon. To the south of the *Bôdhi* tree 10 li or so, the sacred traces are so numerous that they cannot be each named. Every year when the Bhikshus break up their

yearly rest of the rains, religious persons come here from every quarter in thousands and myriads, and during seven days and nights they scatter flowers, burn incense, and sound music as they wander through the district[82] and pay their worship and present their offerings. The priests of India, according to the holy instruction of Buddha, on the first day of the first half of the month Śrâvaṇa enters on *Wass*. With us this is the sixteenth day of the fifth month; they give up their retreat on the fifteenth day of the second half of the month *Âśvayuja*, which is with us the fifteenth day of the eighth month.

In India the names of the months depend on the stars, and from ancient days till now there has been no change in this. But as the different schools have translated the accounts according to the dialects of the countries without distinguishing one from the other, mistakes have arisen, and as a consequence contradictions are apparent in the division of the seasons. Hence it is in some places they enter on *Wass* on the sixteenth day of the fourth month, and break up on the fifteenth day of the seventh month.

NOTE 1, p. 102.

The pilgrim's route from Pâtna to Gayâ is difficult to settle. I think we must omit the passage on p. 102, l. 5, "going about 200 li," and consider the "old *saṅghârâma*" as being perhaps 10 li beyond the south-west angle of the city. This 10 li, together with the two distances of 100 li + 90 li to the "cloud-stone mountain," will thus make up 200 li (put down by mistake), and correspond with the 6 or 7 *yojanas* in Hwui-lih from Patna to the *Ti-lo-chi-kia* convent. This last place I should identify with the Barabar Hills; but we must place the Tilaḍaka convent at Tilâra. Hiuen Tsiang did not actually visit the spots named between the Barabar Hills and Gayâ (see Ferguson's remarks, *J. R. A. S.*, vol. vi. part 2).

NOTE 2, p. 118.

With reference to the translation on p. 118, where the Chinese symbols *'O-mo-lo-kia-ko* have been rendered the "Âmalaka fruit," as though this were the surmounting ornament of the great *vihâra* at

[82] The district of the penance of Buddha.

Buddha Gayâ, it is to be noticed that in the Chinese text these symbols are explained as being equivalent to "precious pitcher or vase" (*pao p'ing*). This phrase is frequently explained as "the sweet-dew dish or vase," or, "the immortal dish." M. Julien, in his note on the passage in question, restores the phonetic symbols, in deference to the Chinese explanation, to *Amalakarka*, that is, "*pure dish or vase.*" But the right restoration is doubtless *Amara Karka*, "the immortal dish or vase," for, as before stated, "sweet-dew" is always rendered by "immortal" or "immortality." This "sweet-dew dish or vessel" is represented in Chinese drawings as an oval bottle with a long narrow neck (see the illustration in the Liturgy of Avalôkitêśvara, "possessed of a thousand hands and a thousand eyes"). This explains the statement of Dr. Burgess (*Ajantâ Caves*, xvii. § iv.): "Avalôkitêsvara holds the palm of his right hand forward and has a bottle with oval body and narrow neck in his left." This is the *Amara Karka*. In the illustration of the pavement slab of the great temple of Gayâ (*i.e.*, the *vihâra* under present notice) given in the first volume of the *Archæological Survey of India*, pl. vi. (following p. 8), there is the figure of a devotee praying in front of a *stûpa*, which is crowned with flags and a bottle or vase, doubtless the same as the *Amara Karka*. This illustrates the inscription found at Buddha Gayâ and translated by Sir Charles Wilkins, in which the building of the temple is attributed to Amara Kosha, one of the nine gems of the court of King Vikramâditya. General Cunningham, then, is probably correct in saying that this great temple of Buddha Gayâ was built between the time of Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang. The crowning member or stone of a temple spire is called *Amalaśilâ*, or "pure stone."

END OF BOOK VIII.

BOOK IX.

The Second Part of the Country Magadha.

To the east of the Bôdhi tree, crossing the Nairañjanâ (Ni-len-shan-na) river, in the middle of a wood, is a *stûpa.* To the north of this is a pool. This is the spot where a perfume elephant (Gandhahastî)[1] waited on his mother. Formerly when Tathâgata was practising discipline as a Bôdhisattva, he was born as the offspring of a *perfume-elephant*, and lived in the mountains of the north. Wandering forth, he came to the border of this pool. His mother being blind, he gathered for her the sweet lotus roots, and drew pure water for her use, and cherished her with devotion and filial care. At this time there was a man who had changed his home,[2] who wandered here and there in the wood without knowing his way, and in his distress raised piteous cries. The elephant-cub heard him and pitied him; leading him on, he showed him his way to the road. The man having got back, forthwith went to the king and said, "I know of a wood[3] in which a *perfume-elephant* lives and roams. It is a very valuable animal. You had better go and take it."

The king, assenting to his words, went with his soldiers to capture it, the man leading the way. Then pointing

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 5, note 25. Consult also Monier Williams, *Sansc. Dict.*, sub voc. *Gandhadvipa.*

[2] *Tui i shuh* seems to imply that he had changed his place of abode, and so was at a loss to find his way about; or it may simply mean, "In the lapse of time it happened that," &c. So Julien translates it.

[3] The ruins of the *stûpa* and the lower portion of the shaft of the pillar raised on the spot where the young elephant was taken still exist at Bakror, on the eastern bank of the Lilâjan river, about one mile to the south-east of Buddha Gayâ (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 459).

to the elephant to show it to the king, immediately both his arms fell off as if cut by a sword. The king, though he saw this miracle, yet captured the elephant-cub, and bound it with cords, and returned to his palace. The young elephant having been bound (in order to tame it), for a long time would neither eat nor drink. The stable-keeper stated the matter to the king, who, on his part, came to see for himself, and asking the elephant the reason.[4] "Lo!" he answered and said, "my mother is blind, and now for days together is without food or drink, and here I am bound in a dreary dungeon. How can I take my food with relish!" The king, pitying his feelings and resolution, therefore ordered him to be set free.

By the side of this (*pool*) is a *stûpa*, before which is built a stone pillar. In this place the Buddha Kaśyapa (Kia-she-po) long ago sat in meditation. By its side are traces where the four past Buddhas sat down and walked.

To the east of this spot, crossing the Mo-ho[5] (Mahî) river, we come to a great forest in which is a stone pillar. This is the place where a heretic entered a condition of ecstasy and made a wicked vow. In old days there was a heretic called Udra-Râmaputtra (U-teou-lan-tseu). In mind he soared above the vapoury clouds, whilst he left his body among the wilds and marshes. Here in this sacred forest, restraining his spirit, he left his traces.[6] Having acquired the five supernatural faculties,[7] he reached the highest condition of *Dhyâna*, and the king of Magadha greatly respected him. Each day at noon he invited him to his palace to eat. Udra-Râmaputtra, mounting through space, walking in the air, came and went without hindrance.

[4] In a fond way, as we speak to dumb creatures.

[5] The Mohana Nadi river.

[6] Udra-Râmaputtra was one of the teachers to whom Bôdhisattva went before his penance (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, varga 12); but it is uncertain whether he is the one referred to in the text. The expression, "restraining his spirit" means that when he confined his spirit within his body he left here bodily traces.

[7] *Pañchâbhijñâs*; see Childers, *Pali Dict.*, sub voc. *Abhiññâ*; Burnouf, *Introd.*, p., 263; *Lotus*, pp. 820 ff.

The king of Magadha, expecting the moment of his arrival, kept watch for him, and, on his coming, respectfully placed for him his seat. The king being about to go forth on a tour, wished to put this affair in charge of some one during his absence, but he found no one in his inner palace whom he could select, capable of undertaking his commands.[8] But (amongst his attendants) there was a little pet girl of modest appearance and well-mannered, so that in the whole palace none of his followers (*wise folk*) was able to excel her.[9] The king of Magadha summoned this one, and said to her, "I am going some distance on a tour of observation, and I desire to put you in charge of an important business; you must, on your part, give all your mind to do thoroughly as I direct in the matter. It relates to that celebrated Rĭshi Udra-Râmaputtra, whom I have for a long time treated with reverence and respect. Now when he comes here at the appointed time to dine, do you pay him the same attention that I do." Having left these instructions, the king forthwith gave notice of his absence (*non-attendance*).

The little girl, according to her instructions, waited in expectation as usual. The great Rĭshi having come, she received him, and placed a seat for him. Udra-Râmaputtra having touched the young female, felt within him the impure risings of earthly passion (*of the world of desire*), and so he lost his spiritual capabilities. Having finished his meal, he spoke of going, but he was unable to rise in the air. Then feeling ashamed, he prevaricated, and addressing the maiden said, "I am able, as the result of the discipline I practise, to enter *Samâdhi*, and then, my mind at rest, I can ascend into the air, and come and go without a moment's delay. I have heard long ago, however, that the people of the country desire to see me. In agreement with the rule of the olden time, our

8 That is, none of the females of the palace.

9 Could take her place of precedence.

utmost aim should be to benefit all that lives. How shall I regard only my own benefit and forget to benefit others? I desire, therefore, on this occasion, to go through the gate and walk on the ground, to bring happiness and profit to all those who see me going."

The royal maiden hearing this, straightway spread the news far and wide. Then the people began with all their hearts to water and sweep the roads, and thousands upon thousands awaited to see him come. Udra-Râmaputtra, stepping from the royal palace, proceeded on foot to that religious forest. Then sitting down in silence, he entered *Samâdhi*. Then his mind, quickly escaping outside, was yet limited within the boundaries of the forest.[10] And now (as it wandered through the woods) the birds began to scream and flutter about, and as it approached the pond, the fishes began to jump and splash, till at last his feelings being wrought up, and his mind becoming confused, he lost his spiritual capabilities. Giving up his attempt at ecstasy,[11] he was filled with anger and resentment, and he made this wicked vow, "May I hereafter be born as a fierce and wicked beast, with the body of a fox and the wings of a bird, that I may seize and devour living creatures. May my body be 3000 li long, and the outspread of my wings each way 1500 li; then rushing into the forest, I will devour the birds, and entering the rivers, I will eat the fish."

When he had made this vow his heart grew gradually at rest, and by earnest endeavours he resumed his former state of ecstasy. Not long after this he died, and was born in the first of the Bhuvâni heavens,[12] where his years

[10] That is, although his spirit was able to leave his body, yet, owing to his evil thoughts, it was unable to rise as before "above the vapoury clouds."

[11] This seems to show that although his spirit quickly passed "outside," it was unable to obtain complete independence of his body.

[12] That is, in the highest of the Arupa heavens. This heaven is called in Chinese *fi-seang-fi-fi-siang-tin*, *i.e.*, the heaven where there is neither thought (consciousness) nor an absence of thought; in Pâli,

would be 80,000 kalpas. Tathâgata left this record of him: "The years of his life in that heaven being ended, then he will reap the fruit of his old vow and possess this ignoble body. From the streams of the evil ways of birth he may not yet expect to emerge."[13]

To the east of Mahî river we enter a great wild forest, and going 100 li or so, we come to the Ki'u-ki'u-cha-po-to-shan (Kukkuṭapâdagiri, the Cock's-foot Mountain). It is also called Kiu-liu-po-to-shan (Gurupâdâḥ giri[14]). The sides of this mountain are high and rugged, the valleys and gorges are impenetrable. Tumultuous torrents rush down its sides, thick forests envelope the valleys, whilst tangled shrubs grow along its cavernous heights. Soaring upwards into the air are three sharp peaks; their tops are surrounded by the vapours of heaven, and their shapes lost in the clouds. Behind these hills the venerable Mahâ-Kâśyapa dwells wrapped in a condition of *Nirvâṇa*. People do not dare to utter his name, and therefore they speak of the "Guru-pâdâḥ" (*the venerable teacher.*)[15] Mahâ-Kâśyapa was a Śrâvaka and a disciple (*or*

"Nevasaññânâsaññâ" (see Childers, *Pâli Dict.* sub voc. From the history given in the *Fo-sho-king*, it would seem that this refinement of language as to the character of the highest heaven is due to Udra-Râmaputtra.

[13] That is, although he is now in the highest heaven of substance (*bhuva*), where his life will last 80,000 great kalpas (an incalculable period), yet he is not saved from future misery. This exhibits the character of Buddha's conception of *Nirvâṇa*, that it is a condition free from any possibility of a return to mundane or other bodily form of existence.

[14] That is, the Mountain of the Venerable Master, *i.e.*, Kâśyapa. Pâda is here added as a token of respect, as in Dêva-pâdâḥ, Kumârila-pâdâḥ, &c. It seems to have been called the Cock's-foot from its shape, the three peaks or spurs resembling the foot of the cock. Fa-hian places it 3 *li* to the south of Gayâ, probably a mistake for 3 *yôjanas* to the east (see *Fa-hian*, Beal's ed., cap. xxxiii. n. 1). It has been identified by Cunningham with the village of Kurkihâr (vid. *Arch. Survey*, vol. i. pp. 14–16; vol. xv. p. 4; and *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 460). This *hill* of the cock's foot must not be confused with the *saṅghârâma* of the cock-*garden* near Patna. There is no evidence that there was a hill near this last establishment, and it is nowhere called the Kukkuṭa-*pâda* vihâra. The quotation made by Julien (vol. ii. 428 n.) refers to the hill near Gayâ; so also does the note of Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 366. See also Schiefner's *Lebensbeschreibung Çâkyamuni's*, p. 278; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii. p. 327.

[15] This is a difficult passage, but the sense is evident. Kâśyapa dwells in the mountain awaiting the arrival of Maitrêya; he cannot therefore have passed into complete *Nirvâṇa*.

a Śrâvaka disciple) perfectly possessed of the six supernatural faculties and the eight enfranchisements[16] (*ashṭau vimôkshas*).[17] Tathâgata, his work of conversion being done, and just on the point of attaining *Nirvâṇa*, addressed Kâśyapa and said, "Through many[18] kalpas I have undergone (*diligently borne*) painful penances for the sake of all that lives, seeking the highest form of religion. What I have all along prayed for (*desired*) I have now obtained to the full. Now, as I am desirous to die (*enter Mahânirvâṇa*), I lay on you the charge of the *Dharma Piṭaka*. Keep and disseminate (*this doctrine*) without loss or diminution. The golden-tissued *Kashâya* robe given me by my foster-mother (*mother's sister*)[19] I bid you keep and deliver to Maitrêyá (T'se-chi) when he has completed the condition of Buddha.[20] All those who engage in the profession of my bequeathed law, whether they be Bhikshus, Bhikshunîs, Upâsakas, or Upâsikas, must first (*i.e., before this be accomplished*) cross over and escape the stream of transmigration."

Kâśyapa having received this commission to undertake to preserve the true law, summoned an assembly[21] (*council or convocation*). This done, he continued twenty years (*in charge of the order*), and then, in disgust at the imperma-

In fact, the subsequent narrative shows that he will only reach that condition when Maitrêya comes. I take the expression *chung tsie mih* to denote the indefinite character of his present condition, which cannot be called *Nirvâṇa*, but is a middle state of existence. *Pâda*, as stated above, is an honorary affix; the expression *ki-heou* refers to the inner recesses of the mountain. Julien translates the passage thus: "In the sequence of time the great Kâśyapa dwelt in this mountain, and there entered *Nirvâṇa*. Men dare not call him by his name, and so they say "the foot of the venerable.""

[16] *Shaḍabhijñâs*. See Childers, *Pâli Dict.*, s. v. *Abhiññâ*, and *ante*, vol. i. p. 104, n. 73.

[17] See Childers, *u. s.*, s. v. *Vimokho*; Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 347, 824 f. and *ante*, vol. i. p. 149, n. 90.

[18] Mahâprajâpatî.

[19] The word means "waste" or "distant;" as we might say, through "a waste of ages," or "dreary ages."

[20] This passage is translated by Julien thus: "Which Maitrêya after he became Buddha left, that it might be transmitted to you." But this cannot be correct. Maitrêya has not become Buddha. I translate it, "I deliver to you to keep, awaiting the time when Maitrêya shall become perfect Buddha."

[21] This is the usual phrase used for "calling a convocation."

nence of the world, and desiring to die, he went towards Cock's-foot Mountain. Ascending the north side of the mountain, he proceeded along the winding path, and came to the south-west ridge. Here the crags and precipices prevented him going on. Forcing his way through the tangled brushwood, he struck the rock with his staff, and thus opened a way. He then passed on, having divided the rock, and ascended till he was again stopped by the rocks interlacing one another. He again opened a passage through, and came out on the mountain peak on the north-east side. Then having emerged from the defiles, he proceeded to the middle point of the three peaks. There he took the *Kashâya* garment (*chîvara*) of Buddha, and as he stood he expressed an ardent vow. On this the three peaks covered him over; this is the reason why now these three rise up into the air. In future ages, when Maitrêya shall have come and declared the threefold law,[22] finding the countless persons opposed to him by pride, he will lead them to this mountain, and coming to the place where Kâśyapa is, in a moment (*the snapping of the finger*) Maitrêya will cause it to open of itself, and all those people, having seen Kâśyapa, will only be more proud and obstinate. Then Kâśyapa, delivering the robe, and having paid profound reverence, will ascend into the air and exhibit all sorts of spiritual changes, emitting fire and vapour from his body. Then he will enter *Nirvâṇa*. At this time the people, witnessing these miracles, will dismiss their pride, and opening their minds, will obtain the fruit (*of holiness*). Now, therefore, on the top of the mountain is a *stûpa* built. On quiet evenings those looking from a distance see sometimes a bright light as it were of a torch; but if they ascend the mountain there is nothing to be observed.[23]

[22] The thrice-repeated law; see *ante*, p. 47, n. 10.

[23] The three-peaked mountain here referred to has been identified by General Cunningham with the three peaks of the Murali mountain, which stands three miles north-north-east of the town of Kurkihâr. There is still a square basement surrounded by quantities of bricks on the highest or middle peak of the three. *Arch. Survey*, vol. xv. p. 5.

Going to the north-east of the Cock's-foot Mountain about 100 li, we come to the mountain called Buddhavana (Fo-to-fa-na), with its peaks and cliffs lofty and precipitous. Among its steep mountain cliffs is a stone chamber where Buddha once descending stayed; by its side is a large stone where Śakra (Shih), king of Dêvas, and Brahma-râja (Fan-wang) pounded some ox-head (*gôśîrsha*)[24] sandal-wood, and anointed Tathâgata with the same. The scent (*of this*) is still to be perceived on the stone. Here also five hundred Arhats secretly dwell[25] in a spiritual manner, and here those who are influenced by religious desire to meet with them sometimes see them, on one occasion under the form of Samaṇêras just entering the village to beg food, at other times as withdrawing (*to their cells*), on some occasions manifesting traces of their spiritual power in ways difficult to describe in detail.

Going about 30 li to the east, amongst wild valleys of the Buddhavana (Fo-to-fa-na) mountain, we come to the wood called Yashṭivana (Ye-sse-chi).[26] The bamboos that grow here are large; they cover the hill and extend through the valley. In former days there was a Brâhmaṇ, who hearing that the body of Śâkya Buddha (Shih-kia-fo) was sixteen feet in height, was perplexed with doubt and would not credit it. Then taking a bamboo sixteen feet long, he desired to measure the height of Buddha; the body constantly overtopped the bamboo and exceeded the sixteen feet. So going on increasing, he could not find the right measurement. He then threw the bamboo on

[24] "In Pâli called *gosîsam*, among the Tibetans *gorshi-sha*, and among the Mongols *gurshosha*. It is apparently applied to sandal-wood having the odour of the cow's head" (Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 557). But perhaps its name is derived from its appearance, viz., a centre of silvery white wood within a darker outside circle. Compare the description of the bull that carried off Europa—κύκλος δ' αργυφέος μέστῳ μάρμαιρε μετώπῳ. *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 158. For the circle on the forehead, see the figures "from the oldest painting in Cave X. at Ajaṇṭâ" (*Burgess*, plates viii. ix. x., *Report on the Paintings at Ajaṇṭâ*).

[25] I do not find in the text that they entered *Nirvâṇa* here.

[26] "The forest of the staff."

the ground and departed; but because of this it stood upright and took root.

In the midst of this wood is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja. Here Tathâgata displayed for seven days great spiritual wonders (*miracles*) for the sake of the Dêvas, and preached the mysterious and excellent law.

In the forest of the staff (Yashṭivana) not long since there was an Upâsaka named Jayasêna (She-ye-si-na), a Kshattriya of Western India. He was exceedingly simple-minded and moderate. He amused himself amid the forests and hills, dwelling in a sort of fairyland, whilst his mind wandered amid the limits of truth (*true limits*). He had deeply studied the mysteries both of orthodox and other treatises (*inside and outside books*). His language and observations were pure, and his arguments elevated; his presence was quiet and dignified. The Śramaṇas, Brâhmaṇas, heretics of different schools, the king of the country, the great ministers and householders, and persons of rank came together to visit him and personally to ask him questions. His pupils occupied sixteen apartments;[27] and although nearly seventy years of age, he read with them diligently and without cessation, and applied their minds only to the study of Buddhist *sûtras*, rejecting all other engagements. Thus night and day he gave up body and mind to this pursuit alone.

It is a custom in India to make little *stûpas* of powdered scent made into a paste; their height is about six or seven inches, and they place inside them some written extract from a *sûtra;* this they call a *dharma-śarîra*[28] (*fa-shi-li*). When the number of these has become large, they then build a great *stûpa*, and collect all the others within it, and continually offer to it religious

[27] The text here seems to be faulty.

[28] See the seals found at Bird-âban; *Arch. Surv.*, vol. iii. p. 157, pl. xlvi.; see also *J. Bom. B. R. A. S.*, vol. vi. p. 157 f.

offerings. This then was the occupation of Jaya-sêna (Ching-kian); with his mouth he declared the excellent law, and led and encouraged his students, whilst with his hand he constructed these *stûpas*. Thus he acquired the highest and most excellent religious merit. In the evening, again, he would walk up and down worshipping and repeating his prayers, or silently sit down in meditation. For eating or sleeping he had little time, and relaxed none of his discipline night or day. Even after he was an hundred years old his mind and body were in full activity. During thirty years he had made seven *kôṭis* of these *dharma-śarîra stûpas*, and for every *kôṭi* that he made he built a great *stûpa* and placed them in it. When full, he presented his religious offerings and invited the priests; whilst they, on their part, offered him their congratulations.[29] On these occasions a divine light shone around and spiritual wonders (*miracles*) exhibited themselves; and from that time forth the miraculous light has continued to be seen.

South-west of the Yashṭivana[30] about 10 li or so, on the south side of a great mountain, are two warm springs;[31] the water is very hot. In old days, Tathâgata caused this water to appear, and washed himself therein. The pure flow of these waters still lasts without diminution. Men far and near flock here to bathe, after which those who have suffered from disease or chronic affections are often healed. By the side of the springs is a *stûpa*, to mark the place where Tathâgata walked for exercise.

To the south-east of the Yashṭivana about six or seven

[29] *Or*, invited the congregation of priests to a religious assembly to consecrate the service.

[30] The Bamboo forest (Chang-lin) is still known as the Jakhti-ban; it lies to the east of the Buddhain hill (Buddhavana), and is frequented by the people for the purpose of cutting bamboos (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 461).

[31] These springs are about two miles to the south of Jakhti-ban, at a place called Tapoban, which name is a common contraction of Tapta-pâṇi, or the "hot water" (*Ibid.*)

li we come to a great mountain. Before a cross-ridge[32] of this mountain is a *stûpa*. Here in old days Tathâgata explained the law during the three months of rain for the benefit of men and Dêvas. Then Bimbisâra-râja (Pin-pi-so-lo) wished to come to hear the law. He cut away the mountain, and piled up the stones to make steps in order to ascend. The width is about twenty paces and the length 3 or 4 li.[33]

To the north of the great mountain 3 or 4 li is a solitary hill. Formerly the Ṛishi Vyâsa[34] (Kwang-po) lived here in solitude. By excavating the side of the mountain he formed a house. Some portions of the foundations are still visible. His disciples still hand down his teaching, and the celebrity of his bequeathed doctrine still remains.

To the north-east of the solitary hill 4 or 5 li there is a small hill, also standing alone. In the side of this hill (*has been excavated*) a stone chamber. In length and breadth[35] it is enough to seat 1000 persons or so. In this place Tathâgata, when living in the world, repeated the law for three months. Above the stone chamber is a great and remarkable rock, on which Śakra, king of Dêvas, and Brahma-râja pounded some *ox-head* sandal-wood, and with the dust sprinkled the body of Tathâgata. The surface of the stone still emits the scent of the perfume.

At the south-west angle of the stone house there is a lofty cavern which the Indians call the palace of the Asuras ('O-su-lo). Formerly there was a good-natured fellow who was deeply versed in the use of magic formulæ. He engaged with some companions, fourteen altogether, to covenant with one another to enter this lofty cavern. After going about 30 or 40 li, suddenly the whole place was

[32] *Or* it may be "a transverse pass."

[33] The great mountain referred to in the text corresponds with the lofty hill of Handia, 1463 feet in height (Cunningham).

[34] This restoration rests on M. Julien's authority, as explained in his note (iii. 13).

[35] *Kwang mow*, see Medhurst, *Chin. Dict.*, sub *Mow*, p. 994.

lighted up with great brilliancy, and they saw a walled city before them, with towers and look-outs all of silver and gold and lapis-lazuli (*lieu-li*). The men having advanced to it, there were some young maidens who stationed themselves at the gates, and with joyful laughing faces greeted them and paid them reverence. Going on a little farther they came to the inner city-gates, where there were two slave-girls holding each of them a golden vessel full of flowers and scents. Advancing with these, they waited the approach of the visitors, and then said, "You must first bathe yourselves in yonder tank, and then anoint yourselves with the perfumes and crown yourselves with the flowers, and then you may enter the city. Do not hasten to enter yet; only that master of magic can come in at once." Then the other thirteen men went down at once to bathe. Having entered the tank, they all at once became confused, and forgot all that had taken place, and were (*found*) sitting in the middle of a rice field distant from this due north, over a level country, about 30 or 40 li.

By the side of the stone house there is a wooden way (*a road made with timber*)[36] about 10 paces wide and about 4 or 5 li. Formerly Bimbisâra-râja, when about to go to the place where Buddha was, cut out a passage through the rock, opened up the valleys, levelled the precipices, and led a way across the river-courses, built up walls of stone, and bored through the opposing crags, and made ladders up the heights to reach the place where Buddha was located.

From this spot proceeding eastward through the mountains about 60 li, we arrive at the city Kuśâgâra-pura (Kiu-she-kie-lo-pu-lo), or "the royal city of best grass (*lucky grass*)." This is the central point of the kingdom of Magadha.[37] Here the former kings of the country

[36] *Chan-tau*, wooden bridges over mountain chasms (Khang-hi, quoted by Julien, note *in loco*).

[37] Kuśagârapura was the original capital of Magadha, and was called Râjagriha, or the "royal residence." It was also named Girivraja, or the "hill surrounded." (See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 462).

fixed their capital. It produces much of the most excellent, scented, fortunate grass, and therefore it is called "the city of the superior grass." High mountains surround it on each side, and form as it were its external walls.[38] On the west it is approached through a narrow pass, on the north there is a passage through the mountains. The town is extended from east to west and narrow from north to south. It is about 150 li in circuit. The remaining foundations of the wall of the inner city are about 30 li in circuit. The trees called *Kie-ni-kia* (Kanakas) border all the roads, their flowers exhale a delicious perfume, and their colour is of a bright golden hue. In the spring months the forests are all of a golden colour.

Outside the north gate of the palace city is a *stûpa*. Here Dêvadatta (Ti-p'o-to-lo) and Ajâtaśatru-râja Wi-sing-yun), having agreed together as friends, liberated the drunken elephant for the purpose of killing Tathâgata. But Tathâgata miraculously caused five lions to proceed from his finger-ends; on this the drunken elephant was subdued and stood still before him.[39]

To the north-east of this spot is a *stûpa*. This is where Śâriputra (She-li-tseu) heard Aśvajita ('O-shi-p'o-shi) the Bhikshu declare the law, and by that means reached the fruit (*of an Arhat*). At first Śâriputra was a layman; he was a man of distinguished ability and refinement, and was highly esteemed by those of his own time. At this time, with other students, he accepted the traditional teaching as delivered to him. On one occasion, being about to enter the great city of Râjagṛiha, the Bhikshu Aśvajita (Ma-shing) was also just going his round of begging. Then Śâriputra, seeing him at a distance, addressed his disciples, saying, "Yonder man who comes, so full of dignity and nobleness, if he has not reached the fruit of sanctity

[38] So also Fa-hian states that the five hills which surround the town are like the walls of a city (cap. xxviii.)

[39] This is a perversion of the simple story found in the *Fo-sho-king*, vv. 1713 ss., and compare p. 246, n. 4.

(*Arhatship*), how is he thus composed and quiet? Let us stop awhile and observe him as he approaches." Now as Aśvajita Bhikshu had reached the condition of an Arhat, his mind was self-possessed, his face composed and of an agreeable refinement; thus, holding his religious staff, he came along with a dignified air. Then Śâriputra said, "Venerable sir! are you at ease and happy? Pray, who is your master, and what the system you profess, that you are so gladsome and contented?"

Aśvajita answering him said, "Know you not the royal prince, the son of Śuddhôdana-râja, who gave up the condition of a Chakravarttin monarch, and from pity to the six kinds of creatures for six years endured penance and reached the condition of *Sambôdhi*, the state of perfect omniscience? This is my master! As to his law, it has respect to a condition including the absence of existence, without nonentity;[40] it is difficult to define; only Buddhas with Buddhas can fathom it; how much less can foolish and blind mortals, such as I, explain its principles. But for your sake I will recite a stanza in praise of the law of Buddha."[41] Śâriputra having heard it, obtained forthwith the fruit of Arhatship.

To the north of this place, not far off, there is a very deep ditch, by the side of which is built a *stûpa;* this is the spot where Śrîgupta (She-li-kio-to) wished to destroy Buddha by means of fire concealed in the ditch and poisoned rice. Now Śrîgupta (Shing-mi) greatly honoured (*believed in*) the heretics, and his mind was deeply possessed by false views. All the Brahmachârins said, "The men of the country greatly honour Gautama (Kiao-ta-mo), and in consequence he causes our disciples to be without support. Invite him then to your house to eat, and before the door make a great ditch and fill it with fire, and cover it over slightly with wooden planks to conceal the fire; moreover,

[40] The opposite of existence (*yau*, material or conditioned existence), and also of not-being.

[41] The stanza he recited is given in the *Fo-sho-king*, v. 1392. See also p. 194, n. 2.

poison the food, so that if he escape the fire (*fiery ditch*), he will take the poison."

Śrîgupta, according to his directions, caused the poison to be prepared, and then all the people in the town, knowing the evil and destructive design of Śrîgupta against the Lord of the World, entreated Buddha not to go to the house. The Lord said, "Be not distressed; the body of Tathâgata cannot be hurt by such means as these." He therefore accepted the invitation and went. When his foot trod on the threshold of the door the fire in the pit became a tank of pure water with lotus flowers on its surface.

Śrîgupta having witnessed this, being filled with shame and fear lest his project should fail, said to his followers, "He has by his magical power escaped the fire; but there is yet the poisoned food!" The Lord having eaten the rice, began to declare the excellent law, on which Śrîgupta, having attended to it, himself became a disciple.

To the north-east of this fiery ditch of Śrîgupta (Shing-mi), at a bend of the city, is a *stûpa*; this is where Jîvaka (Shi-fo-kia),[42] the great physician, built a preaching-hall for Buddha. All round the walls he planted flowers and fruit trees. The traces of the foundation-walls and the decayed roots of the trees are still visible. Tathâgata, when he was in the world, often stopped here. By the side of this place are the remains of the house of Jîvaka, and the hollow of an old well also exists there still.

To the north-east of the palace city going 14 or 15 li, we come to the mountain Gṛidhrakûṭa (Ki-li-tho-kiu-ch'a). Touching the southern slope of the northern mountain, it rises as a solitary peak to a great height, on which vultures make their abode. It appears like a high tower on which the azure tints of the sky are reflected, the colours of the mountain and the heaven being commingled.

[42] For the history of Jîvaka see S. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 238.

When Tathâgata had guided the world for some fifty years, he dwelt much in this mountain, and delivered the excellent law in its developed form (*kwang*).[43] Bimbisâra-râja, for the purpose of hearing the law, raised a number of men to accompany him from the foot of the mountain to its summit. They levelled the valleys and spanned the precipices, and with the stones made a staircase about ten paces wide and 5 or 6 li long. In the middle of the road there are two small *stûpas*, one called "Dismounting from the chariot" (*Hia-shing*), because the king, when he got here, went forward on foot. The other is called "Sending back the crowd" (*T'ui-fan*), because the king, separating the common folk, would not allow them to proceed with him. The summit of this mountain is long from the east to the west and narrow from north to south. There is a brick *vihâra* on the borders of a steep precipice at the western end of the mountain. It is high and wide and beautifully constructed. The door opens to the east. Here Tathâgata often stopped in old days and preached the law. There is now a figure of him preaching the law of the same size as life.

To the east of the *vihâra* is a long stone, on which Tathâgata trod as he walked up and down for exercise. By the side of it is a great stone about fourteen or fifteen feet high and thirty paces round. This is the place where Dêvadatta[44] flung a stone from a distance to strike Buddha.

South of this, below the precipice, is a *stûpa*. Here

[43] A great number of the later developed *sûtras* are said to have been delivered here. There is also a late form of belief which connects the spiritual form of Buddha with this mountain. It is barely possible that Buddha did in his later years declare a developed (mystical) form of his doctrine, and perhaps this mountain was the scene of his teaching; but the greater portion of the *sûtras* claiming the authority of his utterance here are fabulous. Compare *Fa-hian*, cap. xxix. The Vulture Peak is a part of the lofty hill now called Śaila-giri, but no caves have been discovered there (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 466).

[44] The story of Dêvadatta rolling down the stone will be found in Fa-hian, chap. xxix., also in the *Fo-sho-king*, p. 246, and in the *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 383. The accounts, however, slightly differ.

Tathâgata, when alive in old time, delivered the *Saddharma Puṇḍarîka Sûtra*.[45]

To the south of the *vihâra*, by the side of a mountain cliff, is a great stone house. In this Tathâgata, when dwelling in the world long ago, entered *Samâdhi*.

To the north-west of the stone house and in front of it is a great and extraordinary stone. This is the place where Ânanda (O-nan) was frightened by Mâra. When the venerable Ânanda had entered *Samâdhi* in this place, Mâra-râja, assuming the form of a vulture, in the middle of the night, during the dark portion of the month, took his place on this rock, and flapping his wings and uttering loud screams, tried to frighten the venerable one.[46] Ânanda, filled with fear, was at a loss to know what to do; then Tathâgata, by his spiritual power, seeing his state, stretched out his hand to compose him. He pierced the stone wall and patted the head of Ânanda, and with his words of great love he spoke to him thus: "You need not fear the assumed form which Mâra has taken." Ânanda in consequence recovered his composure, and remained with his heart and body at rest and in peace.

Although years and months have elapsed since then, yet the bird traces on the stone and the hole in the rock[47] still remain visible.

By the side of the *vihâra* there are several stone houses,[48] where Śâriputra and other great Arhats entered *Samâdhi*. In front of the stone house of Śâriputra is a

[45] Fa-hian relates how he visited the cave on this peak, and wept in recollection of Buddha's residence therein. Here also, he adds, "he delivered the *Sheu-ling-yan Sûtra*." This is the *S'uraṅgama Sûtra*. Hiuen Tsiang says he also delivered here the *Saddharma Puṇḍarîka Sûtra*. These *sûtras*, belonging to the last stage of Buddhist development, are referred to this mountain, as it was the scene of Buddha's latest teaching. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 467; see also Fergusson, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 50.

[46] Fa-hian, chap. xxix.

[47] Julien translates "The long cavern which traverses the flanks of the mountain." But the "long cavern" is the hole referred to, piercing the side of the rock.

[48] Probably caves or cells. Cunningham understands them to be small rooms built against the cliff (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 467). The Chinese quite bears out this idea.

great well, dry and waterless. The hollow (*shaft*) still remains.

To the north-east of the *vihâra*, in the middle of a rocky stream, is a large and flat stone. Here Tathâgata dried his *Kashâya* garment. The traces of the tissue of the robe still remain, as though they were cut out on the rock.

By the side of this, and upon a rock, is a foot-trace of Buddha. Although the "wheel" outline is somewhat obscure, yet it can be distinctly traced.

On the top of the northern mountain is a *stûpa*. From this point Tathâgata beheld the town of Magadha,[49] and for seven days explained the law.

To the west of the north gate of the mountain city is the mountain called Pi-pu-lo (Vipula-giri).[50] According to the common report of the country it is said, "On the northern side of the south-western crags of this mountain there were formerly five hundred warm springs; now there are only some ten or so; but some of these are warm and others cold, but none of them hot." These springs have their origin to the south of the Snowy Mountains from the Anavatapta (Wu-jeh-no-c'hi) lake,[51] and flowing underground, burst forth here. The water is very sweet and pure, and the taste is like that of the water of the lake. The streams (*from the lake*) are five hundred in number (*branches*), and as they pass by the lesser underground fire-abodes (*hells*), the power of the flames ascending causes the water to be

[49] That is, as it seems, the capital of Magadha, viz., Râjagṛiha.

[50] I have restored *Pi-pu-lo* to Vipula in deference to Julien. But it might be equally well restored to Vaibhâra or Baibhâr, and as Cunningham in his map of Râjgîr (*Arch. Survey*, vol. i. pl. xiv.) places Baibhâr to the west of the north gate of the town, it would be more agreeable to the account in the text to restore it so. On the other hand, as Hiuen Tsiang places the hot springs on the south-western slopes of *Pi-po-lo*, and as we are told that "the hot springs of Râjagṛiha are found at the eastern foot of Mount Baibhâr and the western foot of Mount Vipula" (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 466), it would seem that he must be speaking of Vipula.

[51] Râvaṇahrad; in Pali, Anavatatta, in Tibetan, Ma-dros, in Chinese, Wu-je-nao. See *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx. p. 65, or *Ann. Musée Guimet*, tom. ii. p. 168; Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 152, 154; and *ante*, vol. i. pp. 11-13.

hot. At the mouths of the various hot springs there are placed carved stones, sometimes shaped like lions, and at other times as the heads of white elephants; sometimes stone conduits are constructed, through which the water flows on high (*aqueducts*), whilst below there are stone basins, in which the water collects like a pond. Here people of every region come, and from every city, to bathe; those who suffer from any disease are often cured. On the right and left of the warm springs [52] are many *stûpas* and the remains of *vihâras* close together. In all these places the four past Buddhas have sat and walked, and the traces of their so doing are still left. These spots being surrounded by mountains and supplied with water, men of conspicuous virtue and wisdom take up their abode here, and there are many hermits who live here also in peace and solitude.

To the west of the hot springs is the Pippala (Pi-po-lo) stone house.[53] When the Lord of the World was alive in olden times, he constantly dwelt here. The deep cavern which is behind the walls of this house is the palace abode of an Asura (*or*, the Asuras). Many Bhikshus who practise *Samâdhi* dwell here. Often we may see strange forms, as of Nâgas, serpents, and lions, come forth from it. Those who see these things lose their reason and become dazed. Nevertheless, this wonderful place (*excellent land*) is one in which holy saints dwell, and occupying the spot consecrated by such sacred

[52] The names of these warm springs are given by Cunningham (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 466).

[53] This stone house is mentioned also by Fa-hian, chap. xxx. He places it to the south of the new city, west about three hundred paces. It would therefore be in Mount Baibhâr, and Cunningham suggests that Pi-pu-lo may be an equivalent for Vaibhâra (*Arch. Survey*, i. p. 21 n.). It may be so, but it is usually restored to Pippala. This stone house is supposed to be the same as the present Sonbhândâr, or "treasury of gold" (*ibid.*) General Cunningham also identifies the Sonbhândâr cave with the Sattapanni cave. But this seems impossible. Mr. Fergusson's remarks on this perplexing subject are intelligible and satisfactory. See *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 49, 50, and *note*.

traces, they forget the calamities and evils that threaten them.

Not long ago there was a Bhikshu of a pure and upright life, whose mind was enamoured of solitude and quiet; he desired to practise *Samâdhi* concealed in this house. Some one protested and said, "Go not there! Many calamities happen there, and strange things causing death are frequent. It is difficult to practise *Samâdhi* in such a spot, and there is constant fear of death. You ought to remember what has happened before time, if you would not reap the fruits of after-repentance." The Bhikshu said, "Not so! My determination is to seek the fruit of Buddha and to conquer the Dêva Mâra. If these are the dangers of which you speak, what need to name them?" Then his took his pilgrim's staff and proceeded to the house. There he reared an altar and began to recite his magic protective sentences. After the tenth day, a maiden came forth from the cave and addressed the Bhikshu, saying, "Sir of the coloured robes! you observe the precepts, and, with full purpose, you adopt the refuge (*found in Buddha*); you aspire after (*prepare*) wisdom, and practise *Samâdhi*, and to promote in yourself spiritual power, so that you may be an illustrious guide of men, you dwell here and alarm me and my fellows! But how is this in agreement with the doctrine of Tathâgata?" The Bhikshu said, "I practise a pure life, following the holy teaching (*of Buddha*). I conceal myself among the mountains and dells to avoid the tumult of life. In suddenly bringing a charge against me, I ask where is my fault?" She replied, "Your reverence! when you recite your prayers, the sound causes fire to burst into (*my house*) from without, and burns my abode; it afflicts me and my family! I pray you, pity us, and do not say your charmed prayers any more!"

The Bhikshu said, "I repeat my prayers to defend myself, and not to hurt any living thing. In former days,

a religious person (*a disciple*) occupied this place and practised *Samâdhi* with a view to obtain the holy fruit and to help the miserable;[54] then with unearthly sights he was frightened to death and gave up his life. This was your doing. What have you to say?"

She replied, "Oppresed with a weight of guilt, my wisdom is small indeed; but from this time forth I will bar my house and keep the partition (*between it and this chamber*). Do you, venerable one, on your part, I pray, repeat no more spiritual formulæ."

On this the Bhikshu prepared himself in *Samâdhi*, and from that time rested in quiet, none hurting him.

On the top of Mount Vipula (Pi-pu-lo) is a *stûpa*. This is where in old times Tathâgata repeated the law. At the present time naked heretics (Nirgranthas) frequent this place in great numbers; they practise penance night and day without intermission, and from morn till night walk round (*the stûpa*) and contemplate it with respect.

To the left of the northern gate of the mountain city (Girivjaja, *Shan-shing*), going east, on the north side of the southern crag (*precipice or cliff*), going 2 or 3 li, we come to a great stone house in which Dêvadatta formerly entered *Samâdhi*.

Not far to the east of this stone house, on the top of a flat stone, there are coloured spots like blood. By the side of this rock a *stûpa* has been built. This is the place where a Bhikshu practising *Samâdhi* wounded himself and obtained the fruit of holiness.

There was formerly a Bhikshu who diligently exerted himself in mind and body, and secluded himself in the practice of *Samâdhi*. Years and months elapsed, and he had not obtained the holy fruit. Retiring from the spot, he upbraided himself, and then he added with a sigh, "I despair of obtaining the fruit of Arhatship (*freedom from learning*). What use to keep this body, the source of im-

[54] *I.e.*, to succour the people in the dark ways of birth, *i.e.*, demons and pretas and "the lost."

pediment from its very character." Having spoken thus, he mounted on this stone and gashed his throat. Forthwith he reached the fruit of an Arhat, and ascended into the air and exhibited spiritual changes; finally, his body was consumed by fire, and he reached *Nirvâṇa*.[55] Because of his noble resolution they have built (*this stûpa*) as a memorial. To the east of this place, above a rocky crag, there is a stone *stûpa*. This is the place where a Bhikshu practising *Samâdhi* threw himself down and obtained the fruit. Formerly, when Buddha was alive, there was a Bhikshu who sat quietly in a mountain wild, practising the mode of *Samâdhi* leading to Arhatship. For a long time he had exercised the utmost zeal without result. Night and day he restrained his thoughts, nor ever gave up his quiet composure. Tathâgata, knowing that his senses were fit for the acquirement (*of emancipation*), went to the place for the purpose of converting him (*perfecting him*). In a moment[56] he transported himself from the garden of bamboos (Vêṇuvana) to this mountain-side, and there calling him,[57] stood standing awaiting him.

At this time the Bhikshu, seeing from a distance the holy congregation, his heart and body ravished with joy, he cast himself down from the mountain. But by his purity of heart and respectful faith for Buddha's teaching before he reached the ground he gained the fruit of Arhatship. The Lord of the World then spoke and said, "You ought to know the opportunity." Immediately he ascended into the air and exhibited spiritual transformation. To show his pure faith they have raised this memorial.

Going about one li from the north gate of the mountain city we come to the Karaṇḍavêṇuvana (Kia-lan-t'o-chuh-yuen),[58] where now the stone foundation and the

[55] This incident is also related by Fa-hian, cap. xxx.

[56] So I understand *tan c'hi*, "in the snapping of a finger." Julien translates it as though Buddha called the Bhikshu by cracking his fingers.

[57] It may be either "calling him" or "calling an assembly."

[58] The bamboo garden of Karaṇḍa, or Kalaṇḍa. For an account of this garden see Fa-hian, (Beal's edit., p. 117, n. 2), and also Julien *in loco*, n. 1; see also Burnouf, *Introd.*, 1st ed. p. 456; *Lalita Vistara*, p. 415.

brick walls of a *vihâra* exist. The door faces the east. Tathâgata, when in the world, frequently dwelt here, and preached the law for the guidance and conversion of men and to rescue the people. They have now made a figure of Tathâgata the size of life. In early days there was in this town a great householder (*gṛihapati*) called Karaṇḍa; at this time he had gained much renown by giving to the heretics a large bamboo garden. Then coming to see Tathâgata and hearing his law, he was animated by a true faith. He then regretted that the multitude of unbelievers should dwell in that place. "And now," he said, "the leader of gods and men has no place in which to lodge." Then the spirits and demons, affected by his faithfulness, drove away the heretics, and addressing them said, "Karaṇḍa, the householder, is going to erect a *vihâra* here for the Buddha; you must get away quickly, lest calamity befall you!"

The heretics, with hatred in their heart and mortified in spirit, went away; thereupon the householder built this *vihâra*. When it was finished he went himself to invite Buddha. Thereon Tathâgata received the gift.

To the east of the Karaṇḍaveṇuvana is a *stûpa* which was built by Ajâtaśatru-râja. After the *Nirvâṇa* of Tathâgata the kings divided the relics (*she-li*); the king Ajâtaśatru returned then with his share, and from a feeling of extreme reverence built (*a stûpa*) and offered his religious offerings to it. When Aśôka-râja (Wu-yau) became a believer, he opened it and took the relics, and in his turn built another *stûpa*. This building constantly emits miraculous light.

By the side of the *stûpa* of Ajâtaśatru-râja is another *stûpa* which encloses the relics of half of the body of Ânanda. Formerly, when the saint was about to reach *Nirvâṇa*, he left the country of Magadha and proceeded to the town of Vaiśâlî (Fei-she-li). As these two countries disputed (*about him*) and began to raise troops, the venerable one, from pity, divided his body into two parts. The king of Magadha, receiving his share, returned and offered

to it his religious homage, and immediately prepared in this renowned land, with great honour, to raise a *stûpa.* By the side of this building is a place where Buddha walked up and down.

Not far from this is a *stûpa.* This is the place where Śâriputra and Mudgalaputra dwelt during the rainy season.

To the south-west of the bamboo garden (Vêṇuvana) about 5 or 6 li, on the north side of the southern mountain, is a great bamboo forest. In the middle of it is a large stone house. Here the venerable Kâśyapa with 999 great Arhats, after Tathâgata's *Nirvâṇa*, called a convocation (*for the purpose of settling*) the three *Piṭakas.*[59] Before it is the old foundation-wall. King Ajâtaśatru made this hall[60] for the sake of accommodating the great Arhats who assembled to settle the *Dharma-piṭaka.*

At first, when Mahâ Kâśyapa was seated in silent (*study*) in the desert (*mountain forests*), suddenly a bright light burst forth, and he perceived the earth shaking. Then he said, "What fortunate change of events is there, that this miracle should occur?" Then exerting his divine sight, he saw the Lord Buddha between the two trees entering *Nirvâṇa.* Forthwith he ordered his followers to accompany him to the city of Kuśinagara (Ku-shi). On the way they met a Brâhmaṇ holding in his hands a divine flower. Kâśyapa, addressing him, said, "Whence come you? Know you where our great teacher is at present?" The Brâhmaṇ replied and said, "I have but just come from yonder city of Kuśinagara, where I saw your great master just entered into *Nirvâṇa.* A vast

[59] This is the famous Sattapanni cave, in which the "first Buddhist council" was held "At the entrance of the Sattapaṇṇa cave in the Magadha town (compare *ante*, n. 45) Giribbaja (*i.e.*, Girivraja or Râjagṛiha) the first council was finished after seven months" (*Dîpavaṁśa* (Oldenberg) v. 5). In connection with this extract I would refer to the sentence preceding it (4), where we have named "the *second* beginning of the Vassa season." This seems to explain the constant use of the expression, the "double resting season," by Hiuen Tsiang. See below, n. 61.

[60] The hall appears to have been structural; the cave at the back was natural. See Fergusson, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 49.

multitude of heavenly beings were around him offering their gifts in worship, and this flower, which I hold, I brought thence."

Kâśyapa having heard these words said to his followers, "The sun of wisdom has quenched his rays. The world is now in darkness. The illustrious guide has left us and gone, and all flesh must fall into calamity."

Then the careless Bhikshus said one to another with satisfaction, "Tathâgata has gone to rest. This is good for us, for now, if we transgress, who is there to reprove or restrain us?"

Then Kâśyapa, having heard this, was deeply moved and afflicted, and he resolved to assemble (*collect*) the treasure of the law (*Dharma-piṭaka*) and bring to punishment the transgressors. Accordingly he proceeded to the two trees, and regarding Buddha, he offered worship.

And now the King of the Law having gone from the world, both men and Dêvas were left without a guide, and the great Arhats, moreover, were cleaving to (*the idea of their*) *Nirvâṇa*. Then the great Kâśyapa reflected thus: "To secure obedience to the teaching of Buddha, we ought to collect the *Dharma-piṭaka*." On this he ascended Mount Sumeru and sounded the great gong (*ghaṇṭâ*), and spake thus: "Now then, in the town of Râjagṛiha there is going to be a religious assembly.[61] Let all those who have obtained the fruit (*of arhatship*) hasten to the spot."

In connection with the sounding of the gong the direction of Kâśyapa spread far and wide through the great chiliocosm, and all those possessed of spiritual capabilities, hearing the instructions, assembled in convocation. At this time Kâśyapa addressed the assembly and said, "Tathâgatâ having died (*attained to extinction* or *Nirvâṇa*), the world is empty. We ought to collect the *Dharma-piṭaka*, in token of our gratitude to Buddha. Now then, being about to accomplish this, there should be profound composure (*quiet*). How can this be done in the midst of

[61] A business relating to religion; a religious proceeding.

such a vast multitude? Those who have acquired the three species of knowledge (*trividyâ*), who have obtained the six supernatural faculties (*shaḍabhijñâs*), who have kept the law without failure, whose powers of discrimination (*dialectic*) are clear, such superior persons as these may stop and form the assembly. Those who are learners with only limited fruit, let such depart to their homes."

On this 999 men were left; but he excluded Ânanda, as being yet a learner. Then the great Kâśyapa, calling him, addressed him thus: "You are not yet free from defects; you must leave the holy assembly." He replied, "During many years I have followed Tathâgata as his attendant; every assembly that has been held for considering the law, I have joined; but now, as you are going to hold an assembly after his death (*wai*), I find myself excluded; the King of the Law having died, I have lost my dependence and helper."

Kâśyapa said, "Do not cherish your sorrow! You were a personal attendant on Buddha indeed, and you therefore heard much, and so you loved (*much*), and therefore you are not free from all the ties that bind (*the soul* or *affections*)."

Ânanda, with words of submission, retired and came to a desert place, desiring to reach a condition "beyond learning;" he strove for this without intermission, but with no result. At length, wearied out, he desired one day to lie down. Scarcely had his head reached the pillow[62] when lo! he obtained he condition of an Arhat.

He then went to the assembly, and knocking at the door, announced his arrival. Kâśyapa then asked him, saying, "Have you got rid of all ties? In that case exercise your spiritual power and enter without the door being opened!" Ânanda, in compliance with the order, entered through the keyhole,[63] and having paid reverence to the priesthood, retired and sat down.

[62] For a similar account of Ânanda's illumination, see *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 72, and compare the whole account.

[63] In other accounts it is stated he entered through the wall.

At this time fifteen days of the summer rest (*Varshâvasâna*) had elapsed. On this Kâśyapa rising, said, "Consider well and listen! Let Ânanda, who ever heard the words of Tathâgata, collect by singing through[64] the *Sûtra-piṭaka*. Let Upâli (Yeu-po-li), who clearly understands the rules of discipline (*Vinaya*), and is well known to all who know, collect the *Vinaya-piṭaka*; and I, Kâśyapa, will collect the *Abhidharma-piṭaka*." The three months of rain[65] being past, the collection of the *Tripiṭaka* was finished. As the great Kâśyapa was the president (*Sthavira*) among the priests, it is called the Sthavira (Chang-tso-pu) convocation.[66]

North-west of the place where the great Kâśyapa held the convocation is a *stûpa*. This is where Ânanda, being forbidden by the priests to take part in the assembly, came and sat down in silence and reached the fruit (*position*) of an Arhat. After this he joined the assembly.

Going west from this point 20 li or so, is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. This is the spot where the "great assembly" (*Mahâsaṅgha*) formed their collection of books (*or*, held their assembly). Those who had not been permitted to join Kâśyapa's assembly, whether learners or those above learning (*Arhats*), to the number of 100,000 men, came together to this spot and said, "Whilst Tathâgata was alive we all had a common master, but now the King of the Law is dead it is different. We too wish to show our gratitude to Buddha, and we also will hold an assembly for collecting the scriptures." On this the common folk with the holy disciples came to the assembly (*all assembled*), the foolish and wise alike flocked together and collected the *Sûtra-piṭaka*, the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, the *Abhidharma-piṭaka*, the miscellaneous *Piṭaka* (*Khuddakanikâya*),[67] and

[64] Chanting or rehearsing, *saṅgîti*.

[65] Or, the second "three months." It is to be noted that the season of *Wass* was twofold, either the first "three months," or, the second "three months."

[66] This is contrary to the usual explanation, which makes the Sthavira school date from the second convocation at Vaiśâli.

[67] Or perhaps the *Sannipâta-nikâya*.

the *Dhâraṇî-piṭaka.* Thus they distinguished five *Piṭakas.* And because in this assembly both common folk and holy personages were mixed together, it was called "the assembly of the great congregation" (*Mahâsaṅgha*).[68]

To the north of the Vênuvana Vihâra about 200 paces we come to the Karaṇḍa lake (Karaṇḍahrada). When Tathâgata was in the world he preached often here. The water was pure and clear, and possessed of the eight qualities.[69] After the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha it dried up and disappeared.

To the north-west of the Karaṇḍahrada, at a distance of 2 or 3 li, is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja It is about 60 feet high; by the side of it is a stone pillar on which is a record engraved relating to the foundation of the *stûpa.* It is about 50 feet high, and on the top has the figure of an elephant.

To the north-east of the stone pillar, not far, we come to the town of Râjagṛiha[70] (Ho-lo-shi-ki-li-hi). The outer walls of this city have been destroyed, and there are no remnants of them left; the inner city (*walls*),[71] although in a ruined state, still have some elevation from the ground, and are about 20 li in circuit. In the first case, Bimbisâra-râja established his residence in Kuśâgâra; in this place the houses of the people, being close together, were frequently burned with fire and destroyed. When one house was in flames, it was impossible to prevent the whole neighbourhood sharing in the calamity, and consequently the whole was burned up. Then the people made loud complaints, and were unable to rest quietly in their dwellings. The king said, "By my demerit the lower people are afflicted;

[68] This account, too, differs from the common tradition, which makes this school of the great assembly date from the schism at Vaiśâlî. The statement, however, of Hiuen Tsiang, that the additional *piṭakas* were collated at this assembly is a useful and suggestive one.

[69] For the eight qualities of water see *J. R. A. S.*, vol. ii. pp. 1, 141.

[70] "The royal abode" (*Wang she*). This is what Fa-hian calls "the new city." It was to the north of the mountains.

[71] That is, the walls of the royal precincts or the citadel.

what deed of goodness (*meritorious virtue*) can I do in order to be exempt from such calamities?" His ministers said, "Mahârâja, your virtuous government spreads peace and harmony, your righteous rule causes light and progress. It is by want of due attention on the part of the people that these calamities of fire occur. It is necessary to make a severe law to prevent such occurrences hereafter. If a fire breaks out, the origin must be diligently sought for, and to punish the principal guilty person, let him be driven into the cold forest. Now this cold forest (*śîtavana*) is the place of corpses abandoned (*cast out*) there. Every one esteems it an unlucky place, and the people of the land avoid going there and passing through it. Let him be banished there as a cast-out corpse. From dread of this fate, the people will become careful and guard (*against the outbreak of fire*)." The king said, "It is well; let this announcement be made, and let the people attend to it."

And now it happened that the king's palace was the first to be burned with fire. Then he said to his ministers, "I myself must be banished;" and he gave up the government to his eldest son in his own place. "I wish to maintain the laws of the country (*he said*); I therefore myself am going into exile."

At this time the king of Vaiśâlî hearing that Bimbisâra-râja was dwelling alone in the "cold forest," raised an army and put it in movement to invade (*make a foray*) when nothing was ready (*to resist him*). The lords of the marches (*frontiers*), hearing of it, built a town,[72] and as the king was the first to inhabit it, it was called "the royal city" (Râjagṛiha). Then the ministers and the people all flocked there with their families.

It is also said that Ajâtaśatru-râja first founded this

72 That is, as it seems, in the place where the king was living. From this it would appear that the site of the new town of Râjagṛiha, had been before used as a burial-place for the people of the "old town."

city, and the heir-apparent of Ajâtaśatru having come to the throne, he also appointed it to be the capital, and so it continued till the time of Aśôka-râja, who changed the capital to Pâṭaliputra, and gave the city of Râjagṛiha to the Brâhmaṇs, so that now in the city there are no common folk to be seen, but only Brâhmaṇs to the number of a thousand families.

At the south-west angle of the royal precincts[73] are two small *saṅghârâmas;* the priests who come and go, and are strangers in the place, lodge here. Here also Buddha, when alive, delivered the law (*preached*). North-west from this is a *stûpa;* this is the site of an old village where the householder Jyôtishka[74] (Ch'u-ti-se-kia) was born.

Outside the south gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a *stûpa.* Here Tathâgata preached and converted Râhula (Lo-hu-lo).[75]

Going north from this 30 li or so, we come to Nâlanda *saṅghârâma.*[76] The old accounts of the country say that to the south of this *saṅghârâma,* in the middle of an Âmra ('An-mo-lo) grove, there is a tank. The Nâga of this tank is called Nâlanda.[77] By the side of it is built the *saṅghârâma,* which therefore takes the name (*of the Nâga*). But the truth is that Tathâgata in old days practised the life of a Bôdhisattva here, and became the king of a great country, and established his capital in this land. Moved by pity for living things, he delighted in continually relieving them. In remembrance of this virtue he was called[78] "charity without intermission;" and the *saṅg-*

[73] *I.e.,* of the inner city of Râjagṛiha.

[74] In Chinese Sing lih, "constellation" or "star collection."

[75] If this Lo-hu-lo be the son of Buddha, his conversion is generally stated to have occurred at Kapilavastu (*Manual of Budhism,* p. 206).

[76] Nâlanda has been identified with the village of Baragaon, which lies seven miles north of Râjgir (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.,* p. 468).

[77] According to I-tsing the name Nâlanda is derived from Nâga Nanda (see *J. R. A. S.,* N.S., vol. xiii. p. 571). For a description of this temple of Nâlanda see "Two Chinese Buddhist Inscriptions found at Buddha Gayâ," *J. R. A. S.,* N.S., vol. xiii. *l. c.* See also *Abstract of Four Lectures,* p. 140.

[78] So I understand the passage.

hârâma was called in perpetuation of this name. The site was originally an Âmra garden. Five hundred merchants bought it for ten *kôṭis* of gold pieces and gave it to Buddha. Buddha preached the law here during three months, and the merchants and others obtained the fruit of holiness. Not long after the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha, a former king of this country named Śakrâditya (Shi-kia-lo-'o-t'ie-to) respected and esteemed the (*system of the*) one Vehicle,[79] and honoured very highly the three treasures.[80] Having selected by augury a lucky spot, he built this *saṅghârâma*. When he began the work he wounded, in digging, the body of the Nâga. At this time there was a distinguished soothsayer belonging to the heretical sect of the Nirgranthas. He having seen the occurrence, left this record: "This is a very superior site. If you build here a *saṅghârâma*, it must of necessity become highly renowned. Throughout the five Indies it will be a model. For a period of a thousand years it will flourish still. Students of all degrees will here easily accomplish their studies. But many will spit blood because of this wound given to the Nâga."

His son, Buddhagupta-râja (Fo-t'o-kio-to), who succeeded him, continued to labour at the excellent undertaking of his father. To the south of this he built another *saṅghârâma*.

Tathâgatagupta-râja (Ta-tha-kie-to-kio-lo) vigorously practised the former rules (*of his ancestors*), and he built east from this another *saṅghârâma*.

Balâditya-râja (P'o-lo-'o-tie-lo) succeeded to the empire. On the north-east side he built a *saṅghârâma*.

It has no reference to the Nâga. The word Nâlanda would thus appear to be derived from *na* + *alam* + *da*, "not giving enough," or "not having enough to give."

[79] The "one Vehicle," according to the authority quoted by Julien (n. 2 *in loco*) is "the vehicle of Buddha, which is compared to a car formed of seven precious substances, and drawn by a white ox." But the expression, "one Vehicle," is a common one in later Buddhist books to denote the *nature* of Buddha, to which we all belong, and to which we all shall return.

[80] *Triratnâni*—Buddha, dharma, saṅgha.

The work being done, he called together an assembly for congratulation. He respected equally the obscure and the renowned, and invited common folk and men of religion (*holiness*) without distinction. The priests of all India came together for the distance of 10,000 li. After all were seated and at rest, two priests arrived. They led them up the three-storeyed pavilion. Then they asked them, saying, " The king, when about to call the assembly, first asked men of all degrees (*common and holy*). From what quarter do your reverences come so late ? " They said, " We are from the country of China. Our teacher[81] was sick. Having nourished him, we set out to accept the king's far-off invitation.[82] This is the reason why we have arrived so late."

The assembly hearing this, were filled with astonishment, and proceeded at once to inform the king. The king knowing that they were holy persons, went himself to interrogate them. He mounted the pavilion, but he knew not where they had gone.[83] The king then was affected by a profound faith ; he gave up his country and became a recluse. Having done so, he placed himself as the lowest of the priests, but his heart was always uneasy and ill at rest. " Formerly (*he said*) I was a king, and the highest among the honourable ; but now I have become a recluse, I am degraded to the bottom of the priesthood." Forthwith he went to the priests, and said words to the above effect. On this the *saṅgha* resolved that they who had not received the full orders should be classed according to their natural years of life.[84] This *saṅghârâma* is the only one in which this law exists.

81 It is true the symbol *shang* in this phrase is not the same as that forming the second member of the word *hoshang* (upâdhyâya), but they are the same in sound, and therefore I think *ho-shang* in the text should be translated "teacher."

82 That is, the invitation coming from a long distance.

83 That is, he ascended the pavilion with three stages where the strangers from China had been received ; but when he arrived he found they had departed.

84 The usual order was that they should be classed according to the number of years they had been "professed disciples ;" but in the convent of Balâditya the order was that they should be classed accord-

This king's son, called Vajra (Fa-she-lo), came to the throne in succession, and was possessed of a heart firm in the faith. He again built on the west side of the convent a *saṅghârâma*.

After this a king of Central India built to the north of this a great *saṅghârâma*. Moreover, he built round these edifices a high wall with one gate.[85] A long succession of kings continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor, till the whole is truly marvellous to behold. The king[86] said, "In the hall of the monarch who first began the *saṅghârâma* I will place a figure of Buddha, and I will feed forty priests of the congregation every day to show my gratitude to the founder."

The priests, to the number of several thousands, are men of the highest ability and talent. Their distinction is very great at the present time, and there are many hundreds whose fame has rapidly spread through distant regions. Their conduct is pure and unblamable. They follow in sincerity the precepts of the moral law. The rules of this convent are severe, and all the priests are bound to observe them. The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripiṭaka* are little esteemed, and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts, and then the streams (*of their wisdom*) spread far and wide. For this reason some persons usurp the name (*of Nâlanda students*), and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence. If men

ing to their natural age, up to the time of their full ordination. The king, although he had become a disciple, was not fully ordained.

[85] That is, to enter the whole area.

[86] But it is not said what king. The symbol, too, is *ti*, not *wang*. Is Śilâditya referred to? He was not to take the name of *wang* or *ta wang* (see vol. i. p. 213 n. 21).

of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions, the keeper of the gate proposes some hard questions; many are unable to answer, and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new (*books*) before getting admission. Those students, therefore, who come here as strangers, have to show their ability by hard discussion; those who fail compared with those who succeed are as seven or eight to ten. The other two or three of moderate talent, when they come to discuss in turn in the assembly, are sure to be humbled, and to forfeit their renown. But with respect to those of conspicuous talent of solid learning, great ability, illustrious virtue, distinguished men, these connect (*their high names*) with the succession (*of celebrities belonging to the college*), such as Dharmapâla (Hu-fa)[87] and Chandrapâla (Hu-yueh),[88] who excited by their bequeathed teaching the thoughtless and worldly; Guṇamati (Tih-hwui)[89] and Sthiramati (Kin-hwui),[90] the streams of whose superior teaching spread abroad even now; Prabhamitra (Kwang-yeu),[91] with his clear discourses; Jinamitra (Shing-yeu),[92] with his exalted eloquence; the pattern and fame (*sayings and doings*) of Jñânachandra (Chi-yueh)[93] reflect his brilliant activity; Śigrabuddha (?) (Ming-min), and Śilabhadra (Kiaï-hien),[94] and other eminent men whose names are lost. These illustrious personages, known to all, excelled in their attainments (*virtue*) all their distinguished predecessors, and passed the bounds of the ancients in their learning. Each of these composed some tens of treatises and commentaries

[87] A native of Kâñchipura, author of the *Śabdavidya-samyukta Śâstra* (Max Müller, pp. 308 n., 309–310 and n., 346, 348–349, 361).

[88] See Vassilief; Max Müller, *India*, p. 311.

[89] Max Müller, *India*, p. 305 and n., pp. 309–310 n., p. 362.

[90] Pupil of Ârya Asaṅga (Max Müller, pp. 305, 310 n., 318 n.; Vassilief, pp. 59 78, 226–227, 305).

[91] Po-lo-pho-mi-to-lo of Central India, by caste a Kshattriya. He reached China in A.D. 627, and died in 633 at the age of sixty-nine (Beal, *Abs. Four. Lect.*, p. 28; Max Müller, *Ind.*, p. 312).

[92] Eitel, p. 37.

[93] Max Müller, *Ind.*, pp. 312–361; Eitel, *Djñânatchandra*.

[94] The favourite teacher of Hiuen Tsiang. *Vie*, pp. 144, 212, 215, 225; Max Müller, *India*, pp. 310, 343; Eitel, *s. v.*

which were widely diffused, and which for their perspicuity are passed down to the present time.

The sacred relics on the four sides of the convent are hundreds in number. For brevity's sake we will recount two or three. On the western side of the *saṅghârâma*, at no great distance, is a *vihâra*. Here Tathâgata in old days stopped for three months and largely expounded the excellent law for the good of the Dêvas.

To the south 100 paces or so is a small *stûpa*. This is the place where a Bhikshu from a distant region saw Buddha. Formerly there was a Bhikshu who came from a distant region. Arriving at this spot, he met the multitude of disciples accompanying Buddha, and was affected inwardly with a feeling of reverence, and so prostrated himself on the ground, at the same time uttering a strong desire that he might obtain the position of a Chakravarttî monarch. Tathâgata having seen him, spoke to his followers thus: "That Bhikshu ought much to be pitied. The power (*character*) of his religious merit is deep and distant;[95] his faith is strong. If he were to seek the fruit of Buddha, not long hence he would obtain it; but now that he has earnestly prayed to become a Chakravarttî king, he will in future ages receive this reward: as many grains of dust as there are from the spot where he has thrown himself on the earth down to the very middle of the gold wheel,[96] so many Chakravarttî kings will there be for reward;[97] but having fixed his mind on earthly joys, the fruit of holiness is far off.[98]

On this southern side is a standing figure of Kwan-tsz'-tsai (Avalôkitêśvara) Bôdhisattva. Sometimes he is seen holding a vessel of perfume going to the *vihâra* of Buddha and turning round to the right.

[95] This is the literal meaning of the symbols. Julien translates, "he has a profound virtue." It may mean that his religious merit, though deep, will have but a distant reward.

[96] *I.e.*, to the middle of the earth where the gold wheel is.

[97] *I.e.*, so many times will he be a Chakravarttî king.

[98] This seems to explain the words "deep and distant." See above n. 95.

To the south of this statue is a *stûpa*, in which are remains of Buddha's hair and nails cut during three months. Those persons afflicted with children's complaints,[99] coming here and turning round religiously, are mostly healed.

To the west of this, outside the wall, and by the side of a tank, is a *stûpa*. This is where a heretic, holding a sparrow in his hand, asked Buddha questions relating to death and birth.

To the south-east about 50 paces, within the walls, is an extraordinary tree, about eight or nine feet in height, of which the trunk is twofold. When Tathâgata of old time was in the world, he flung his tooth-cleaner (*dantakâshṭha*) on the ground here, where it took root. Although many months and years have elapsed since then, the tree neither decreases nor increases.[100]

Next to the east there is a great *vihâra* about 200 feet in height. Here Tathâgata, residing for four months, explained various excellent laws.

After this, to the north 100 paces or so, is a *vihâra* in which is a figure of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhisattva. The disciples of pure faith, who offer their religious gifts, do not all see the place he occupies alike; it is not fixed.[101] Sometimes he (*i.e., the figure*) seems to be standing by the side of the door; sometimes he goes out in front of the eaves. Religious people, both clerics and laics, from all parts come together in numbers to offer their gifts.

To the north of this *vihâra* is a great *vihâra*, in height about 300 feet, which was built by Balâditya-râja (Po-lo-'o-tie-to-wang). With respect to its magnificence,

[99] Or it may be translated, "those afflicted with complicated diseases." The symbol *ying* means either "a babe" or "to add or increase."

[101] After having used the dantakâshṭha for cleaning the teeth, it was usual to divide it into two parts, hence the double trunk of the tree (compare Julien *in loc.*, n. 1). The *dantakâshṭha* in the original is "chewing-willow-twig." The wood used in India is the *Acacia catechu;* see *ante*, vol. i. p. 68 n.; and Julien's note, tome I., p. 55.

[101] *Or*, "do not all see what they see alike. The place he occupies is not fixed."

its dimensions, and the statue of Buddha placed in it, it resembles (*is the same as*) the great *vihâra* built under the *Bôdhi* tree.[102]

To the north-east of this is a *stûpa*. Here Tathâgata in days gone by explained the excellent law for seven days.

To the north-west is a place where the four past Buddhas sat down.

To the south of this is a *vihâra* of brass[102] built by Śîlâditya-râja. Although it is not yet finished, yet its intended measurement, when finished (*to plan*), will be 100 feet.[104]

Next to the eastward 200 paces or so, outside the walls, is a figure of Buddha standing upright and made of copper. Its height is about 80 feet. A pavilion of six stages is required to cover it. It was formerly made by Pûrṇavarma-râja (Mwan-cheu).

To the north of this statue 2 or 3 li, in a *vihâra* constructed of brick, is a figure of Târa Bôdhisattva (To-lo-p'u-sa). This figure is of great height, and its spiritual appearance very striking. Every fast-day of the year large offerings are made to it. The kings and ministers and great people of the neighbouring countries offer exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags

[102] This is the great *vihâra* supposed to have been built by Amaradêva. With respect to this and the whole subject, the controversies and theories respecting its date, see Dr. Rajêndralâl Mitra's work on the *stûpa* at Buddha Gayâ.

[103] *Yu-shih*, "calamine stone, used in the formation of brass" (Medhurst). There is much confusion in the use of the symbols *teou shi* and *yu shi*. The former is explained by Medhurst (sub voc. *t'how*) "as a kind of stone resembling metal, which the Chinese call the finest kind of native copper. It is found in the Po-sse country and resembles gold. On the application of fire it assumes a red colour, and does not turn black." But *yu shi* (which seems to be intended in the passage in the text, although Julien renders it *theou chi*) is explained by Medhurst (sub voc. *shih*) to be "calamine stone, used in the formation of brass." The calamine stone is the *cadmia* of Pliny—"fit et e lapide œroso, quem vocant cadmiam" (vol. ii. cap. xxxiv. § 2). Cadmus is fabled to have discovered its use in the composition of brass, and hence the name. It may be called calamine from its place of exportation, Calamina, at the mouth of the Indus; hence the Chinese say it comes from Po-sse. Brass being capable of being rolled into thin sheets (*latten* or *Dutch metal*), might easily be used in covering the walls of a building. It was so used probably by Śîlâditya in the case under notice.

[104] Not in height, but in length.

and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resound in turns, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. These religious assemblies last for seven days.

Within the southern gate of the wall is a large well. Formerly, when Buddha was alive, a great company of merchants parched with thirst came here to the spot where Buddha was. The Lord of the World, pointing to this place, said, "You will find water there." The chief of the merchants, piercing the earth with the end of the axle of his cart, immediately water rushed out from the ground. Having drunk and heard the law, they all obtained the fruit of holiness.

Going south-west 8 or 9 li from the *saṅghârâma*, we come to the village of Kulika (Kiu-li-kia). In it is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. This is where the venerable Mudgalaputra (Mo-te-kia-lo-tseu) was born. By the side of the village is a *stûpa*. This is where the Venerable One reached complete *Nirvâṇa*,[105] and in it are placed the remains of his bequeathed body. The venerable (Mahâmudgalaputra) was of a great Brâhmaṇ family, and was an intimate friend of Śâriputra when they were young. This Śâriputra was renowned for the clearness of his dialectic skill; the other for his persevering and deep penetration. Their gifts and wisdom were alike, and moving or standing they were always together.[106] Their aims and desires from beginning to end were just the same. They had together left the world from distaste to its pleasures, and as hermits had followed Sañjaya (Shen-she-ye) as their master.[107] Śâriputra having met Aśvajita (Ma-shing) the Arhat, hearing the law, understood its holy (*meaning*).[108] On returning he repeated what he had

[105] Literally, *Nirvâṇa* "without remains". (anupâdiseśa). For the meaning of this phrase consult Childers, *Pali Dict.*, sub voc. *Nibbânam*. Julien renders it *Parinirvâna*.

[106] For an account of these two disciples, see *Fo-sho-king*, varga 17. They are called Seriyut and Mugalan in Pâli,—Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*, p. 181.

[107] "There was at this time in Rajagaha a famous paribrajika called Saṅga. To him they (Seriyut and Mugalan) went, and they remained with him some time."—*Manual of Budhism*, p. 195.

[108] Or, understood the holy one, *i.e.*, Aśvajita.

heard for the sake of the venerable (Mudgalaputra). On this he understood the meaning of the law and reached the first fruit.[109] Then with 250 followers he went to the place where Buddha was. The Lord of the World, seeing him at a distance, pointing him out, said to his disciples, "That one coming here will be the first among my followers in the exercise of spiritual faculties (*miraculous powers*)." Having reached the place where Buddha was, he requested to enter the law (*the society*). The Lord replying, said, "Welcome, O Bhikshu; carefully practise a pure life, and you shall escape the limits of sorrow." Hearing this his hair fell off, and his common robes were changed into others. Observing in their purity the sections of the rules of moral discipline, and being in his exterior behaviour faultless, after seven days, getting rid of all the bonds of sin, he reached the condition of an Arhat and the supernatural powers.

East of the old village of Mudgalaputra, going 3 or 4 li, we come to a *stûpa*. This is the place where Bimbisâra-râja went to have an interview with Buddha. When Tathâgata first obtained the fruit of a Buddha, knowing that the hearts of the people of the Magadha were waiting for him athirst, he accepted the invitation of Bimbisâra-râja, and early in the morning, putting on his robes, he took his begging-dish, and with a thousand Bhikshus around him, on the right hand and the left (*he advanced*). In front and behind these there were a number of aged Brâhmaṇs who went with twisted hair (*jâlina*), and being desirous of the law, wore their dyed garments (*chîvara*). Followed by such a throng, he entered the city of Râjagṛiha.

Then Lord Śakra (Ti-shih), king of Dêvas, changing his appearance into that of a Mânava (Ma-na-p'o) youth,[110] with a crown upon his head and his hair bound up, in his left hand holding a golden pitcher and in his right a precious staff, he walked above the earth four fingers

[109] *I.e.*, became a Śrotâpanna.

[110] That is, a young Brâhmaṇ.

high, leading Buddha along the road in front, in the midst of the vast assembly. Then the king of the Magadha country, Bimbisâra (Pin-pi-so-lo) by name, accompanied by all the Brâhmaṇ householders within the land, and the merchants (*ku-sse*), 100,000 myriads in all, going before and behind, leading and following, proceeded from the city of Râjagṛiha to meet and escort the holy congregation.

South-east from the spot where Bimbasâra-râja met Buddha, at a distance of about 20 li, we come to the town of Kâlapinâka (*Kia-lo-pi-na-kia*). In this town is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja. This is the place where Śâriputra, the venerable one, was born. The well [111] of the place still exists. By the side of the place [112] is a *stûpa*. This is where the venerable one obtained *Nirvâṇa;* the relics of his body, therefore, are enshrined therein. He also was of a high Brâhmaṇ family. His father was a man of great learning and erudition; he penetrated thoroughly the most intricate questions. There were no books he had not thoroughly investigated. His wife had a dream and told it to her husband. "Last night," said she, "during my sleep my dreams were troubled by a strange man [113] whose body was covered with armour; in his hand he held a diamond mace with which he broke the mountains; departing, he stood at the foot of one particular mountain." "This dream," the husband said, "is extremely good. You will bear a son of deep learning; he will be honoured in the world, and will attack the treatises of all the masters and break down their teaching (*schools*). Being led to consider, he will become the disciple of one who is more than human." [114]

[111] This may also mean "the stone foundation."

[112] Julien says, "by the side of the well." But refer to the account of Mudgalaputra's birthplace. The original is "the well of the village," *not* "of the house."

[113] By intercourse with a strange man.

[114] This is an obscure sentence, but it seems to correspond with the dream of the man standing at the foot of a mountain. Buddha is constantly spoken of as "a mountain of gold;" and the expression *puh ju yih jin*, "not as one man," seems to allude to the superhuman character of Śâriputra's future teacher.

And so in due course she conceived a child. All at once she was greatly enlightened. She discoursed in high and powerful language, and her words were not to be overthrown. When the venerable one began to be eight years old, his reputation was spread in every direction. His natural disposition was pure and simple, his heart loving and compassionate. He broke through all impediments in his way, and perfected his wisdom. He formed a friendship when young with Mudgalaputra, and being deeply disgusted with the world, and having no system to adopt as a refuge, he went with Mudgalaputra to the heretic Sañjaya's abode, and practised (*his mode of salvation*). Then they said together, "This is not the system of final deliverance,[115] nor is it able to rescue us from the trammels of sorrow. Let us each seek for an illustrious guide. He who first obtains *sweet dew*,[116] let him make the taste common to the other."[117]

At this time the great Arhat Aśvajita, holding in his hand his proper measure bowl (*pâtra*), was entering the city begging for food.

Śâriputra seeing his dignified exterior and his quiet and becoming manner, forthwith asked him, "Who is your master?" He answered, "The prince of the Śâkya tribe, disgusted with the world, becoming a hermit, has reached perfect wisdom. This one is my master." Śâriputra added, "And what doctrine does he teach? May I find a way to hear it?" He said, "I have but just received instruction, and have not yet penetrated the deep doctrine." Sâriputra said, "Pray tell me (*repeat*) what you have heard." Then Aśvajita, so far as he could, explained it and spoke. Śâriputra having heard it, immediately

On the other hand, Julien translates it, "there will not be a greater honour for a man than to become his disciple;" or, "nothing will be considered so great an honour to a man as to become his disciple," and this perhaps is the meaning of the passage.

115 "The highest" or "absolute truth."

116 That is, "the water of immortality;" the doctrine of Buddha.

117 *I.e.*, let him communicate the knowledge of that system of salvation (sweet dew).

reached the first fruit, and went forthwith with 250 of his followers, to the place where Buddha was dwelling.

The Lord of the World, seeing him afar off, pointing to him and addressing his followers, said, "Yonder comes one who will be most distinguished for wisdom among my disciples." Having reached the place, he bent his head in worship and asked to be permitted to follow the teaching of Buddha. The Lord said to him, "Welcome, O Bhikshu."

Having heard these words, he was forthwith ordained.[118] Half a month after, hearing Buddha preach the law on account of a Brâhmaṇ[119] called "Long-nails" (Dîrghanakha), together with other discourses,[120] and understanding them with a lively emotion, he obtained the fruit of an Arhat. After this, Ânanda hearing Buddha speak about his *Nirvâṇa*, it was noised abroad and talked about (*by the disciples*). Each one was affected with grief. Śâriputra was doubly touched with sorrow, and could not endure the thought of seeing Buddha die. Accordingly, he asked the Lord that he might die first. The lord said, "Take advantage of your opportunity."

He then bade adieu to the disciples and came to his native village. His followers, the Śrâmaṇêras, spread the news everywhere through the towns and villages. Ajâtaśatru-râja and his people hastened together as the wind, and assembled in clouds to the assembly, whilst Śâriputra repeated at large the teaching of the law. Having heard it, they went away. In the middle of the following night, with fixed (*correct*) thought, and mind restrained, he entered the *Samâdhi* called "final extinction." After awhile, having risen out of it, he died.

[118] Admitted to undertake the duties of the moral code of discipline.

[119] This Brâhmaṇ or Brahmachârin (ch'ang-chao-fan-chi) is well known, as there is a work called *Dîrghanakha parivrâjaka pariprichchha* (Jul. note *in loc.*)

[120] *Or*, the end of the discourse; but the symbol *chu* generally means "the rest."

Four or five li to the south-east of the town Kâlapinâka[121] is a *stûpa*. This is the spot where a disciple of Śâriputra reached *Nirvâṇa*. It is otherwise said, "When Kâśyapa Buddha was in the world, then three *kôṭis* of great Arhats entered the condition of complete *Nirvâṇa* in this place."

Going 30 li or so to the east of this last-named *stûpa*, we come to Indraśailaguhâ mountain (In-t'o-lo-shi-lo-kia-ho-shan).[122] The precipices and valleys of this mountain are dark and gloomy. Flowering trees grow thickly together like forests. The summit has two peaks, which rise up sharply and by themselves. On the south side of the western peak[123] between the crags is a great stone house,[124] wide but not high. Here Tathâgata in old time was stopping when Śakra, king of Dêvas, wrote on the stone matters relating to forty-two doubts which he had, and asked Buddha respecting them.[125]

Then Buddha explained the matters. The traces of these figures still exist. Persons now try to imitate by comparison these ancient holy figures (*figure forms*).[126]

[121] For some remarks on Kâlapinâka, see *Fa-hian* (Beal's edition), p. 111, n. 2.

[122] "The-cavern-of-Indra mountain." The "rocky hill standing by itself," named by Fa-hian, chap. xxviii., has been identified by General Cunningham (*Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 18) with the western peak of this hill. The northern range of hills, that stretch from the neighbourhood of Gayâ to the bank of the Pañchâna river, a distance of about thirty-six miles, end abruptly in two lofty peaks; the higher of the two on the west is called Giryek. This is the one referred to by Fa-hian. (See Cunningham, *Arch. Survey*, vol. i. pp. 16, 17, and vol. iii. p. 150.)

[123] Julien has omitted the symbol for west.

[124] Now called Gidha-dwar; in Sanskrit, Gṛidhradwâra, "the vulture's opening."

[125] That is, at it seems, he drew certain figures or letters on the stone, and asked Buddha to explain some difficulties he had as to the subject of these figures. These forty-two difficulties have no reference to the *Book of Forty-two Sections*.

[126] This translation appears to me the only justifiable one. Julien has, "Now there is a statue there which resembles the ancient image of the saint (*i.e.*, of the Buddha)." But if the symbol *ts'z* (this) be taken for the adverb "here," the natural translation would be: "Now there are here figures in imitation of these ancient sacred symbols or marks." The only doubt is whether *ts'z siang*, "these marks or figures," or "the figures here," be not an error for "*Fo-siang*," "the figure of Buddha," which occurs a little farther on.

Those who enter the cave to worship are seized with a sort of religious trepidation.

On the top of the mountain ridge are traces where the four former Buddhas sat and walked, still remaining. On the top of the eastern peak is a *saṅghârâma*; the common account is this: when the priests who dwell here look across in the middle of the night at the western peak, where the stone chamber is, they see before the image of Buddha lamps and torches constantly burning.

Before the *saṅghârâma* on the eastern peak of the Indraśailaguhâ mountain is a *stûpa* which is called Haṅsa (Keng-sha).[127] Formerly the priests of this *saṅghârâma* studied the doctrine of the Little Vehicle, that is, the Little Vehicle of the "gradual doctrine."[128] They allowed therefore the use of the three pure articles of food, and they followed this rule without fail. Now afterwards, when it was not time to seek for the three pure articles of food, there was a Bhikshu who was walking up and down; suddenly he saw a flock of wild geese flying over him in the air. Then he said in a jocose way, "To-day the congregation of priests has not food sufficient, Mahâsattvas! now is your opportunity." No sooner had he finished, than a goose, stopping its flight, fell down before the priest and died. The Bhikshu having seen this, told it to the priests, who, hearing it, were affected with pity, and said one to the other, "Tathâgata framed his law as a guide and en-

[127] Keng-so-kia-lan, in Chinese Keng-sha. The lower peak on the east is crowned with a solid tower of brickwork, well known as Jârasandha-ka-baithak, or "Jârasandha's throne." This tower, the ruins of which still exist, is probably the *stûpa* alluded to in the text (comp. Cunningham, *Arch. Survey*, i. 19). But I am at a loss how to explain General Cunningham's remark (*Arch. Survey*, iii. 141), that "close to the hot springs on the north-east slope of the Baibhâr hill there is a massive foundation of a stone house 83 feet square, called Jarâsandha-ka-baithak, or "Jarâsandha's throne." This is explained, however, in Fergusson and Burgess' *Cave Temples of India*, by the statement that there are two sites so named.

[128] The advanced doctrine of the Little Vehicle (Hînayâna); compare Julien's note, tome i. p. 3.

couragement (*suitable to*) the powers (*springs*) of each person;[129] now we, following 'the gradual doctrine,' are using a foolish guide. The Great Vehicle is the true doctrine. We ought to change our former practice, and follow more closely the sacred directions. This goose falling down is, in truth, a true lesson for us, and we ought to make known its virtue by handing down the story to other ages, the most distant." On this they built a *stûpa* to hand down to future ages the action they had witnessed, and they buried the dead goose beneath it.

Going 150 or 160 li to the north-east of the Indraśila-guhâ mountain, we come to the Kapôtika (*pigeon*) convent.[130] There are about 200 priests, who study the principles of the Sarvâstavâda school of Buddhism.

To the east is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja. Formerly Buddha residing in this place, declared the law for one night to the great congregation. At this time there was a bird-catcher who was laying his snares for the feathered tribe in this wood. Having caught nothing for a whole day, he spoke thus, "My bad luck to-day is owing to a trick somewhere." Therefore he came to the place where Buddha was, and said in a high voice, "Your speaking the law to-day, O Tathâgata, has caused me to catch nothing in all my nets. My wife and my children at home are hungry; what expedient shall I try to help them?" Then Tathâgata replied, "If you will light a fire, I will give you something to eat."

Then Tathâgata made to appear a large dove, which fell in the fire and died. Then the bird-catcher taking it, carried it to his wife and children, and they ate it

129 *I.e.*, Buddha's law was intended to be adapted to circumstances.

130 This Kapôtika (pigeon) convent is identified by General Cunningham with the village of Pârbati, just 10 miles to the north-east of Giriyek. This would require us to change the 150 or 160 li of Hiuen Tsiang into 50 or 60.

together. Then he went back to the place where Buddha was, on which, by the use of expedients, he framed his discourse so as to convert the bird-catcher. Having heard the discourse, he repented of his fault and was renewed in heart. Then he left his home, and practising wisdom, reached the holy fruit, and because of this the *saṅghârâma* was called Kapôtika.

To the south of this 2 or 3 li we come to a solitary hill,[131] which is of great height, and covered with forests and jungle. Celebrated flowers and pure fountains of water cover its sides and flow through its hollows. On this hill are many *vihâras* and religious shrines, sculptured with the highest art. In the exact middle of the *vihâra* is a figure of Kwan-tsz -tsai Bôdhisattva. Although it is of small size, yet its spiritual appearance is of an affecting character. In its hand it holds a lotus flower; on its head is a figure of Buddha.

There are always a number of persons here who abstain from food desiring to obtain a view of the Bôdhisattva. For seven days, and fourteen days, and even for a whole month (*do they fast*). Those who are properly affected see this Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhisattva with its beautiful[132] marks, and thoroughly adorned with all its majesty and glory. It comes forth from the middle of the statue, and addresses kind words to these men.

In old days the king of the Siṁhala country, in the

131 This solitary hill is supposed to be "the hill standing by itself," named by Fa-hian (Cunningham, *Reports*, vol. xv. p. 7). Dr. Fergusson, on the other hand, identifies the hill of Behar with that site (*J. R. A. S.* N.S., vol. vi. p. 229), and this hill with the Shêkhpura range (*ibid.*, p. 232).

132 One form of the worship of Kwan-yin will probably be found to have been derived from the Persian Anaitis or Anâhita; the descriptions given of each are too similar to be attributed to accident. Especially on this point of "beauty" compare *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxiii. p. 82; also Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue of Jap. and Chin. Books lately added to the Bodleian*, col. 7, to show that Kwan-yin is identified with "pure water." Note also Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 262, "Kwan-yin from beyond the sea." The description of Anâhita's dress in the *Abân Yasht* (*S. B. E.*, vol. xxiii.), §§ 126–131, corresponds with the representations in the *Liturgy of Kwan-yin*. The subject is too copious for a note.

early morning reflecting his face in a mirror, was not able to see himself, but he saw in the middle of a Tâla wood, on the top of a little mountain in the Magadha country of Jambudvîpa, a figure of this Bôdhisattva. The king, deeply affected at the benevolent appearance of the figure, diligently searched after it. Having come to this mountain,[133] he found in fact a figure resembling the one he had seen. On this he built a *vihâra* and offered to it religious gifts. After this the king still recollecting the fame of the circumstance, according to his example, built *vihâras* and spiritual shrines. Flowers and incense with the sound of music are constantly offered here.

Going south-east from this shrine on the solitary mountain about 40 li, we come to a convent with about fifty priests,[134] who study the teaching of the Little Vehicle. Before the *saṅghârâma* is a great *stûpa*, where many miracles are displayed. Here Buddha in former days preached for Brahma-dêva's sake and others during seven days. By the side of it are traces where the three Buddhas of the past age sat and walked. To the north-east of the *sanghârâma* about 70 li, on the south side of the Ganges river, we come to a large village, thickly populated.[135] There are many Dêva temples here, all of them admirably adorned.

Not far to the south-east is a great *stûpa*. Here Buddha for a night preached the law. Going east from this we enter the desert mountains; and going 100 li or so, we come to the convent of the village of Lo-in-ni-lo.[136]

Before this is a great *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-

133 The worship of Kwan-yin as a mountain deity has been alluded to in the *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xv. pp. 333 f. I would remark here that it seems the worship of this deity was partly connected with Ceylon. The argument of the paper in the *J. R. A. S.* is to the same purport.

134 General Cunningham suggests the substitution of *four* li for *forty*. In that case the place indicated would be Aphsar (see *Arch. Survey*, vol. xv. p. 10).

135 Both distance and direction point to the vicinity of Shekhpura (*op. cit.* p. 13).

136 Identified by Cunningham with Rajjâna. In Gladwin's *Ayin-Akbari* it is found under the form "Rowbenny," which closely resembles the Chinese. Julien proposes Rôhinîla doubtfully. See also Fergusson (*op. cit.*), p. 233.

râja. Here Buddha formerly preached the law for three months. To the north of this 2 or 3 li is a large tank about 30 li round. During the four seasons of the year a lotus of each of the four colours opens its petals.

Going east we enter a great forest wild, and after 200 li or so we come to the country of I-lan-na-po-fa-to (Hiraṇyaparvata).

BOOK X.

Contains an account of seventeen countries, viz., (1) *I-lan-na-po-fa-to*; (2) *Chen-po*; (3) *Kie-chu-hoh-kai-lo*; (4) *Pun-na-fa-tan-na*; (5) *Kia-mo lu-po*; (6) *San-mo-ta-cha*; (7) *Tan-mo-lae-ti*; (8) *Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na*; (9) *U-cha*; (10) *Kong-u-t'o*; (11) *Kie-ling-kia*; (12) *Kiu-sa-lo*; (13) *'An-ta-lo*; (14) *To-na-kie-tse-kia*; (15) *Chu-li-ye*; (16) *Ta-lo-pi-ch'a*; (17) *Mo-lo-kin-cha.*

I-LAN-NA-PO-FA-TO (HIRAṆYA-PARVATA).[1]

THIS country is about 3000 li in circuit. The capital of the country is 20 li or so round, and is bounded on the north by the river Ganges.[2] It is regularly cultivated, and is rich in its produce. Flowers and fruits also are abundant. The climate is agreeable in its temperature. The manners of the people are simple and honest. There are ten *saṅghârâmas*, with about 4000 priests. Most of them study the Little Vehicle of the Sammatîya (Ching-liang-pu) school. There are some twelve Dêva temples, occupied by various sectaries.

[1] Hiraṇya-parvata, or the Golden Mountain, is identified by General Cunningham with the hill of Mongir. This hill (and the kingdom to which it gave its name) was from early date of considerable importance, as it commanded the land route between the hills and the river, as well as the water route by the Ganges. It is said to have been originally called Kashṭaharaṇa Parvata, as it overlooked the famous bathing-place on the Ganges called Kashṭaharaṇa Ghâṭ, or "the pain-expelling bathing-place," because all people afflicted with either grief or bodily pain were at once cured by bathing there. Cunningham remarks that "this name of Haraṇa Parvata is clearly the original of Hwen Thsang's *I-lan-na-Pa-fo-to*" (see the whole section, *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. xv. pp. 16, 17). The hill was also called Mudgalagiri. This may have originated the story of Mudgalaputra and the householder, *Srutaviṁśatikôṭi*.

[2] There seems to be a confusion in the text. Literally it is, "The capital (*has*) as a northern road or way the river Ganges." There is a note in the original saying that the order is misprinted.

Lately the king of a border country deposed the ruler of this country, and holds in his power the capital. He is benevolent to the priests, and has built in the city two *saṅghârâmas*, each holding something less than 1000 priests. Both of them are attached to the Sarvâstivâdin school of the Little Vehicle.

By the side of the capital and bordering on the Ganges river is the Hiraṇya (I-lan-na) mountain, from which is belched forth masses of smoke and vapour which obscure the light of the sun and moon. From old time till now Ṛishis and saints have come here in succession to repose their spirits. Now there is a Dêva temple here, in which they still follow their rules handed down to them. In old days Tathâgata also dwelt here, and for the sake of the Dêvas preached at large the excellent law.

To the south of the capital is a *stûpa*. Here Tathâgata preached for three months. By the side of it are traces of the three Buddhas of the past age, who sat and walked here.

To the west of this last-named spot, at no great distance, is a *stûpa*. This denotes the spot where the Bhikshu Śrutaviṁśatikôṭi[3] (Shi-lu-to-p'in-she-ti-ku-chi) was born. Formerly there was in this town a rich householder (*gṛihapati*), honoured and powerful. Late in life he had an heir born to his estate. Then he gave as a reward to the person who told him the news 200 lakhs of gold pieces. Hence the name given to his son was Śûtraviṁ-

[3] This translated into Chinese is *Wen urh pih yih*, that is, "hearing-two-hundred lakhs." The note adds that formerly it was translated by *yih-urh*, that is, *laksha-karṇa*. The reference in the story is to Soṇa Kolivisi, who, according to the Southern account, lived at Champâ (see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvii. p. 1). He is said to have been worth eighty cart-loads of gold, *asîti-sakaṭa-vâhe hiraññaṃ* (*op. cit.*, p. 13). But in the following section of the *Mahâvaggâ* (*op. cit.* 32) there is reference to another Soṇa called Kuṭikaṇṇa, which Buddhaghôsha explains by saying that his ear-ornaments were worth a kôṭi; but Rhys Davids thinks this may be explained by his having *pointed ears* (p. 13, n. 3). It seems evident that the old form in Chinese, viz., *yih urh*, *i.e.*, *lakshakarṇa*, refers to this Soṇa. The symbol *yih* is frequently used for kôṭi, in which case the translation would be *kôṭi karṇa*. Compare Cunningham's remarks about Râja Karṇa (*Arch. Surv.*, vol. xv. p. 16). Compare also Julien, tome ii. *errata*, p. 573, col. 1, line 16.

śatikôṭi (Wen-urh-pih-yih). From the time of his birth till he grew up his feet never touched the ground. For this reason there grew on the bottom of his feet hairs a foot long, shining and soft, and of a yellow gold colour. He loved this child tenderly, and procured for him objects of the rarest beauty. From his house to the Snowy Mountains he had established a succession of rest-houses from which his servants continually went from one to the other. Whatever valuable medicines were wanted, they communicated the same to each other in order, and so procured them without loss of time, so rich was this family. The world-honoured one, knowing the root of piety in this man was about to develop, ordered Mudgalaputra to go there and to instruct him. Having arrived outside the gate, he had no way to introduce himself (*to pass through*). Now the householder's family (*or* simply the householder) worshipped Sûrya-dêva. Every morning when the sun rose he turned towards it in adoration. At this time Mudgalaputra, by his spiritual power, caused himself to appear in the disc of the sun and to come down thence and stand in the interior. The householder's son took him to be Sûrya-dêva, and so offered him perfumed food (*rice*) and worshipped him.[4] The scent of the rice, so exquisite was it, reached even to Râjagṛiha. At this time Bimbisâra-râja, astonished at the wonderful perfume, sent messengers to ask from door to door whence it came. At length he found that it came from the Vêṇuvana-vihâra, where Mudgalaputra had just arrived from the abode of the (*rich*) householder. The king finding out that the son of the householder had such miraculous (*food*), sent for him to come to court. The householder, receiving the order, considered with himself what was the easiest mode of transport; a galley (*boat with banks of oars*) is liable to accidents from wind and waves; a chariot is liable to accident from the frightened elephants

[4] The symbol *kivei*, "to return," is probably a mistake for *kwei*, "to worship." The translation I have given differs from the French.

running away. On this he constructed from his own house to Rajâgrïha a canal basin, and filled it full of mustard seed.[5] Then placing gently on it a lordly boat furnished with ropes with which to draw it along, he went thus to Râjagrïha.

First going to pay his respects to the Lord of the World, he (*i.e., Buddha*) addressed him and said, "Bimbasâra-râja has sent for you, no doubt desiring to see the hair beneath your feet. When the king desires to see it, you must sit cross legged with your feet turned up. If you stretch out your feet towards the king, the laws of the country exact death."[6]

The householder's son, having received the instruction of Buddha, went. He was then led into the palace and presented (*to the king*). The king desiring to see the hair, he sat cross-legged with his feet turned up. The king, approving of his politeness, formed a great liking for him. Having paid his final respects, he then returned to the place where Buddha was.

Tathâgata at that time was preaching the law and teaching by parables. Hearing the discourse and being moved by it, his mind was opened, and he forthwith became a disciple. Then he applied himself with all his power to severe thought, with a view to obtain the fruit (*of Arhatship*). He walked incessantly up and down,[7] until his feet were blood-stained.

The Lord of the World addressed him, saying, "You, dear youth, when living as a layman, did you know how to play the lute?"[8] He said, "I knew." "Well, then,"

[5] In the *Mahâvagga* it is simply said, "and they carried Soṇa Kolivisa in a palanquin to Râjagrïha" (*S. B. E.*, xvii. 2).

[6] This advice is given him by his parents in the Southern account. On the other hand, the visit of the eighty thousand overseers to Buddha and the miracles of Sâgata resulting in their conversion, are quite omitted here.

[7] Walking up and down, thinking, is represented as a constant habit of the early Buddhist Śramaṇas" (*S. B. E.*, xvii. 17, n. 3). It is constantly referred to in Hiuen Tsiang, and the spots where the Buddhas had walked up and down appear to have been accounted sacred.

[8] The *viṇâ*, as in the Pâli.

said Buddha, "I will draw a comparison derived from this. The cords being too tight, then the sounds were not in cadence; when they were too loose, then the sounds had neither harmony nor charm; but when not tight and not slack, then the sounds were harmonious. So in the preparation for a religious life, the case is the same; too severe, then the body is wearied and the mind listless; too remiss, then the feelings are pampered and the will weakened."[9]

Having received this instruction from Buddha, he moved round him in a respectful way,[10] and by these means he shortly obtained the fruit of Arhatship.

On the western frontier of the country, to the south of the river Ganges, we come to a small solitary mountain, with a double peak rising high.[11] Formerly Buddha in this place rested during the three months of rain, and subdued the Yaksha Vakula (Yo-c'ha Po-khu-lo).[12]

Below a corner of the south-east side of the mountain is a great stone. On this are marks caused by Buddha sitting thereon. The marks are about an inch deep, five feet two inches long, and two feet one inch wide. Above them is built a *stûpa.*

Again to the south is the impression on a stone where Buddha set down his *kiun-chi-kia* (*kuṇḍikâ* or water-vessel). In depth the lines are about an inch, and are like a flower with eight buds (*or* petals).[13]

Not far to the south-east of this spot are the foot-traces of the Yaksha Vakula. They are about one foot five or

[9] This comparison is found in the *Sûtra of Forty-two Sections*, No. xxxiii.

[10] That is, keeping his right shoulder towards him (*pradakshina*).

[11] This mountain is identified by Cunningham with the hill of Mahâdêva, which is situated east from the great irregular central mass of the Mongir hills (*Arch. Surv.*, vol. xv. p. 19). Hiuen Tsiang does not appear himself to have visited this spot, as the symbol used is *chi*, not *hing*. The passage might be translated, "there is a small solitary hill with successive crags heaped up." For an account of the neighbouring hot springs see Cunningham (*op. cit.* Appendix).

[12] Vakula or Vâkkula was also the name of a Sthavira, one of Buddha's disciples. Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 349; *Lotus*, pp. 2, 126.

[13] Many of these marks or figures might probably be explained by a knowledge of the character of the rock formation. Buchanan describes the rock of Mahâdêva as quartz or silicious hornstone.

six inches long, seven or eight inches wide, and in depth less than two inches. Behind these traces of the Yaksha is a stone figure of Buddha in sitting posture, about six or seven feet high.

Next, to the west, not far off, is a place where Buddha walked for exercise.

Above this mountain top is the old residence of the Yaksha.

Next, to the north is a foot-trace of Buddha, a foot and eight inches long, and perhaps six inches wide, and half an inch deep. Above it is a *stûpa* erected. Formerly when Buddha subdued the Yaksha, he commanded him not to kill men nor eat their flesh. Having respectfully received the law of Buddha, he was born in heaven.

To the west of this are six or seven hot springs. The water is exceedingly hot.[14]

To the south the country is bounded by great mountain forests in which are many wild elephants of great size.

Leaving this kingdom, going down the river Ganges, on its south bank eastwards, after 300 li or so, we come to the country of Chen-po (Champâ).

CHEN-PO (CHAMPÂ).[15]

This country (Champâ) is about 4000 li in circuit. The capital is backed to the north by the river Ganges, it is about 40 li round. The soil is level and fertile (*fat*

[14] These spriugs as described by a recent visitor in the *Pioneer*, 17th August 1882 (see Cunningham, *op. cit.* Appendix); they are still so hot as to fill the valley with clouds of steam "like a cauldron."

[15] Champâ and Champâpuri in the *Purâṇas* is the name of the capital of Aṅga or the country about Bhâgalpur (Wilson, *Vishṇu-pur.*, vol. ii. p. 166; vol. iv. p. 125; *J. R. A. S.*, vol. v. p. 134; *Hari-vaṁ.*, 1699; *Mahâbh.*, iii. 8141, &c.) See Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. i. pp. 175, 176. Champânagar and Karnâgarh are close to Bhâgalpur. M. Martin, *East India*, vol. ii. pp. 39 f. (Hunter's *Statistical Ac. of Bengal*, vol. xiv. p. 82, only copies the preceding). Fa-hian, chap. xxxvii.; Burnouf, *Introd.* (2d ed.), p. 132.

or *loamy*); it is regularly cultivated and productive; the temperature is mild and warm (*moderately hot*); the manners of the people simple and honest. There are several tens of *saṅghârâmas*, mostly in ruins, with about 200 priests. They follow the teaching of the Little Vehicle. There are some twenty Dêva temples, which sectaries of every kind frequent. The walls of the capital are built of brick, and are several "tens of feet" high. The foundations of the wall are raised on a lofty embankment, so that by their high escarpment, they can defy (*stop*) the attack of enemies. In old times at the beginning of the kalpa, when things (*men and things*) first began, they (*i.e., people*) inhabited dens and caves of the desert. There was no knowledge of dwelling-houses. After this, a Dêvî (*divine woman*) descending in consequence of her previous conduct, was located amongst them. As she sported in the streams of the Ganges, she was affected by a spiritual power, and conceiving, she brought forth four sons, who divided between them the government of Jambudvîpa. Each took possession of a district, founded a capital, built towns, and marked out the limits of the frontiers. This was the capital of the country of one of them, and the first of all the cities of Jambudvîpa.

To the east of the city 140 or 150 li, on the south of the river Ganges, is a solitary detached rock,[16] craggy and steep, and surrounded by water. On the top of the peak is a Dêva temple; the divine spirits exhibit many miracles (*spiritual indications*) here. By piercing the rock, houses have been made; by leading the streams (*through each*), there is a continual flow of water. There are wonderful trees (*forming*) flowering woods; the large rocks and dangerous precipices are the resort of men of

[16] Either an islet or a detached rock. Cunningham identifies it with the picturesque rocky island opposite Patharghâṭa with its temple-crowned summit (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 477). The same writer (*Arch. Surv.*, vol. xv. p. 34) states, "Both bearing and distance point to the rocky hill of Kahalgaon (Kolgong of the maps), which is just 23 miles to the east of Bhâgalpur (Champâ)."

wisdom and virtue; those who go there to see the place are reluctant to return.

In the midst of the desert wilds, that form the southern boundary of the country, are wild elephants and savage beasts that roam in herds.

From this country going eastwards 400 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Kie-chu-hoh-khi-lo (Kajûghira).

KIE-CHU-HOH-KHI-LO (KAJÛGHIRA OR KAJIṄGHARA).

This kingdom [17] is about 2000 li or so in circuit. The soil is level and loamy; it is regularly cultivated, and produces abundant crops; the temperature is warm; the people are simple in their habits. They greatly esteem men of high talent, and honour learning and the arts. There are six or seven *saṅghârâmas* with about 300 priests; and there are some ten Dêva temples frequented by sectaries of all sorts. During the last few centuries the royal line has died out, and the country has been ruled by a neighbouring state, so that the towns are desolate, and most of the people are found scattered in villages and hamlets. On this account, Śîlâditya-râja, when roaming through Eastern India, built a palace in this place, in which he arranged the affairs of his different states. It was built of branches and boughs for a temporary residence, and burnt on his departure. On the southern frontiers of the country are many wild elephants.

On the northern frontiers, not far from the Ganges river, is a high and large tower made of bricks and stone. Its foundation, wide and lofty, is ornamented with rare

[17] In a note we are told that the common pronunciation of this country is "*Kie-ching-kie-lo*." M. V. de St. Martin (*Mémoire*, p. 387) notices that in the *Mahâbhârata* there is a country Kajiṅgha named among the people of Eastern India; also in the Sinhalese Chronicles a town called Kajaṅghêlê-Niyaṅgamê, in the eastern region of Jambudvîpa. There is also a village called Kajéri marked in Rennell's map, just 92 miles (460 li) from Champâ.

sculptures. On the four faces of the tower are sculptured figures of the saints, Dêvas, and Buddhas in separate compartments.

Going from this country eastward, and crossing the Ganges, after about 600 li we come to the kingdom of Pun-na-fa-tan-na (Puṇḍravarddhana).

PUN-NA-FA-TAN-NA (PUṆḌRAVARDDHANA).[18]

This country is about 4000 li in circuit. Its capital is about 30 li round. It is thickly populated. The tanks and public offices and flowering woods are regularly connected at intervals.[19] The soil is flat and loamy, and rich in all kinds of grain-produce. The *Panasa*[20] (*Pan-na-so*) fruit, though plentiful, is highly esteemed. The fruit is as large as a pumpkin.[21] When it is ripe it is of a yellowish-red colour. When divided, it has in the middle many tens of little fruits of the size of a pigeon's egg; breaking these, there comes forth a juice of a yellowish-red colour and of delicious flavour. The fruit sometimes collects on the tree-branches as other clustering fruits, but sometimes at the tree-roots, as in the case of the earth-growing *fu ling*.[22] The climate (*of this country*) is temperate; the people

[18] Prof. H. H. Wilson includes in the ancient Puṇḍra the districts of Râjashâhi, Dinâjpur, Raṅgpur, Nadiyâ, Bîrbhum, Bardwân, Midnâpur, Jangal Mahâls, Râmgaḍh, Pachît, Palaman, and part of Chunâr. It is the country of "sugar-cane," *puṇḍra*, Bangâli *puṇri-akḥ*. The Pauṇḍra people are frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and Puṇḍravarddhana was evidently a portion of their country. *Quart. Orient. Mag.*, vol. ii. p. 188; *Vishṇu-pur.*, vol. ii. pp. 134, 170. Mr. Westmacott proposed to identify Puṇḍra-varddhana with the adjacent parganâs or districts of Pâñjara and Borddhonkûti (or Khêttâl) in Dinâjpur, about 35 miles N.N.W. from Raṅgpur; but also suggested, as an alternative, Poṇḍua or Poṅrowâ, afterwards Firzupur or Firuzâbâd, 6 miles north-east of Maldâ, and 18 N.N.E. from Gauḍa. Mr. Fergusson assigned it a place near Raṅgpur. See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iii. p. 62; Hunter, *Stat. Acc. Bengal*, vol. viii. pp. 59 f., 449; *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. vi. pp. 238 f.; conf. *Râja-Taraṅgiṇi*, tom. iv. p. 421; *Mahabh.*, ii. 1872. General Cunningham has more recently fixed on Mahâsthânagaḍha on the Karatoyâ, 12 miles south of Bardhankûṭi and 7 miles north of Bagraha, as the site of the capital (*Report*, vol. xv. pp. v., 104, 110 f.)

[19] This passage may also be translated thus: "Maritime offices (offices connected with the river navigation?) with their (surrounding) flowers and groves occur at regular intervals."

[20] Jack or bread fruit.

[21] "A large and coarse squash." Williams' *Tonic Dict.*, sub *Kwá*.[21]

[22] The *radix China*, according to

esteem learning. There are about twenty *saṅghârâmas*, with some 3000 priests; they study both the Little and Great Vehicle. There are some hundred Dêva temples, where sectaries of different schools congregate. The naked Nirgranthas are the most numerous.

To the west of the capital 20 li or so is the Po-chi-p'o *saṅghârâma*.[23] Its courts are light and roomy; its towers and pavilions are very lofty. The priests are about 700 in number; they study the law according to the Great Vehicle. Many renowned priests from Eastern India dwell here.

Not far from this is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. Here Tathâgata, in old days, preached the law for three months for the sake of the Dêvas. Occasionally, on fast-days, there is a bright light visible around it.

By the side of this, again, is a place where the four past Buddhas walked for exercise and sat down. The bequeathed traces are still visible.

Not far from this there is a *vihâra* in which is a statue of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhisattva. Nothing is hid from its divine discernment; its spiritual perception is most accurate; men far and near consult (*this being*) with fasting and prayers.

From this going east 900 li or so, crossing the great river, we come to the country of Kia-mo-lu-po (Kâmarûpa).

KIA-MO-LU-PO (KÂMARÛPA).

The country of Kâmarûpa[24] is about 10,000 li in circuit. The capital town is about 30 li. The land lies

Julien; the *pachyma cocos*, according to Doolittle's *Vocabulary*, vol. ii. 423. Medhurst (sub voc. *ling*) names "the China root" which grows under old fir trees.

[23] Julien restores this (with a query) to Vâśibhâsaṅghârâma, "the convent which has the brightness of fire."

[24] Kâmarûpa (its capital is called in the *Purâṇas*, Prâgjyôtisha) extended from the Karatôyâ river in Raṅgpur to the eastward (*Stat. Acc. Bengal*, vol. vii. pp. 168, 310; or M. Martin, *East Ind.*, vol. iii. p. 403). The kingdom included Manipur, Jayntîya, Kachhâr, West Asâm, and parts of Maymansiṅgh, and Silhet (Śrîhaṭṭa). The modern district extends from Goalpâra to Gauhaṭṭi. Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. i. p. 87, vol. ii. p. 973; Wilson, *V. P.*, vol. v. p. 88;

low, but is rich, and is regularly cultivated. They cultivate the *Panasa* fruit and the *Na-lo-ki-lo* (Nârîkêla)[25] fruit. These trees, though numerous, are nevertheless much valued and esteemed. Water led from the river or from banked-up lakes (*reservoirs*) flows round the towns. The climate is soft and temperate. The manners of the people simple and honest. The men are of small stature, and their complexion a dark yellow. Their language differs a little from that of Mid-India. Their nature is very impetuous and wild; their memories are retentive, and they are earnest in study. They adore and sacrifice to the Dêvas, and have no faith in Buddha; hence from the time when Buddha appeared in the world even down to the present time there never as yet has been built one *saṅghârâma* as a place for the priests to assemble. Such disciples as there are are of a pure faith, say their prayers (*repeat the name of Buddha*) secretly, and that is all. There are as many as 100 Dêva temples, and different sectaries to the number of several myriads. The present king belongs to the old line (*tso yan*) of Nârâyaṇa-dêva. He is of the Brâhmaṇ caste. His name is Bhâśkaravarman,[26] his title Kumâra (Keu-mo-lo). From the time that this family seized the land and assumed the government till the present king, there have elapsed a thousand successions (*generations*). The king is fond of learning, and the people are so likewise in imitation of him. Men of high talent from distant regions aspiring after office (?) visit his dominions as strangers. Though he has no faith in Buddha, yet he much respects Śramaṇas of learning. When he first heard that a Śramaṇa from China[27] had come to Magadha to the Nâlanda *saṅghârâma* from such a distance, to study with diligence the

As. Res., vol. xiv. p. 422; *Lalita Vis.*, p. 416.

[25] The bread-fruit and the cocoa-nut.

[26] P'o-se-kie-lo-fa-mo, in Chinese, Yih-cheu, "helmet of the sun." See Hall's *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 52.

[27] The French translation is very confused. Julien appears to have overlooked the symbols *Chi-na-kwŏ* (the country of China).

profound law of Buddha, he sent a message of invitation by those who reported it as often as three times, but yet the Śramaṇa (*i.e.*, Hiuen Tsiang) had not obeyed it. Then Śîlabhadra (Shi-lo-po-t'o-lo), master of *śâstras*, said, "You desire to show your gratitude to Buddha; then you should propagate the true law; this is your duty. You need not fear the long journey. Kumâra-râja's family respect the teaching of the heretics, and now he invites a Śramaṇa to visit him. This is good indeed! We judge from this that he is changing his principles, and desires to acquire merit (*or*, from merit acquired) to benefit others. You formerly conceived a great heart, and made a vow with yourself to travel alone through different lands regardless of life, to seek for the law for the good of the world.[28] Forgetful of your own country, you should be ready to meet death; indifferent to renown or failure, you should labour to open the door for the spread of the holy doctrine, to lead onwards the crowds who are deceived by false teaching, to consider others first, yourself afterwards; forgetful of renown, to think only of religion (*enlarge the law*)."

On this, with no further excuses, he hastened in company with the messengers to present himself to the king. Kumâra-râja said, "Although I am without talents myself, I have always been fond of men of conspicuous learning. Hearing, then, of your fame and distinction, I ventured to ask you here to visit me."

He replied, "I have only moderate wisdom, and I am confused to think that you should have heard of my poor reputation."

Kumâra-râja said, "Well, indeed! from regard for the law and love of learning to regard oneself as of no account, and to travel abroad regardless of so great dangers, to wander through strange countries! This is the result of the transforming power of the king's government, and the exceeding learning, as is reported, of the country. Now,

[28] To save all creatures (Jul.)

through the kingdoms of India there are many persons who sing about the victories of the Tsin king of the Mahâchîna country. I have long heard of this. And is it true that this is your honourable birthplace?"

He said, "It is so. These songs celebrate the virtues of my sovereign."

He replied, "I could not think that your worthy self was of this country. I have ever had an esteem for its manners and laws. Long have I looked towards the east, but the intervening mountains and rivers have prevented me from personally visiting it."

In answer I said, "My great sovereign's holy qualities are far renowned, and the transforming power of his virtue reaches to remote districts. People from strange countries pay respect at the door of his palace, and call themselves his servants."

Kumâra-râja said, "If his dominion is so great (*covering thus his subjects*), my heart strongly desires to bear my tribute to his court. But now Śîlâditya-râja is in the country of Kajûghira (Kie-chu-hoh-khi-lo), about to distribute large alms and to plant deeply the root of merit and wisdom. The Śramaṇs and Brâhmaṇs of the five Indies, renowned for their learning, must needs come together. He has now sent for me. I pray you go with me!"

On this they went together.

On the east this country is bounded by a line of hills, so that there is no great city (*capital*) to the kingdom. Their frontiers, therefore, are contiguous to the barbarians of the south-west (*of China*). These tribes are, in fact, akin to those of the Man[29] people in their customs. On inquiry I ascertained that after a two months' journey we reach the south-western frontiers of the province of Sz'chuen (*Shuh*). But the mountains and rivers present obstacles, and the pestilential air, the poisonous vapours,

29 The 'Man people' (*man lo*) are the south-west barbarians (so named by the Chinese).

the fatal snakes, the destructive vegetation, all these causes of death prevail.

On the south-east of this country herds of wild elephants roam about in numbers; therefore, in this district they use them principally in war.

Going from this 1200 or 1300 li to the south, we come to the country of San-mo-ta-cha (Samataṭa).

SAN-MO-TA-CHA (SAMATAṬA).

This country[30] is about 3000 li in circuit and borders on the great sea. The land lies low and is rich. The capital is about 20 li round. It is regularly cultivated, and is rich in crops, and the flowers and fruits grow everywhere. The climate is soft and the habits of the people agreeable. The men are hardy by nature, small of stature, and of black complexion; they are fond of learning, and exercise themselves diligently in the acquirement of it. There are professors (*believers*) both of false and true doctrines. There are thirty or so *saṅghârâmas* with about 2000 priests. They are all of the Sthavira (Shang-tso-pu) school. There are some hundred Dêva temples, in which sectaries of all kinds live. The naked ascetics called Nirgranthas (Ni-kien) are most numerous.

Not far out of the city is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja. In this place Tathâgata in former days preached the deep and mysterious law for seven days for the good of the Dêvas. By the side of it are traces where the four Buddhas sat and walked for exercise.

Not far from this, in a *saṅghârâma*, is a figure of Buddha of green jade. It is eight feet high, with the marks on its person perfectly shown, and with a spiritual power which is exercised from time to time.

Going north-east from this to the borders of the

[30] Eastern Bengal: Samôtaṭa or Samataṭa means "the shore country" or "level country" (Lassen *Ind. Alt.*, iii. 681). It is named by Varâha Mihira (*Br. Saṁh.*, xiv. 6) along with Mithilâ and Orissa.

ocean, we come to the kingdom of Śrîkshêtra (Shi-li-ch'a-ta-lo).[31]

Farther on to the south-east, on the borders of the ocean, we come to the country of Kâmalaṅkâ (Kia-mo-lang-kia);[32] still to the east is the kingdom of Dvâṛapati (To-lo-po-ti);[33] still to the east is the country of Îśânapura (I-shang-na-pu-lo); still to the east is the country of Mahâchampâ (Mo-ho-chen-po), which is the same as Lin-i. Next to the south-west is the country called Yamanadvîpa[34] (Yavanadvîpa—Yen-nio-na-cheu). These six countries are so hemmed in by mountains and rivers that they are inaccessible;[35] but their limits and the character of the people and country could be learned by inquiry.

From Samataṭa going west 900 li or so, we reach the country of Tan-mo-li-ti (Tâmralipti).

TAN-MO-LI-TI (TÂMRALIPTI).[36]

This country is 1400 or 1500 li in circuit, the capital about 10 li. It borders on the sea. The ground is low and rich; it is regularly cultivated, and produces flowers and fruits in abundance. The temperature is hot. The manners of the people are quick and hasty. The men are hardy and brave. There are both heretics and believers. There are about ten *saṅghârâmas*, with about 1000 priests. The Dêva temples are fifty in number, in

[31] Śrîkshêtra or Tharekhettarâ is the name of an ancient Burmese kingdom, whose capital city of the same name near Prome, on the Irâwâdi; but this is *south-east*, whilst *north-east*, towards Śrîhatta or Silhet, does not lead to "the borders of the ocean."

[32] Kâmalaṅkâ: Pegu (Haṅsâwâdi) and the delta of the Irâwâdi, called Ramaṇya, and earlier Aramana

[33] Dwâravatî is the classic name for the town and district of Sandowê, but in Burmese history it is also applied to Siam (Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 32).

[34] Yamadvîpa is an island mentioned in the *Vâyu-purâṇa*, but probably fabulous.

[35] *I.e.*, the pilgrim did not enter them.

[36] Ταμαλίτης in Ptol., lib. vii. c. 1, 73. Tâmalitti or Tâmraliptî, the modern Tamluk, on the Selai, just above its junction with the Hughli. *Jour R. A. S.* vol. v. p. 135; Wilson, *Vishṇu-pur.*, vol. ii. p. 177; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. i. p. 177; Varâha Mih., *Br. S.*, x. 14; Turnour, *Mahavanso*, pp. 70, 115.

which various sectaries dwell mixed together. The coast of this country is formed by (or in) a recess of the sea; the water and the land embracing each other.[37] Wonderful articles of value and gems are collected here in abundance, and therefore the people of the country are in general very rich.

By the side of the city is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja; by the side of it are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked.

Going from this north-west 700 li or so, we come to the country Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na (Karṇasuvarṇa).

KIE-LO-NA-SU-FA-LA-NA (KARṆASUVARṆA).[38]

This kingdom is about 1400 or 1500 li in circuit; the capital is about 20 li. It is thickly populated. The householders are very (*rich and in ease*). The land lies low and is loamy. It is regularly cultivated, and produces an abundance of flowers, with valuables numerous and various. The climate is agreeable; the manners of the people honest and amiable. They love learning exceedingly, and apply themselves to it with earnestness. There are believers and heretics alike amongst them. There are ten *saṅghârâmas* or so, with about 2000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle of the Sammatîya (*Ching-tiang-pu*) school. There are fifty Dêva temples. The heretics are very numerous. Besides these there are three *saṅghârâmas* in which they do not use thickened milk (*ü lok*), following the directions of Dêvadatta (Ti-p'o-ta-to).[39]

By the side of the capital is the *saṅghârâma* called

[37] *I.e.*, the coast of the country is that of a large bay.

[38] Karṇa was the king of Aṅga, whose capital is placed at Karṇagaṛh near Bhâgalpur (M. Martin, *E. Ind.*, vol. ii. pp. 31, 38 f., 46, 50.

[39] Dêvadatta appears to have had a body of disciples; in consequence of his inferiority in point of influence to Buddha, he became his enemy. One of the rules of his sect was not to use butter. A sect revering him as a Buddha existed up to A.D. 400 (Eitel, *s. v.*) For an account of his more rigorous ascetic praxis, see Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 160, 161.

Lo-to-wei-chi (Raktaviṭi),[40] the halls of which are light and spacious, the storeyed towers very lofty. In this establishment congregate all the most distinguished, learned, and celebrated men of the kingdom. They strive to promote each other's advancement by exhortations, and to perfect their character.[41] At first the people of this country did not believe in Buddha; at this time[42] there was a heretic of Southern India who wore over his belly copper-plates and on his head a lighted torch. With lofty steps, staff in hand, he came to this country. Sounding aloud the drum of discussion, he sought an adversary in controversy. Then a man said to him, "Why are your head and your body so strangely (*arrayed*)?" He said, "My wisdom is so great, I fear my belly will burst, and because I am moved with pity for the ignorant multitude who live in darkness, therefore I carry this light on my head."

After ten days, no one was found to question him. Among all the learned and professed scholars there was not a single person to discuss with him. The king said, "Alas! what ignorance[43] prevails in my territories, that no one should be able to challenge the difficult propositions[44] of this stranger. What a disgrace to the country! We must scheme and seek through the most obscure retreats."

Then one said to him, "In the forest there is a strange man who names himself a Śramaṇa, he is most diligent in study. He is now living apart in silence and obscurity, and so he has lived for a long time; who so well able

[40] Meaning "*red mud.*" I adopt the Sanskrit restoration from Julien.

[41] Literally, "to promote their mutual perfection by shaping and smoothing (*in the sense of polishing*) their reason and virtue."

[42] Julien refers this expression to the time when Hiuen Tsiang was there (p. 85, n. 3); in this case, it is possible that the allusion in vol. i. p. 4, n. 22, is to this encounter. But as the *saṅghârâma* was already built when Hiuen Tsiang visited the capital, it is difficult to understand how the event occurred at that time.

[43] *Wou ming*—darkness.

[44] It may also mean "the difficulty" resulting from the stranger's challenge.

by his united virtue to controvert this irreligious man as he ?"[45]

The king hearing this, went himself to invite him to come. The Śramaṇa replying, said, "I am a man of South India; I stop here on my travels merely as a stranger. My abilities are small and commonplace; I fear lest you should not know it, but yet I will come according to your wish, though I am by no means certain as to the character of the discussion. If, however, I am not defeated, I will ask you to erect a *saṅghârâma,* and summon the fraternity to glorify and extol the law of Buddha." The king said, "I accept your terms, nor could I dare to forget your virtue."[46]

Then the Śramaṇa, having accepted the king's invitation, proceeded to the arena of controversy. Then the heretic went through (*chanted*) some 30,000 words of his school. His arguments were profound, his illustrations (*figures* or *writing*) ample; his whole discourse, both as to names and qualities, was captivating to sight and hearing.

The Śramaṇa, after listening, at once fathomed his meaning; no word or argument deceived him. With a few hundred words he discriminated and explained every difficulty, and then he asked (*the heretic*) as to the teaching (*the principles*) of his school. The words of the heretic were confused and his arguments devoid of force, and so his lips were closed and he could not reply. Thus he lost his reputation, and, covered with confusion, retired.

The king, deeply reverencing the priest, founded this

[45] Julien translates this passage thus: "Could he conduct himself thus if he was not attached to the law and devoted to virtue?" The passage is difficult; literally it runs thus: "With this no-master, who is able so well as this (Śramaṇa) to embody the law, to unite virtue?" "To embody the law" means "to represent, or, vindicate, religion;" and "to unite virtue" means "so virtuously or fully."

[46] The symbol *tih* (virtue) sometimes stands for *bhadanta, i.e.,* "your reverence" or "your excellency." It may also refer to the priesthood generally. It is applied in inscriptions to Sthaviras or priests.

convent; and from that time and afterwards the teaching of the law widely extended (*through the kingdom*).[47]

By the side of the *saṅghârâma*, and not far off, is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja. When Tathâgata was alive in the world he preached here for seven days, explaining (*the law*) and guiding (*men*). By the side of it is a *vihâra*; here there are traces where the four past Buddhas sat down and walked. There are several other *stûpas* in places where Buddha explained the excellent law.[48] These were built by Aśôka-râja.

Going from this 700 li or so in a south-westerly direction, we come to the country of U-cha.

U-CHA (UḌRA).

This country[49] is 7000 li or so in circuit; the capital city[50] is about 20 li round. The soil is rich and fertile, and it produces abundance of grain, and every kind of fruit is grown more than in other countries. It would be difficult to name the strange shrubs and the famed flowers that grow here. The climate is hot; the people are uncivilised, tall of stature, and of a yellowish black complexion. Their words and language (*pronunciation*) differ from Central India. They love learning and apply themselves to it without intermission. Most of them believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred *saṅghârâmas*, with 10,000 priests. They all study the Great Vehicle. There are fifty Dêva temples in which sectaries of all sorts make their abodes. The *stûpas*,

[47] *Or*, he widely extended the teaching of the law.

[48] The original has *king fâ*, the law of the *sûtras*; perhaps *king* is a mistake for *miu*, "excellent."

[49] Uḍra or Oḍra is Orissa (*Mahâbh.*, ii. 1174, iii. 1988); also called Uṭkala (*Mahâbh.*, vii. 122; *Vishṇu-pur.*, vol. ii. p. 160).

[50] This capital is generally identified with Jajipura on the Baitani: Mr. Fergusson suggests Midnâpur (*J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 249); his remarks (in this paper) on the whole of this part of the pilgrim's route are of great interest. He first noticed that the journey of Hiuen Tsiang to Kâmarûpa was made from Nâlanda on his return to that monastery from South India; he also points out the errors made by his predecessors in the same inquiry and corrects them.

to the number of ten or so, point out spots where Buddha preached. They were all founded by Aśôka-râja.

In a great mountain on the south-west frontiers[51] of the country is a *saṅghârâma* called Pushpagiri (Pu-se-po-k'i-li); the stone *stûpa* belonging to it exhibits very many spiritual wonders (*miracles*). On fast-days it emits a bright light. For this cause believers from far and near flock together here and present as offerings beautifully embroidered (*flower*) canopies (*umbrellas*); they place these underneath the vase[52] at the top of the cupola,[53] and let them stand there fixed as needles in the stone. To the north-west of this, in a convent on the mountain, is a *stûpa* where the same wonders occur as in the former case. These two *stûpas* were built by the demons,[54] and hence are derived the extraordinary miracles.

On the south-east frontiers of the country, on the borders of the ocean, is the town Charitra (Che-li-ta-lo),[55] about 20 li round. Here it is merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on their way. The walls of the city are strong and lofty. Here are found all sorts of rare and precious articles.

[51] Remains, probably of a *stûpa*, have been found near Âska (*J. R. A. S.*, vol. xx. p. 105).

[52] Literally, "underneath the dew-vessel or vase." Here we have another instance of the custom of crowning the *stûpa* with a dew-vase, or "vessel of immortality" (*amara karka*). The custom would appear to have originated in the idea that "sweet dew" thus collected in a vessel had miraculous qualities as "the water of life." Dr. Burgess remarks that these flags were probably fixed "on the capital of the *stûpa*, on which was placed the relic-casket (when not enshrined inside the capital over the *garbha* of the *stûpa*)."

[53] It is satisfactory to find that Julien in this passage translates the "inverted vase or alms-dish" by *cupola*. It should have been so rendered throughout.

[54] The expression *shin kwei* does not mean demons in a bad sense, but spiritual or divine beings. It might also be rendered "spirits and demons." Cunningham supposes the two hills named in the text to be Udayagiri and Khandagiri, in which many Buddhist caves and inscriptions have been discovered. These hills are 20 miles to the south of Kaṭak and 5 miles to the west of the grand group of temples at Bhuvanêśwara (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 512).

[55] In Chinese, *Fa-hing*, "city of departure." This is exactly Ptolemy's τὸ ἀφετήριον των εἰς τὴν Χρυσῆν ἐμπλεόντων (lib. vii. c. 1, 15). Comp. Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. i. p. 205, and vol. iii. p. 202. It is plain

Outside the city there are five convents [56] one after the other; their storeyed towers are very high, and carved with figures of saints exquisitely done.

Going south 20,000 li or so is the country of Siṁhala (Seng-kia-lo). In the still night, looking far off, we see the surmounting precious stone of the tooth-stûpa of Buddha brilliantly shining and scintillating as a bright torch burning in the air.

From this going south-west about 1200 li through great forests, we come to the kingdom of Kong-u-t'o (Kônyôdha).

KONG-U-T'O (KÔNYÔDHA ?).

This kingdom [57] is about 1000 li in circuit; the capital is 20 li round. It borders on a bay (*angle of the sea*). The ranges of mountains are high and precipitous. The ground is low and moist. It is regularly cultivated and productive. The temperature is hot, the disposition of the people brave and impulsive. The men are tall of stature and black complexioned and dirty. They have some degree of politeness and are tolerably honest. With respect to their written characters, they are the same as those of Mid-India, but their language and mode of pronunciation are quite different. They greatly respect the teaching of heretics and do not believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred Dêva temples, and there are perhaps 10,000 unbelievers of different sects.

(from Hiuen Tsiang's remark, that the precious stone could be seen at a distance of 20,000 li) that he is confusing *this* Charitrapura with the one farther south, two days' sail from Ceylon.

[56] M. Julien renders it "five *stûpas*" by mistake.

[57] See *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 250. Cunningham supposes this place to be Ganjam. The origin of the name Ganjam is not known. When Hiuen Tsiang returned to Magadha he found that Harshavardhana had just returned from a successful expedition against the king of Ganjam. Cunningham thinks that Ganjam was then annexed to the province of Orissa (Robert Sewell, *Lists*, vol. i. p. 2). Mr. Fergusson remarks that "Khordhagar in the neighbourhood of Bhuvanêśwar is just 170 miles south-west from Midnâpur, and it is impossible to mistake the Chilka Lake as the great bay and the two seas of the text. Perhaps Hiuen Tsiang stopped here to visit the caves in the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills" (*J. R. A. S.*, loc. cit.)

Within the limits of this country there are several tens of small towns which border on the mountains and are built contiguous to the sea.[58] The cities themselves are strong and high; the soldiers are brave and daring; they rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them. This country, bordering on the sea, abounds in many rare and valuable articles. They use cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions. The great greenish-blue [59] elephant comes from this country. They harness it to their conveyances and make very long journeys.

From this going south-west, we enter a vast desert, jungle, and forests, the trees of which mount to heaven and hide the sun. Going 1400 or 1500 li, we come to the country of Kie-ling-kia (Kaliṅga).

KIE-LING-KIA (KALINGA).

This country [60] is 5000 li or so in circuit; its capital is 20 li or so round. It is regularly cultivated and is productive. Flowers and fruits are very abundant. The forests and jungle are continuous for many hundred li. It produces the great tawny [61] wild elephant, which are much prized by neighbouring provinces. The climate is

[58] The phrase *hai kiau* does not necessarily imply "the confluence of two seas." It seems to mean that the towns were built near the mountains (the Mahêndra Malê?), but in communication with the sea-coast. So along the west coast of South America the towns built at the foot of the hills are in communication with the sea by ports of embarcation (*embarcadores*).

[59] It may mean simply "dark coloured;" but *ts'ing* generally means "the colour of nature, as the azure of the sky or the green of growing plants" (Wells Williams). The phrase for *black* is *un ts'ing*.

[60] The frontier line of Kaliṅga cannot have extended beyond the Gôdâvarî river on the south-west, and the Gaoliyâ branch of the Indrâvati river on the north-west (Cunningham). For an account of the Kaliṅga dêśa, see Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The chief town was probably Râjamahêndri, where the Chalukyas perhaps established their capital. Either this place or Koriṅga, on the sea-coast, agrees with the bearing and distance given in the text. If, however, we accept Mr. Fergusson's hypothesis that the capital of Kônyôdha was near Kaṭak, and calculating the *li* to be one-seventh of a mile, we shall have to seek for the capital of Kaliṅga near Vijayanagram. For a notice respecting Râjamahêndri see Sewell, *Lists*, &c., vol. i. p. 22.

[61] The same word is used in the previous section; see n. 60.

burning; the disposition of the people vehement and impetuous. Though the men are mostly rough and uncivilised, they still keep their word and are trustworthy. The language is light and tripping,[62] and their pronunciation distinct and correct. But in both particulars, that is, as to words and sounds, they are very different from Mid-India. There are a few who believe in the true law, but most of them are attached to heresy. There are ten *saṅghârâmas*, with about 500 priests, who study the Great Vehicle according to the teaching of the Sthavira school. There are some 100 Dêva temples with very many unbelievers of different sorts, the most numerous being the Nirgranthas[63] [Ni-kin followers].

In old days the kingdom of Kaliṅga had a very dense population. Their shoulders rubbed one with the other, and the axles of their chariot wheels grided together, and when they raised their arm-sleeves a perfect tent was formed.[64] There was a Ṛishi possessed of the five supernatural powers,[65] who lived (*perched*) on a high precipice,[66] cherishing his pure (*thoughts*). Being put to shame (insulted) because he had gradually lost his magic powers, he cursed the people with a wicked imprecation, and caused all dwelling in the country, both young and old, to perish; wise and ignorant alike died, and the population disappeared. After many ages the country was gradually repeopled by emigrants, but yet it is not properly inhabited. This is why at the present time there are so few who dwell here.

Not far from the south of the capital there is a *stûpa* about a hundred feet high; this was built by Aśôka-râja. By the side of it there are traces where the four past Buddhas sat down and walked.

[62] This description of their language will appear natural to those who have had Kling boys about them.

[63] Digambara Jainas, *ante*, vol. i. p. 145, n. 74.

[64] *I.e.*, by stretching out their arms one to another, so close were they, there would be a continuous tent formed.

[65] Explained by Julien as referring to the *pañchâbhijñâs*.

[66] Julien translates *gan* by "cavern;" but it means "a rocky or precipitous mountain."

Near the northern frontier of this country is a great mountain precipice,[67] on the top of which is a stone *stûpa* about a hundred feet high. Here, at the beginning of the kalpa, when the years of men's lives were boundless, a Pratyêka [68] Buddha reached *Nirvâṇa.*

From this going north-west through forests and mountains about 1800 li, we come to the country of Kiao-sa-lo (Kôsala).

KIAO-SA-LO (KÔSALA).

This country[69] is about 5000 li in circuit; the frontiers consist of encircling mountain crags; forests and jungle are found together in succession. The capital[70] is about 40 li round; the soil is rich and fertile, and yields abundant crops. The towns and villages are close together. The population is very dense. The men are tall and black complexioned. The disposition of the people is hard and violent; they are brave and impetuous. There are both heretics and believers here. They are earnest in study and of a high intelligence. The king is of the Kshattriya race; he greatly honours the law of Buddha, and his virtue and love are far renowned. There are about one hundred *saṅghârâmas,* and somewhat less than 10,000

67 Perhaps Mahêndragiri

68 A Pratyêka Buddha is one who has reached enlightenment "for himself alone;" that is, he is not able to enlighten others by preaching or guiding. In Chinese it is rendered *tuh hioh,* "a solitary Buddha," for the same reason.

69 To be distinguished from Śrâvastî or Ayôdhyâ, which district was also called Kôśala or Kôsala. See Wilson, *Vishṇu-pur.*, vol. ii. p. 172; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. i. p. 160, vol. iv. p. 702. It lay to the south-west of Orissa and in the district watered by the upper feeders of the Mahânadî and Gôdâvarî.

70 There is some uncertainty as to the capital of this country. General Cunningham, who identifies the ancient Kôsala with the modern province of Berâr or Gondwâna, places it at Chândâ, a walled town 290 miles to the north-west of Râjamahêndri, with Nâgpur, Amarâvatî, or Ilichpur as alternatives; the three last-named towns appear to be too far from the capital of Kalinga. But if we allow five li to the mile, the distance either of Nâgpur or Amarâvatî from Râjamahêndri would agree with the 1800 or 1900 li of Hiuen Tsiang. There is much mention in I-tsing's memoirs of priests visiting and remaining at a place called Amarâvatî; it may refer to Kôsala. Mr. Fergusson, calculating the *li* at one-sixth of a mile, suggests either Wairagaṛh or Bhândak, both of them sites of old cities, as the capital. He prefers the former for reasons stated (*J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 260).

priests:, they all alike study the teaching of the Great Vehicle. There are about seventy Dêva temples, frequented by heretics of different persuasions.

Not far to the south of the city is an old *saṅghârâma*, by the side of which is a *stûpa* that was built by Aśôka-râja. In this place Tathâgata, of old, calling an assembly, exhibited his supernatural power and subdued the unbelievers. Afterwards Nâgârjuna Bôdhisattva (*Long-meng-p'u-sa*) dwelt in the *saṅghârâma*. The king of the country was then called Sadvaha.[71] He greatly prized and esteemed Nâgârjuna, and provided him with a city-gate hut.[72]

At this time Ti-p'o (Dêva) Bôdhisattva coming from the country of Chi-sse-tseu (Ceylon), sought to hold a discussion with him. Addressing the gate-keeper he said, "Be good enough to announce me." Accordingly the gate-keeper entered and told Nâgârjuna. He, recognising his reputation, filled up a *pâtra* with water and commanded his disciple to hold the water before Dêva. Dêva, seeing the water, was silent, and dropped a needle into it. The disciple held the *pâtra*, and with some anxiety and doubt returned to Nâgârjuna. "What did he say," he asked. The disciple replied, "He was silent and said nothing; he only dropped a needle into the water."

Nâgârjuna said, "What wisdom! Who like this man! To know the springs of action (*motives*), this is the privilege of a god! to penetrate subtle principles is the privilege of an inferior saint.[73] Such full wisdom as this entitles him to be allowed to enter forthwith." He (the disciple) replied, "What a saying is this! is this then the sublime eloquence (*skill*) of silence?"

"This water," he (Nâgârjuna) went on to say, "is shaped according to the form of the vessel that holds it;

[71] Expressed phonetically by So-to-p'o-ho, with the meaning, "he who draws the good."

[72] Placed guards round his hut (Julien).

[73] An inferior saint (ya shing) is an expression applied to Mencius compared with Confucius (Julien). In this passage the title is referred to Dêva in comparison with Buddha.

it is pure or dirty according to the character of things (*in it*); it fills up every interstice; in point of clearness and comprehensiveness[74] he, on beholding the water, compared it to the wisdom which I have acquired by study. Dropping into it a needle, he pierced it, as it were, to the bottom. Show this extraordinary man in here at once, and let him be presented."

Now the manner and appearance of Nâgârjuna were imposing, and inspired all with respect. In discussion all were awed by it, and submitted (*bowed the head*). Dêva being aware of his excellent characteristics, had long desired to consult him, and he wished to become his disciple. But now as he approached he felt troubled in mind, and he was abashed and timid. Mounting the hall, he sat down awkwardly and talked darkly; but at the end of the day his words were clear and lofty. Nâgârjuna said, "Your learning exceeds that of the world and your fine distinctions shine brighter than the former (*teachers*). I am but an old and infirm man; but having met with one so learned and distinguished, surely it is for the purpose of spreading the truth and for transmitting without interruption the torch of the law, and propagating the teaching of religion. Truly this is one who may sit on the upper seat to expound dark sayings and discourse with precision."

Dêva hearing these words, his heart conceived a degree of self-confidence, and being about to open the storehouse of wisdom, he first began to roam through the garden of dialectic and handle fine sentences; then having looked up for some indication of approval (*confirmation of his argument*), he encountered the imposing look of the master; his words escaped him; his mouth was closed; and leaving his seat, he made some excuse, and asked to be instructed.

Nâgârjuna said, "Sit down again; I will communicate

[74] I have translated it thus; literally it runs "clear and limpid and of unfathomable fulness, as you showed it to him."

to you the truest and most profound principles which the king of the law himself verily handed down (*taught for transmission*)." Dêva then prostrated himself on the ground, and adored with all his heart, and said, "Both now and for ever I will dare to listen to your instructions."

Nâgârjuna Bôdhisattva was well practised in the art of compounding medicines; by taking a preparation (*pill or cake*), he nourished the years of life for many hundreds of years,[75] so that neither the mind nor appearance decayed. Sadvaha-râja had partaken of this mysterious medicine, and his years were already several hundred in number. The king had a young son who one day addressed his mother thus, "When shall I succeed to the royal estate?" His mother said, "There seems to me to be no chance of that yet; your father the king is now several hundred years old, his sons and grandsons are many of them dead and gone through old age. This is the result of the religious power of Nâgârjuna, and the intimate knowledge he has of compounding medicines. The day the Bôdhisattva dies the king will also succumb. Now the wisdom of this Nâgârjuna is great and extensive, and his love and compassion very deep; he would give up for the benefit of living creatures his body and life. You ought, therefore, to go, and when you meet him, ask him to give you his head. If you do this, then you will get your desire."

The king's son, obedient to his mother's instructions, went to the gate of the convent. The doorkeeper, alarmed, ran away,[76] and so he entered at once. Then Nâgârjuna Bôdhisattva was chanting as he walked up and down. Seeing the king's son he stopped, and said, "It is evening time now; why do you at such a time come so hastily to the priests' quarters? has some accident happened, or are

[75] Some attribute 600 years to Nâgârjuna as his term of life (*Vassilief, Bouddisme*, p. 76). This writer says, "In my opinion the 400 or 600 years of life given to Nâgârjuna refer to the development of the system of the Great Vehicle" (*op. cit.*, p. 77, n. 1).

[76] To announce the arrival of the king's son (Julien). But it would seem to mean he ran away through fear.

you afraid of some calamity that you have hastened here at such a time?"

He answered, "I was considering with my dear mother the words of different *śâstras*, and the examples (*therein given*) of sages who had forsaken (*given up*) the world, and I was led to remark on the great value set on life by all creatures, and that the scriptures, in their examples given of sacrifice, had not enforced this duty of giving up life readily for the sake of those who desired it. Then my dear mother said, 'Not so; the Sugatas (*shen shi*) of the ten regions, the Tathâgatas of the three ages, whilst living in the world and giving their hearts to the object, have obtained the fruit. They diligently sought the way of Buddha; practising the precepts, exercising patience, they gave up their bodies to feed wild beasts, cut their flesh to deliver the dove. Thus Râja Chandraprabha[77] (Yueh-kwang) gave up his head to the Brâhmaṇ; Maitribâla (Ts'e li) râja fed the hungry Yaksha with his blood. To recite every similar example would be difficult, but in searching through the history of previous sages, what age is there that affords not examples? And so Nâgârjuna Bôdhisattva is now actuated by similar high principles; as for myself, I have sought a man who for my advantage would give me his head, but have never yet found such a person for years. If I had wished to act with violence and take the life of a man (*commit murder*), the crime would have been great and entailed dreadful consequences. To have taken the life of an innocent child would have been infamous and disgraced my character. But the Bôdhisattva diligently practises the holy way and aspires after a while to the fruit of Buddha. His love extends to all beings and his goodness knows no bounds. He esteems life as a bubble, his body as decaying wood. He would not contradict his purpose in refusing such a gift, if requested."

77 For the story of Chandraprabha see R. Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Lit.*, p. 310; for Maitribâla, *ibid.*, p. 50.

Nâgârjuna said, "Your comparisons and your words are true. I seek the holy fruit of a Buddha. I have learnt that a Buddha is able to give up all things, regarding the body as an echo, a bubble, passing through the four forms of life,[78] continually coming and going in the six ways.[79] My constant vow has been not to oppose the desires of living things. But there is one difficulty in the way of the king's son, and what is that? If I were to give up my life your father also would die. Think well of this, for who could then deliver him?"

Nâgârjuna, irresolute, walked to and fro, seeking for something to end his life with; then taking a dry reed leaf, he cut his neck as if with a sword, and his head fell from his body.

Having seen this, he (*the royal prince*) fled precipitately and returned. The guardian of the gate informed the king of the event from first to last, who whilst listening was so affected that he died.

To the south-west about 300 li we came to the Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li (Brahmaragiri) mountain.[80] The solitary peak of this mountain towers above the rest, and stands out with its mighty precipices as a solid mass of rock without approaches or intervening valleys. The king, Sadvaha, for the sake of Nâgârjuna Bôdhisattva, tunnelled out this rock through the middle, and built and fixed therein (*in*

[78] The four modes of life are described as creatures oviparous, viviparous, born from spawn or by transformation. See *Vajrachhêdikâ*, cap. 2.

[79] The six ways of birth are (1.) as Dêvas, (2.) as men, (3.) as Asuras, (4.) as Prêtas, (5.) as beasts, (6.) in hell.

[80] It would seem that this is the right restoration. The Chinese explanation is "the black peak," but here *fung*, "a peak," is probably a mistake for *fung*, "a bee." Brahmarâ is an epithet of Durgâ or Chaṇḍâ. Assuming Bhândak to have been the capital of Kôsala, the Winjhâsanî and Dewâlâ Hills, with the footprint of Bhîma, *i.e.*, Śiva (or, if Bhîmâ, then Durgâ), would answer to the hill of Sadvahâ. It is tolerably certain that the Po-lo-yu of Fa-hian is intended for Pârvatî (his interpretation of "pigeon" (Pârâvata) being derived from hearsay at Bânâras), and this corresponds with "Brahmara." Altogether it seems probable that the worship of Durgâ, or Chaṇḍâ, or Bhîmâ, or Pârvatî, was affected in this part of India, and probably gave rise to, or at any rate fostered, the worship of Avalokiteśvara or Kwan-yin. (See the question discussed, *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xv. p. 344.)

the middle) a *saṅghârâma*; at a distance of some 10 li, by tunnelling, he opened a covered way (*an approach*). Thus by standing under the rock (*not knowing the way in*) we see the cliff excavated throughout, and in the midst of long galleries (*corridors*) with eaves for walking under and high towers (*turrets*), the storeyed building reaching to the height of five stages, each stage with four halls with *vihâras* enclosed (*united*).[81] In each *vihâra* was a statue of Buddha cast in gold, of the size of life, wrought (*cast*) with consummate art and singularly adorned and specially ornamented with gold and precious stones. From the high peak of the mountain descending streamlets, like small cascades, flow through the different storeys, winding round the side galleries, and then discharging themselves without. Scattered light-holes illumine the interior (*inner chambers*).[82]

When first Sadvaha-râja excavated this *saṅghârâma*, the men (*engaged in it*) were exhausted and the king's treasures emptied. His undertaking being only half accomplished, his heart was heavily oppressed. Nâgârjuna addressing him said, "For what reason is the king so sad of countenance?" The king replied, "I had formed in the course of reflection a great purpose.[83] I ventured to undertake a meritorious work of exceeding excellence which might endure firm till the coming of Maitrêya, but now before it is completed my means are exhausted. So I sit disconsolate day by day awaiting the dawn, cast down at heart."

Nâgârjuna said, "Afflict not yourself thus; the returns consequent on the high aims of a lofty religious purpose

[81] It seems to mean that in each platform there were four halls, and each of these halls had a *vihâra* which were connected.

[82] The description of this rock-monastery in the text shows that it is the same as that described by Fa-hian (pp. 139, 140, Beal's edition). Neither Fa-hian nor Hiuen Tsiang personally visited the spot. It would seem to have been utterly deserted and waste even in Fa-hian's time. This favours the record of its early construction in the time of Nâgârjuna (about the first century B.C.)

[83] Or, "as my great heart was revolving in chance thoughts."

are not to be foiled: your great resolve shall without fail be accomplished. Return then to your palace; you shall have abundance of joy. To-morrow, after you have gone forth to roam through and observe the wild country round (*the mountain wilds*), then return to me and quietly discuss about the buildings." The king having received these instructions left him after proper salutation (*turning to the right*).

Then Nâgârjuna Bôdhisattva, by moistening all the great stones with a divine and superior decoction (*medicine* or *mixture*), changed them into gold. The king going forth and seeing the gold, his heart and his mouth mutually congratulated each other.[84] Returning, he went to Nâgârjuna and said, "To-day as I roamed abroad, by the influence of the divine spirits (*genii*) in the desert, I beheld piles of gold." Nâgârjuna said, "It was not by the influence of the genii, but by the power of your great sincerity; as you have this gold, use it therefore for your present necessities, and fulfil your excellent work." So the king acted and finished his undertaking, and still he had a surplus. On this he placed in each of the five stages four great golden figures. The surplus still remaining he devoted to replenish the necessitous (*deficient*) branches of the exchequer.

Then he summoned 1000 priests to dwell (*in the building he had constructed*), and there to worship and pray. Nâgârjuna Bôdhisattva placed in it all the authoritative works of instruction spoken by Śâkya Buddha, and all the explanatory compilations (*commentaries*) of the Bôdhisattvas, and the exceptional collection of the miscellaneous school.[85] Therefore in the first (*uppermost*) storey they

[84] That is, his words were in agreement with the happy thoughts entertained in his heart.

[85] If this be the right rendering of the passage, then the "miscellaneous school" will refer to the *sannipâta* class of books. If, however, we adopt M. Julien's rendering, the passage will simply mean, "he collected these books (viz., the *sûtras* and *śâstras*) and divided them into sections." But if we examine the entire passage, it seems to imply that Nâgârjuna collected (1.) The books claiming the authority of Buddha's utterance; (2.) the writ-

placed only the figure of Buddha, and the *sûtras* and *śâstras;* in the fifth stage from the top (*i.e., in the lowest*), they placed the Brâhmaṇs (*pure men*) to dwell, with all necessary things provided for them; in the three middle storeys they placed the priests and their disciples. The old records state that when Sadvaha-râja had finished, he calculated that the salt consumed by the workmen cost nine *koṭis* of gold pieces. Afterwards the priests having got angry and quarrelled, they went to the king to get the question settled. Then the Brâhmaṇs said amongst themselves, "The Buddhist priests have raised a quarrel on some question of words." Then these wicked men consulting together, waiting for the occasion, destroyed the *saṅghârâma,* and afterwards strongly barricaded the place in order to keep the priests out.

From that time no priests of Buddha have lived there. Looking at the mountain caves (*or heights*) from a distance, it is impossible to find the way into them (*the caves*). In these times, when they (*the Brâhmaṇs*) introduce a physician into their abodes to treat any sickness, they put a veil over his face on going in and coming out, so that he may not know the way.

From this, going through a great forest south, after 900 li or so, we come to the country of 'An-ta-lo (Andhra).

'AN-TA-LO (ANDHRA).

This country is about 3000 li in circuit; the capital is about 20 li round. It is called P'ing-k'i-lo (Vingila?)[88] The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of cereals. The temperature is hot, and the manners of the people fierce and impulsive. The language and arrangement of sentences differ from Mid-India, but with reference to the shapes of the letters, they

ings of the Bôdhisattvas; (3.) the other miscellaneous books.

[88] This is probably the old city of Veṅgi, north-west of Elur lake, between the Gôdâvarî and Kṛishnâ rivers, which was certainly in the early Andhra dominions. In the neighbourhood are said to be rock temples and other remains.

are nearly the same. There are twenty *saṅghârâmas* with about 3000 priests. There are also thirty Dêva temples with many heretics.

Not far from Viṅgila (?) is a great *saṅghârâma* with storeyed towers and balconies beautifully carved and ornamented. There is here a figure of Buddha, the sacred features of which have been portrayed with the utmost power of the artist. Before this convent is a stone *stûpa* which is several hundred feet high; both the one and the other were built by the Arhat 'O-che-lo (Achala).[87]

To the south-west of the *saṅghârâma* of the Arhat 'O-che-lo not a great way is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja. Here Tathâgata in old days preached the law, and exhibited his great spiritual powers, and converted numberless persons.

Going 20 li or so to the south-west of the *saṅghârâma* built by Achala (*So-hing*), we reach a solitary mountain on the top of which is a stone *stûpa*. Here Jina[88] Bôdhisattva composed the *In-ming-lun* (*Nyâyadvâra-târaka Śâstra* or *Hêtuvidyâ Śâstra*?).[89] This Bôdhisattva, after Buddha had left the world, received the doctrine and assumed the vestments (*of a disciple*). His wisdom and his desires (*prayers* or *vows*) were vast. The power of his great wisdom was deep and solid. Pitying the world, which was without any support (*reliance*), he designed to spread the sacred doctrine. Having weighed[90] the character of

[87] The Chinese translation of the Arhat's name is "he who acts," it should therefore be restored to Âchâra. The restoration otherwise might be Achala, who is mentioned in an inscription at Ajaṇṭa. See *infra*.

[88] The phonetic symbols for Jina are *Ch'in-na*; it is translated by *t'ong sheu*, "youth-received," which Julien restores to Kumâralabdha. But thus *Jina* cannot be translated by either of these phrases. (For an account of the works of this Bôdhisattva, see Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue*, Appendix i. No. 10). In Hwui-li (iv. fol. 5, b.) the translation of Ch'in-na is simply *sheu*.

[89] There is much confusion here. The text gives only *In-ming-lun*, which must be restored to *Hêtuvidyâ Śâstra*; but Julien, in his list of *errata*, p. 568, corrects the text, and supplies the title of the work, *In-ming-ching-li-men-lun*, *i.e.*, *Nyâyadvâra-târaka Śâstra*. This may be so, but this work is not named in Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue* among those written by Jina.

[90] I do not see in the text that he composed this *śâstra*, but considering its character (*i wei*), he, &c.

the *Hêtuvidyâ Śâstra*, its words so deep, its reasonings so wide, and (*having considered*) that students vainly endeavoured to overcome its difficulties in their course of study, he retired into the lonely mountains and gave himself to meditation to investigate it so as to compose a useful compendium, that might overcome the difficulties (*obscurities*) of the work, its abstruse doctrines and complicated sentences. At this time the mountains and valleys shook and reverberated; the vapour and clouds changed their appearance, and the spirit of the mountain, carrying the Bôdhisattva to a height of several hundred feet, then repeated (*chanted*) these words, "In former days the Lord of the World virtuously controlled and led the people; prompted by his compassionate heart, he delivered the *Hêtuvidya Śâstra*,[91] and arranged in due order its exact reasonings and its extremely deep and refined words. But after the *Nirvâṇa* of Tathâgata its great principles became obscured; but now Jina Bôdhisattva, whose merit and wisdom are so extensive, understanding to the bottom the sacred well, will cause the *Hêtuvidyâ Śâstra* to spread abroad its power (*to add its weight*) during the present day."

Then the Bôdhisattva caused a bright light to shine and illumine the dark places (*of the world*), on which the king of the country conceived a deep reverence as he saw the sign of this brilliancy, and being in doubt whether he (*i.e.*, *Bôdhisattva*) had not entered the *Vajrasamâdhi* (or, diamond *Samâdhi*); then he asked the Bôdhisattva to obtain the fruit of "no further birth."[92]

Jina said, "I have entered *Samâdhi* from a desire to explain a profound *sûtra*; my heart awaits perfect enlightenment (*samyak sambôdhi*), but has no desire for this fruit that admits of no rebirth."

The king said, "The fruit of 'no-birth' is the aim of

[91] It does not necessarily mean that Buddha composed this work, but delivered (*shwo*) or spake it.

[92] That is, to acquire the privilege of an Arhat.

all the saints. To cut yourself off from the three worlds, and to plunge into the knowledge of the 'three vidyâs,' how grand such an aim![93] May you soon attain it!"

Then Jina Bôdhisattva, pleased at the request of the king, conceived the desire to reach the holy fruit which "exempts from learning."[94]

At this time Mañjuśrî Bôdhisattva (Miu-ki-ts'iang-p'u-sa), knowing his purpose, was moved with pity. Wishing to arouse him to the truth and to awaken him in a moment, he came and said, "Alas! how have you given up your great purpose, and only fixed your mind on your own personal profit, with narrow aims, giving up the purpose of saving all! If you would really do good, you ought to transmit and explain the rules of the *Yu-kia-sse-ti-lun* (*Yôgachârya-bhûmi Śâstra*) of Maitrêya Bôdhisattva. By that you may lead and direct students, and cause them to receive great advantage."

Jina Bôdhisattva receiving these directions, respectfully assented and saluted the saint. Then having given himself to profound study, he developed the teaching of the *Hêtuvidyâ Śâstra*; but still fearing that the students thereof would dread its subtle reasonings and its precise style, he composed the *Hêtuvidyâ Śâstra*,[95] exemplifying the great principles and explaining the subtle language, in order to guide the learners. After that he explained fully the Yôga discipline.

From this going through the desert forest south[96] 1000 li or so, we come to To-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhanakaṭaka).[97]

93 "This is the chief, or complete, thing."

94 This also is a phrase to denote the condition of Arhatship.

95 The title is defective. It probably refers to the *Nyâyadvâra-târaka S'âstra*; but, on the other hand, this work was composed by Nâgârjuna (see B. Nanjio's *Catalogue*, 1223). The whole of the passage in the text referring to Jina is obscure, and probably corrupt.

96 In the translation of Hwui-lih, Julien gives "vers le sud," which expression is quoted by Fergusson (*J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 262); but it is simply "going south" in the original.

97 Called also the Great Andhra country. Julien has Dhanakachêka; the Pâli inscriptions at Amarâvatî and Nâsik give Dhaṁñakaṭaka, for which the Sanskrit would be Dhanyakaṭaka or Dhânyakaṭaka; and in

T'O-NA-KIE-TSE-KIA (DHANAKAṬAKA).

This country is about 6000 li in circuit, and the capital[98] some 40 li round. The soil is rich and fertile, and is regularly cultivated, affording abundant harvests. There is much desert country, and the towns are thinly populated. The climate is hot. The complexion of the people is a yellowish black, and they are by nature fierce and impulsive. They greatly esteem learning. The convents (*saṅghârâmas*) are numerous, but are mostly deserted and ruined; of those preserved there are about twenty, with 1000 or so priests. They all study the law of the Great Vehicle. There are 100 Dêva temples, and the people who frequent them are numerous and of different beliefs.

To the east of the capital (*the city*) bordering on (*leaning against*)[99] a mountain is a convent called the Pûrvaśilâ (*Fo-p'o-shi-lo-seng*).[100] To the west of the city leaning against (*maintained by*) a mountain is a convent called Avaraśilâ.[101] These were (*or*, this was) built by a former king to do honour to (*for the sake of*) Buddha.

an inscription of 1361 A.D. we have Dhânyavâtîpura, and these would identify the city of Dhaññakaṭaka with Dharaṇikôṭa close to Amarâvatî (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi. pp. 95 f.) The symbol *tse* is equivalent to the Sanskrit *ṭa*.

[98] Mr. Fergusson concludes from a report addressed to Government by the late J. A. C. Boswell, and also from some photographs by Captain Ross Thompson, that almost beyond the shadow of a doubt Bejwâḍâ is the city described by Hiuen Tsiang (*op. cit.*, p. 263). But see *Ind. Ant.*, ut cit.

[99] The word is *keu*, to hold, to rely on. In the *Analects* (vii. 6, 2) there is the expression *keu yu tih*, which Dr. Legge translates, "let every attainment in what is good be *firmly grasped*." I should suppose, therefore, the text means that the Pûrvaśilâ convent was supported by or enclosed by a mountain on the east of the city.

[100] The symbol *lo* appears to be omitted. *Fo-lo-po* would be equal to Purva.

[101] *'O-fa-lo-shi-lo*, Aparaśilâ or West Mount. Fergusson identifies this with the Amarâvatî tope. The tope is 17 miles west of Bejwâḍâ. It stands to the south of the town of Amarâvatî, which again is 20 miles north-north-west of Guṇṭûr. The old fort called Dharṇikôṭa (which appears at one time to have been the name of the district) is just one mile west of Amarâvatî. "This celebrated Buddhist tope was first discovered by Râja Veṅkaṭâdri Nâyuḍu's servants in A.D. 1796: it was visited by Colonel Mackenzie and his survey staff in 1797; it was greatly demolished by the Râja, who utilised the sculptured

He hollowed the valley, made a road, opened the mountain crags, constructed pavilions and long (*or*, lateral) galleries; wide chambers supported the heights and connected the caverns.[102] The divine spirits respectfully defended (*this place*); both saints and sages wandered here and reposed. During the thousand years following the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha, every year there were a thousand laymen[103] and priests who dwelt here together during the rainy season. When the time was expired, all who had[104] reached the condition of Arhats mounted into the air and fled away. After the thousand years the lay-

marbles for building materials up to the year 1816. It was again visited by Colonel Mackenzie, who made large excavations, in 1816. Further excavations in 1835 (?); examined by Sir Walter Elliot, who unearthed the ruins of the western gateway in 1840. Excavations recommenced (by Mr. R. Sewell) in May 1877. Further excavations (by Dr. James Burgess) in 1882–83. Sewell's *List of Antiquarian Remains in Madras*, vol. i. p. 63. For a full and valuable account of the sculptures of this tope see Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, also Burgess, *Report on the Amarâvatî Stûpa*. An inscription discovered by Dr. Burgess among the stones of the *stûpa* proves "beyond doubt that the Amarâvatî *stûpa* was either already built or was being built in the second century A.D., if not earlier" (Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 27).

102 This would appear to refer to his work in constructing a sort of "sacred way" leading to the tope. But the text does not supply any information beyond the fact of the excavations in connection with this western *saṅghârâma*. But were these excavations confined to "the high mountain on the west of the town, full of caves, abutting on the river?" Perhaps an explanatoin may be found by supposing that the excavation of the mountain, &c., was independent of the building of the *saṅghârâma*. In Hwui-lih there is nothing said about the caverns, galleries, and tunnels; he simply states that "the eastern and western *saṅghârâmas* were built by a former king of the country, and he thoroughly searched through all the examples (*kw'ai shih*, rules and patterns) [of similar buildings] to be found in Ta-hia." Hiuen Tsiang says that "the eastern and western convents were built [the symbol *ch'a* in the text is *lih* in Hwui-lih; I regard it as a misprint] by a former king," and then he goes on to say that "he moreover bored through the river valley, hollowed out a road, divided the crags, raised pavilions (turreted chambers) with lateral galleries, whilst wide chambers supported (pillowed) the heights and connected the caves." This is all independent of building the *saṅghârâmas*. I must confess, however, that the position of the *stûpa*, seventeen miles west of the town, and on the other side of the river, seems to be a difficulty. With reference to Ta-hia, it is generally translated Baktria (Bretschneider, *Notices of Mediæval Geography*, &c., p. 197). The rules and patterns of buildings in Baktria would, I should suppose, be those of the Greeks.

103 *Fan fu*, common disciples.

104 Or, it may mean all of them attained the condition of Arhats.

men and saints dwelt together; but for the last hundred years there have been no priests (*dwelling here*) in consequence of the spirit of the mountain changing his shape, and appearing sometimes as a wolf, sometimes as a monkey, and frightening the disciples; for this reason the place has become deserted and wild, with no priests to dwell there.

To the south[105] of the city a little way is a great mountain cavern. It is here the master of *śâstras* P'o-pi-feï-kia (Bhâvavivêka)[106] remains in the palace of the Asuras ('O-ssu-lo), awaiting the arrival of Maitrêya Bôdhisattva as perfect Buddha.[107] This master of *śâstras* was widely renowned for his elegant scholarship and for the depth of his vast attainments (*virtue*). Externally he was a disciple of Kapila[108] (Sâṅkhya), but inwardly he was fully possessed of the learning of Nâgârjuna. Having heard that Dharmapâla (Hu-fa-p'u-sa) of Magadha was spreading abroad the teaching of the law, and was making many thousand disciples, he desired to discuss with him. He took his religious staff in hand and went. Coming to Pâṭaliputra (Po-ch'a-li) he ascertained that Dharmâpala Bôdhisattva was dwelling at the *Bôdhi* tree. Then the master of *śâstras* ordered his disciples thus: "Go you to the place where Dharmapâla resides near the *Bodhi* tree, and say to him in my name, 'Bôdhisattva (*i.e.*, Dharmapâla) publishes abroad the doctrine (*of Buddha*) bequeathed to the world: he leads and directs the

[105] According to the report quoted by Mr. Fergusson (*op. cit.*, p. 263), "immediately south of the town (*i.e.*, of Bejwâḍâ) is a singular isolated rock or hill, along whose base and sides there are the remains of a considerable number of rock-caves, &c."

[106] In Chinese Tsing-pin, "he who discusses with clearness" (Jul.); but in Wong-Pûh (§ 193) he is called *Ming-pin*, which seems more accurate. For the story of this doctor see Wong-Pûh (*loc. cit.*)

[107] In this passage, as in the one relating to Kâśyapa in the Kukkutapâda-giri, Julien has quite missed the sense; he translates as though Bhâvavivêka had become a Buddha.

[108] In the text it is "externally he wore the clothes or costume of the Sâṅkhya (*Săng-k'ie*), that is, he was a follower of Kapila by outward profession. Julien has translated it as though *Săng-k'ie* were equivalent to *Săng-kia-chi*, but the symbols are quite different, and he himself gives *Sâṅkhya* as the equivalent of *Săng-k'ie* (pp. 470, 527).

ignorant. His followers look up to him with respect and humility, and so it has been for many days; nevertheless his vow and past determination have borne no fruit! Vain is it to worship and visit the *Bôdhi* tree. Swear to accomplish your object, and then you will be in the end guide of gods and men.'"[109]

Dharmapâla Bôdhisattva answered the messenger thus: "The lives of men (*or*, generations of men) are like a phantom; the body is as a bubble. The whole day I exert myself; I have no time for controversy; you may therefore depart—there can be no meeting."

The master of *śâstras* having returned to his own country, led a pure (*quiet*) life and reflected thus: "In the absence of[110] Maitrêya as a Buddha, who is there that can satisfy my doubts?" Then in front of the figure of the Bôdhisattva Kwan-tsz'-tsai,[111] he recited in order the *Sin-to'-lo-ni* (*Hṛĭdaya-dhâraṇi*),[112] abstaining from food and drink. After three years Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhisattva appeared to him with a very beautiful[113] body, and

[109] This passage is obscure, and I offer my translation only as tentative. It appears to me that the message to the Bôdhisattva was couched ironically. Bhâvavivêka challenges Dharmapâla on the ground that his aim has not yet been accomplished, and to go to the Bôdhi tree to worship is foolish and inoperative. "Vow to accomplish your purpose, and it shall be accomplished irrespective of worship or humility." This would seem to have been the tendency of Nâgârjuna's teaching, and Bhâvavivêka, though outwardly a follower of Kapila, was yet full of Nâgârjuna's spirit.

[110] That is, until Maitrêya becomes Buddha, who is there that can answer my doubts? It is not that Maitrêya *has* become Buddha, but until he does so become.

[111] This is indirectly a most important passage. It shows that Bhâvavivêka, who was imbued "with the spirit of Nâgârjuna," although professedly a follower of Kapila, exhibited his faith by going to Avalôkitêśvara. This, joined with the story of Sadvaha excavating the Brahmara (Durgâ) convent for Nâgârjuna, shows that the worship of Durgâ (the *many-armed and the high*) was the chief feature in the spirit of Nâgârjuna's teaching; in other words, that the fusion between Buddhism and the native worship of hill gods dates from Nâgârjuna's time, and was brought about by his influence.

[112] This is a well-known *sûtra* or mantra, has been translated in the *Journal of the R. A. S.*, 1875, p. 27; see also Bendall, *Catalogue of MSS.*, &c., p. 117, add. 1485. The composition of this *sûtra* may, I think be attributed to Nâgârjuna, as the founder of the Mahâyâna doctrine.

[113] This "beautiful body" of Avalôkitêśvara seems to be derived from foreign sources. The character of

addressed the master of *śâstras* thus: "What is your purpose (*will*)?" He said, "May I keep my body till Maitrêya comes." Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhisattva said, "Man's life is subject to many accidents. The world is as a bubble or a phantom. You should aim at the highest resolve to be born in the Tushita heaven, and there, even now,[114] to see him face to face and worship."

The master of *śâstras* said, "My purpose is fixed; my mind cannot be changed."[115] Bôdhisattva said, "If it is so, you must go to the country of Dhanakaṭaka, to the south of the city, where in a mountain cavern a diamond-holding (*Vajrapâṇi*) spirit dwells, and there with the utmost sincerity reciting the *Chi-king-kang-t'o-lo-ni* (*Vajrapâṇidhâraṇî*), you ought to obtain your wish."

On this the master of *śâstras* went and recited (the *dhâraṇi*). After three years the spirit said to him, "What is your desire, exhibiting such earnest diligence?" The master of *śâstras* said, "I desire that my body may endure till Maitrêya comes, and Avalôkitêśvara Bôdhisattva directed me to come here to request the fulfilment (*of my desire*). Does this rest with you, divine being?"

The spirit then revealed to him a formula and said, "There is an Asura's palace in this mountain; if you ask according to the rule given you, the walls will open, and then you may enter and wait there till you see (*Maitrêya*)." "But," said the master of *śâstras*, "dwelling in the dark, how shall I be able to see or know when the Buddha

the beauty may be seen from the plates supplied by Mr. B. Hodgson in the *J. R. A. S.*, vol. vi. p. 276. There can be little doubt that we have here a link connecting this worship with that of Ardhvisura-anâhita, the Persian representative of the beautiful goddess of "pure water." Compare Anaitis as Venus, and the Venus-mountains in Europe (Fensberg), the survival of the worship of hill-gods. (See Karl Blind on "water-gods," &c., in the *Contemporary Review*.)

[114] This is the aim of the true Buddhist convert, to be born in the heaven of Maitrêya after death, and there to hear his doctrine, so as to be able at his advent to receive his instruction and reach *Nirvâṇa*. Opposed to this is the foreign theory of a Western paradise.

[115] This exhibits the character of Bhâvavivêka, who had charged Dharmapâla with want of a strong determination (*oath*). See *ante*, n. 109.

appears?" Vajrapâṇi said, "When Maitrêya comes into the world, I will then advertise you of it." The master of *śâstras* having received his instructions, applied himself with earnestness to repeat the sentences, and for three years, without any change of mind, he repeated the words to a nicety (*mustard-seed*).[116] Then knocking at the rock-cavern, it opened out its deep and vast recesses. Then an innumerable multitude appeared before him looking about them, but forgetful of the way to return. The master of *śâstras* passed through the door, and addressing the multitude said, "Long have I prayed and worshipped with a view to obtain an opportunity to see Maitrêya. Now, thanks to the aid of a spiritual being, my vow is accomplished. Let us therefore enter here, and together await the revelation of this Buddha."

Those who heard this were stupified, and dared not pass the threshold. They said, "This is a den of serpents; we shall all be killed." Thrice he addressed them, and then only six persons were content to enter with him. The master of *śâstras* turning himself and advancing, then all the multitude followed him with their gaze as he entered. After doing so the stone walls closed

116 Julien translates this "*sur* un graine de sénevé." Referring to my translation in Wôhg-Pûh, § 193, I had the honour to correspond with M. Julien on the subject, he only allowed that the point was worthy of consideration. His words are these: "Il me semble au contraire que cela signifie que la puissance des *dhâraṇi* recités sur une graine de sénevé fut telle que cette graine, malgré sa légérité extrême, put, etant projetée sur la pierre, la faire s'entrouvrir comme si elle avait été frappée avec un instrument d'une force, d'un poids extraordinaire." But there is something to be said on the other side. To repeat a formula "to a mustard-seed," is to repeat it perfectly (*ad unguem*): hence the sense of Siddhârtha, "the perfect" (*yih-tsai-i-shing*), the son of Śuddhôdana, the promised Buddha, was just this, "the white mustard-seed" (Siddhârtha), because he was "perfectly endowed." Whether the phrase, "faith as a grain of mustard-seed" (ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως) does not mean "perfect *faith*" (an Orientalism introduced into Palestine, ὡς used for ἕως, or πρός) is a point I shall not urge; but probably the familiar story of "Open Sesame" is derived from the legend of Bhâvavivêka and the "mustard-seed." Both Ali Baba and the master of *śâstras* succeeded in opening the cavern gate by a "mustard-seed" formula. Cunningham connects the name of the place, Dhârani-kôṭa, with this legend (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 538).

behind them, and then those left without chided themselves for neglecting his words addressed to them.

From this going south-west 1000 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Chu-li-ye (Chuḷya).

CHU-LI-YE (CHULYA OR CHÔLA).

The country of Chulya (Chôḷa) is about 2400 or 2500 li in circuit; the capital is about 10 li round. It is deserted and wild, a succession of marshes and jungle. The population is very small, and troops of brigands go through the country openly. The climate is hot; the manners of the people dissolute and cruel. The disposition of the men is naturally fierce; they are attached to heretical teaching. The *sâṅghârâmas* are ruined and dirty as well as the priests. There are some tens of Dêva temples, and many Nirgrantha heretics.

At a little distance south-east of the city is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. Here Tathâgata in old time dwelt, and exhibited his spiritual power, and preached the sublime law, and defeated the heretics, delivering both men and Dêvas.

Not far to the west of the city there is an old *saṅghârâma.* This was the place where Ti-p'o (Dêva) Bôdhisattva discussed with an Arhat. In the first instance, Dêva Bôdhisattva heard that in this convent there was an Arhat called Uttara (Wu-ta-lo) who possessed the six supernatural powers (*shaḍabhijñâs*), and the eight *vimôkshas* (*means of deliverance*); forthwith he came from a distance to observe his manner as a model. Having arrived at the convent, he asked the Arhat for a night's lodging. Now in the place where the Arhat lived (*in his cell*) there was only one bed. Having entered, in the absence of a mat, he spread some rushes on the ground, and showing it to him, begged him to be seated. Having taken the seat, the Arhat entered into *samâdhi*, and came out of it after midnight. Then Dêva proposed to him his

doubts, and prayed him to answer them. The Arhat took up each difficulty and explained it. Dêva, closely examining each word, pressed his difficulties in the way of cross-examination, till after the seventh round of discussion the Arhat closed his mouth and declined (*was unable*) to reply. Then using secretly his divine faculties, he passed into the Tushita heaven, and there questioned Maitrêya. Maitrêya gave the required explanations, but because of their character he added, "This is the celebrated Dêva who for a succession of kalpas has practised religion, and in the middle of the Bhadra-kalpa ought to attain the condition of Buddha. You do not know this.[117] You should greatly honour him and pay him reverence."

In a moment he returned to his seat, and once more entered on a clear explanation (*of the difficulties*), which he expressed in great precision and language. Dêva addressing him said, "This is the explanation of the holy wisdom of Maitrêya Bôdhisattva. It is not possible for you, reverend sir, to have discovered such profound answers." Then the Arhat said, "It is so, in truth; the will of Tathâgata." On this, rising from his mat, he offered him worship and profound reverence and praise.

Going from this south, we enter a wild forest district, and passing 1500 or 1600 li, we come to the country of Ta-lo-pi-ch'a (Drâviḍa).

TA-LO-PI-CH'A (DRÂVIḌA).

This country is about 6000 li in circuit; the capital of the country is called Kâñchîpura (Kin-chi-pu-lo),[118] and is about 30 li round. The soil is fertile and regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of grain. There are

[117] Or, do you not know this?

[118] This must be Conjiveram. I do not think the text in Hwui-lih can be construed as Julien takes it, "the town of *Kin-chi* is situated on a port of the sea." The original runs thus: "The town of *Kin-chi* is the opening (mouth) of the southern sea of India, and in the direction of Siṅhala the water journey is three days." It seems to imply that Conjiveram was the central town from which the traffic to Ceylon was conducted.

also many flowers and fruits. It produces precious gems and other articles. The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous. They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth, and highly esteem learning; in respect of their language and written characters, they differ but little from those of Mid-India. There are some hundred of *saṅghârâmas* and 10,000 priests. They all study the teaching of the Sthavira (*Chang-tso-pu*) school belonging to the Great Vehicle. There are some eighty Dêva-temples, and many heretics called Nirgranthas. Tathâgata in olden days, when living in the world, frequented this country much; he preached the law here and converted men, and therefore Aśôka-râja built *stûpas* over all the sacred spots where these traces exist. The city of Kâñchîpura is the native place of Dharmapâla Bôdhisattva.[119] He was the eldest son of a great minister of the country. From his childhood he exhibited much cleverness, and as he grew up it increased and extended. When he became a young man,[120] the king and queen condescended to entertain him at a (*marriage*) feast. On the evening of the day his heart was oppressed with sorrow, and being exceedingly afflicted, he placed himself before a statue of Buddha and engaged in earnest prayer (*supplication*). Moved by his extreme sincerity, the spirits removed him to a distance, and there he hid himself. After going many hundred li from this spot he came to a mountain convent, and sat down in the hall of Buddha. A priest happening to open the door, and seeing this youth, was in doubt whether he was a robber or not. After interrogating him on the point, the Bôdhisattva completely unbosomed himself and told him the cause; moreover he asked permission to become a disciple. The priests were much astonished at the wonderful event, and forthwith granted his request. The king ordered search to be made for him in every direction, and at length finding out that Bôdhi-

[119] Ta-mo-po-lo-p'u-sa, in Chinese Hu-fa, "defender of the law."
[120] Assumed the cap, *toga virilis*.

sattva had removed to a distance from the world, driven[121] by the spirit (*or*, spirits), then he redoubled his deep reverence and admiration for him. From the time that Dharmapâla assumed the robes of a recluse, he applied himself with unflagging earnestness to learning. Concerning his brilliant reputation we have spoken in the previous records.[122]

To the south of the city not a great way is a large *saṅghârâma*, in which men of the same sort, renowned for talent and learning, assemble and stop. There is a *stûpa* about 100 feet high which was built by Aśôka-râja. Here Tathâgata, dwelling in old days, repeated the law and subdued the heretics, and converted both men and Dêvas in great number.

Going 3000 li or so south from this, we come to the country of Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a (Malakûṭa).

MO-LO-KIU-CH'A (MALAKÛṬA).

This country[123] is about 5000 li in circuit; the capital is about 40 li. The land and fields are impregnated with

[121] Both here and in the preceding portion of the narrative the phrase used is *shin fu*, which may either mean "carried by spirits" (in the sense of divine spirits) or "driven by his own spirit." Julien adopts the former rendering. We should in this case have expected to find the phrase *kwei shin*, instead of *shin*. Hwui-lih, however, tells us that it was "a great king of the spirits" (one of the Mahâdêva-râjas) that carried him away.

[122] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 238. For some account of his writings, compare *Hwui-lih*, book iv. p. 191 (Jul.); see also note 87, book ix.

[123] The distance given (3000 li or so) south from Conjiveram seems to be excessive. But none of the distances given by Hiuen Tsiang from *hearsay* are to be depended on. Compare, for example, the distance given from Charitra, in Orissa, to Ceylon, viz., about 20,000 li. This part of the pilgrim's itinerary is beset with difficulties. In the text before us, the use of the symbol *hing* would denote that he went personally to the Malakûṭa kingdom, but in Hwui-lih we are told that he heard only of this country, and his intention was evidently to embark, probably at the mouth of the Conjiveram river, for Ceylon, when he heard from the priests who came from that country to Kin-chi of the death of the king Râja Buna Mugalân and the famine. Mr. Fergusson, assuming Nellore to have been the capital of Chôḷa (I may here notice, by the way, that the symbols used for this country are the same both in *Hwui-lih* and the *Si-yu-ki*, so that the "Djourya" adopted by Julien in the *Life* of Hiuen-Tsiang is the same as "Tchoulya" in the *Si-yu-ki*), is

salt, and the produce of the earth is not abundant. All the valuables that are collected in the neighbouring islets are brought to this country and analysed. The temperature is very hot. The men are dark complexioned. They are firm and impetuous in disposition. Some follow the true doctrine, others are given to heresy. They do not esteem learning much, but are wholly given to commercial gain. There are the ruins of many old convents, but only the walls are preserved, and there are few religious followers. There are many hundred Dêva temples, and a multitude of heretics, mostly belonging to the Nirgranthas.

Not far to the east of this city is an old *saṅghârâma* of which the vestibule and court are covered with wild shrubs; the foundation walls only survive. This was built by Mahêndra, the younger brother of Aśôka-râja.

To the east of this is a *stûpa*, the lofty walls of which are buried in the earth, and only the crowning part of the cupola remains. This was built by Aśôka-râja. Here

disposed to refer Kin-chi-pu-lo to Nâgapaṭṭaṇam, and so get over the difficulty which arises from Hwui-lih's remark that "the town of Kin-chi is at the sea-mouth on the water-road to Ceylon," and also the distance from Nellore of 1500 or 1600 li. But this would involve us in subsequent difficulties; the name of Kâñchîpura, moreover, is the well-known equivalent for Conjiveram, and it is impossible to disregard this. M. V. de St. Martin, relying on Hwui-lih, says (*Mémoire*, p. 399) that Hiuen-Tsiang did not go farther south than Kâñchîpura, but, on the other hand, Dr. Burnell is of opinion that Hiuen-Tsiang returned from Malakûṭa to Kâñchîpura (*Ind. Ant.*, vii. p. 39). It is certain that on his way to the Koṅkan he started from Drâviḍa; I am disposed, therefore, to think that he did not go farther south than Kin-chi. In this case the subsequent account he gives us of Malakûṭa, Mount Malaya, and Potaraka, is derived from hearsay. With regard to Malakûṭa, Dr. Burnell has shown (*loc. cit.*) that "this kingdom was comprised roughly in the delta of the Kâvêrî." This would lead us to suppose that the capital was somewhere near Kumbhaghôṇam or Âvûr; but how then shall we account for the 3000 li of Hiuen-Tsiang? the actual distance south from Conjiveram to this neighbourhood being only 150 miles, or, at most, 1000 li. For an account of Kumbhaghônam, see Sewell, *Lists of Antiq. Remains in Madras*, vol. i. p. 274. Dr. Burnell gives the name Malaikûṟṟam as possibly that by which Kumbhaghônam was known in the seventh century (*ibid.*) In a note the Chinese editor remarks that Malakûṭa is also called Chi-mo-lo; Julien restores this to Tchimor (p. 121, n.), and also to Tchimala "the Simour of M. Reinaud" (Jul., iii. 530). I have given reasons for thinking that Chi-mo-lo is the equivalent for Kûmâr (*J. R. A. S.*, vol. xv. p. 337).

Tathâgata in old days preached the law and exhibited his miraculous powers, and converted endless people. To preserve the traces of this event, this memorial tower was built. For years past it has exhibited spiritual signs, and what is wished for in its presence is sometimes obtained.

On the south of this country, bordering the sea, are the Mo-la-ye (Malaya) mountains,[124] remarkable for their high peaks and precipices, their deep valleys and mountain torrents. Here is found the white sandal-wood tree and the *Chan-t'an-ni-p'o* (*Chandanêva*) [125] tree. These two are much alike, and the latter can only be distinguished by going in the height of summer to the top of some hill, and then looking at a distance great serpents may be seen entwining it: thus it is known. Its wood is naturally cold, and therefore serpents twine round it. After having noted the tree, they shoot an arrow into it to mark it.[126] In the winter, after the snakes have gone, the tree is cut down. The tree from which *Kie-pu-lo* (*Karpûra*) scent is procured,[127] is in trunk like the pine, but different leaves and flowers and fruit. When the tree is first cut down and sappy, it has no smell; but when the wood gets dry, it forms into veins and splits; then in the middle is the scent; in appearance like mica, of the colour of frozen snow. This is what is called (in Chinese) *long-nao-hiang*, the dragon-brain scent.

[124] These mountains, or this mountain, bordering on the sea, may either represent the Malabâr Ghâṭs generally, or, more probably, the detached mass of the Ghâṭs south of the Koimbatur gap, apparently the true Malaya of the Pauranik lists. See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii. p. 38; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 252. The term *Ma-la-yo* is also applied to a mountainous district in Ceylon, of which Adam's Peak is the centre (Childers, *Pâli Dict.*, sub voc.); compare *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xv. p. 336. It would seem, at any rate, if this district of Malaya, "bordering on the sea," was a part of the kingdom of Malakûṭa, that the latter cannot be confined to the delta of the Kâvêri, but must be extended to the southern sea-coast. This would explain the alternative name of Chi-mo-lo (Kumâr). *Malaya* means any "mountainous region."

[125] That is, a tree "*like* the sandal-wood" (Jul., n. 1).

[126] Compare Julien, note 2 (*in loco*), and Burnouf, *Introd. to Buddhism*, p. 620. The Malaya mountain is called Chandanagiri, part of the southern range of the Ghâts, because of the sandal-wood found there (Monier Williams, *Sansc. Dict.* s. v. *Chandana*).

[127] That is, *camphor*.

To the east of the Malaya mountains is Mount Po-ta-lo-kia (Pôtalaka).[128] The passes of this mountain are very dangerous; its sides are precipitous, and its valleys rugged. On the top of the mountain is a lake; its waters are clear as a mirror. From a hollow proceeds a great river which encircles the mountain as it flows down twenty times and then enters the southern sea. By the side of the lake is a rock-palace of the Dêvas. Here Avalôkitêśvara[129] in coming and going takes his abode. Those who strongly desire to see this Bôdhisattva do not regard their lives, but, crossing the water (*fording the streams*), climb the mountain forgetful of its difficulties and dangers; of those who make the attempt there are very few who reach the summit. But even of those who dwell below the mountain, if they earnestly pray and beg to behold the god, sometimes he appears as Tsz'-tsaï-t'ien (Îśvâra-dêva), sometimes under the form of a yôgi (*a Pâṁśupata*); he addresses them with benevolent words and then they obtain their wishes according to their desires.

Going north-east from this mountain, on the border[130] of the sea, is a town;[131] this is the place from which they

[128] The situation of this mountain has been discussed (*J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xv. p. 339 ff.

[129] See vol. i. p. 60, n. 210.

[130] The symbol used implies "a division of the sea," as though it were at a point where the sea divided into an eastern and western ocean.

[131] There is no name given; it is simply stated there is a town from which they go to Ceylon. If it were intended to give the name Charitrapura to it, there would be no symbol between the word for "city or town" and the word "go." M. Julien's parenthesis has misled Dr. Burnell and others. Dr. Burnell has also argued on a mistaken translation as to the position of this town, which he identifies with Kâvêrîpaṭṭanaṃ (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. p. 40). Julien says, "Going from Malakûṭa in a north-eastern direction, on the borders of the sea is a town (called Che-li-ta-to, Charitrapura)." Conf. *ante*, p. 205, n. 55. But, in fact, the original states, "Going from this mountain, *i.e.*, Mount Malaya, in a north-eastern direction, there is a town at the sea-dividing." So that Dr. Burnell's conclusions, so far as this part of his argument goes, are not supported by the text. On the other hand, it is stated by I-tsing that "going west thirty days from Quedâh, merchants used to arrive at Nâgavadana, whence after two days' voyage they reach Ceylon" (*J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 562). This looks as though Nâgapaṭṭanam were the town referred to by Hiuen Tsiang.

start for the southern sea and the country of Săng-kia-lo (Ceylon). It is said commonly by the people that embarking from this port and going south-east about 3000 li we come to the country of Siṁhala.

END OF BOOK X.

BOOK XI.

Contains an account of twenty-three kingdoms, viz., (1) *Săng-kia-lo;* (2) *Kong-kien-na-po-lo;* (3) *Mo-ho-la-c'ha ;* (4) *Po-lu-kie-che-p'o;* (5) *Mo-la-p'o;* (6) *O-c'ha-li;* (7) *Kie-ch'a;* (8) *Fa-la-pi;* (9) *'O-nan-to-pu-lo;* (10) *Su-la-ch'a;* (11) *Kiu-che-lo;* (12) *U-she-yen-na;* (13) *Chi-kie-to;* (14) *Mo-hi-chi-fa-lo-po-lo;* (15) *Sin-to;* (16) *Mo-lo-san-pu-lo;* (17) *Po-fa-to;* (18) *O-tien-p'o-chi-lo;* (19) *Long-kie-lo;* (20) *Po-la-sse;* (21) *Pi-to-chi-lo;* (22) *O-fan-c'ha;* (23) *Fa-la-na.*

SĂNG-KIA-LO (SIṀHALA).[1]

THE kingdom of Siṁhala is about 7000 li in circuit;[2] the capital is about 40 li round. The soil is rich and fertile; the climate is hot; the ground is regularly cultivated; flowers and fruits are produced in abundance. The population is numerous; their family possessions are rich in revenues. The stature of the men is small. They are black complexioned[3] and fierce by nature. They love learning and esteem virtue. They greatly honour religious excellence, and labour in the acquisition of religious merit.

[1] Siṁhala or Ceylon was not visited by Hiuen Tsiang, for reasons given in the last book. Fa-hian, however, resided in the island for two years (cap. 40). For the various names by which this island has been known, we may refer to Vincent (*Navigation of the Ancients*, &c.) Colonel Yule doubts whether we owe the name Ceylon or Seilan to Siṁhala (*Marco Polo*, ii. p. 254, note 1). Childers traces the derivation of the word Elu to this name Sîhala (*Notes on the Sinhalese Language*). See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii. pp. 33 ff.

[2] For the exaggerated reports concerning the size of this island, we may refer to Tennent's *Ceylon*, cap. i., and Yule, *Marco Polo* (vol. ii. p. 254, n. 1). The circuit of the island is really under 700 miles. We must therefore allow 10 li to the mile if Hiuen Tsiang's statement is to be received. Fa-hian is much more nearly correct in his figures, but in his account we must substitute *length* for *breadth* (cap. 37).

[3] This must refer to the Tamil population. The Siṅhalese are tall and comparatively fair.

This country was originally (*called*) Pâo-chu[4] (Ratna-dvîpa), because of the precious gems found there. It was occupied by evil spirits.[5]

After this there was a king of a country of Southern India, whose daughter was affianced in a neighbouring country. On a fortunate day, having paid a complimentary visit, she was returning when a lion met her on the way. The servants of the guard left her and fled from the danger. Resting alone in her car, her heart was resigned to death. At this time the lion king, taking the woman on his back, went away and entered a lone valley in the deep mountains.[6] He caught the deer and gathered the fruits according to their season, with which to nourish her. In the course of time she brought into the world a boy and a girl. In form and features they resembled human beings, but in disposition they were like the beast tribes.

The youth gradually grew up, and was possessed of great bodily strength, so that he could subdue the wildest

[4] That is, the "isle or islet of gems." So it was called by the Arabs of the ninth century (Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 255). The Javanese word for precious stone is *sela*, and from this, some think, comes the word Sailán or Ceylon (*ibid.*) In any case the name itself, "gem-island," was an old one; the regular formation would give us Ratna-dvîpa.

[5] The construction of the text and context is a little unusual. It seems to imply that because the island abundantly possessed gems and precious stones, it was a resting-place for demons and spirits, or demons. Of course it refers to the Rakshasis or Yakkhinîs. Comp. Weber, *Râmâyaṇa*, p. 25 (Boyd's translation).

[6] For notices of this legend see Prof. Vasconcellos Abreu, *Fragmentos d'uma tentativa de Estudo scoliastico da Epopeia Portugueza* (Lisboa, 1880), pp. 40-75; or *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii. pp. 33 ff.; *Dîpavaṁśa*, ch. ix.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 241 n.; Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 198 f. It owes its origin probably to the rape of a woman during a seaboard raid. Some of the northern tribes (invaders of India) affected the name of *lion* (siṁha or li). Compare *Fo-sho*, v. 1788. There are three events (obscure in themselves, yet perhaps connected) which happened in India about the time of Buddha: (1.) The invasion of north-west of India by the Vṛîjjis; (2.) the incursion of Yavanas into Orissa; (3.) the invasion and conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya. These events may have had a mutual relationship; the pressure of the Vṛîjjis from the north-west would drive the intermediate tribes on Orissa, and from Orissa some of the adventurers would start for fresh conquests by sea. Precisely similar events occurred in the west a few centuries afterwards. Compare Fergusson, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 58; Beal, *Abstract of Four Lectures*, Introduction, ix., x., xi., and also the sculptures in the Gaṇêśa Gumpha and

beasts. When he came to man's estate,[7] the wisdom of his manhood also came, and he asked his mother, saying, "What am I to be called? My father is a savage beast, and my mother is a human creature. But as you differ in kind, how can you have lived together?" Then the mother related the old story, and told it to her son. Her son, replying, said, "Men and beasts are of different kinds. We ought to hasten away from this." The mother replied, "I should have fled long ago, but I cannot help myself." Then the son from that time forth stopped at home whenever his father, the lion, roamed forth through the mountain passes, with a view to escape the difficult (*position in which they were placed*). And now on a certain occasion, his father having gone forth, he proceeded to carry away his mother and sister to a village inhabited by men. The mother then said, "You ought, both of you, to keep this matter secret, and say nothing about the first transaction, for if people were to come to hear of it, they would lightly esteem us."

On this she returned to her father's country, but it no longer belonged to her family, and the sacrifices of her ancestors had all died out. Having taken refuge in the town, all the men addressed her, saying, "From what kingdom do you come?" She said, "I belong to this country. Having wandered through strange places, we have come back, mother and son together (*to our home*)."

Then the village people were moved with pity, and provided them with necessary food. And now the lion king returning to his place, saw no one there. Thinking with affection of his son and daughter, he was moved with rage, and went away through the mountains and valleys, and roamed through the towns and villages, roaring frightfully and destroying the people, slaughtering and mangling every living thing. The town-folk went forth,

Rani ka Nur caves, Fergusson, *op. cit.*, pl. 1.

[7] Reached the age of twenty years.—Julien.

therefore, to pursue and capture him, in order to kill him. They beat the drums, sounded the conch, and with their bows and spears formed a large company; but yet they lagged behind (*delayed*) in order to escape danger. Then the king, fearing that their courage was little,[8] organised a band of hunters to capture the lion. He himself went with an army consisting of the four kinds of troops, amounting to tens of thousands, and beat through the woods and jungle, and traversed the mountains and valleys (*in search of their prey*). The lion raising his terrible roar, men and beasts flee in consternation.

Not being captured in the hunt, the king again made a proclamation, and promised that whoever captured the lion and freed the country from the affliction should be largely rewarded and his reputation widely published.

The son, hearing the royal decree, spake to his mother and said, "We have suffered much from hunger and cold. I certainly will answer to the appeal. Perhaps we may thus get enough to support us."

The mother said, "You ought not to think of it; for though he is a beast, yet he is still your father. What though we be wretched through want? this is no reason why you should encourage a wicked and murderous thought."[9]

The son said, "Men and beasts are of a different kind. What room is there for the question of propriety in such a matter as this? Why should such a thought interfere with my plan?" So seizing a knife and concealing it in his sleeve, he went forth to answer to the appeal. On this a thousand people and ten thousand horsemen assembled in crowds (*like the clouds and vapour*). The lion lay hid in the forest, and no one dared to approach him. On this the son forthwith advanced to him, and the father, tame and crouching, forgot in his sense of loving affection all

[8] The virtue (viz., of manliness) which influenced them did not prevail (far).

[9] Wicked, *i.e.*, unnatural, against nature.

his previous hate. Then he (*the son*) plunged the knife into the middle of his bowels, but he still exhibited the same love and tenderness, and was free from all anger or revengeful feeling even when his belly was ripped up, and he died in agony.[10]

The king then said, "Who is this man who has done such a wonderful deed?" Allured by promises of reward on the one hand, and alarmed by fear of punishment on the other, if he kept back anything, he at last revealed the whole from beginning to end, and told the touching story without reserve. The king said, "Thou wretch! if thou wouldest kill thy father, how much more those not related to thee! Your deserts indeed are great for delivering my people from the savage cruelty of a beast whose (*passions*) it is difficult to assuage, and whose hateful tempers are easily aroused; but to kill your own father, this is a rebellious (*unnatural*) disposition. I will reward your good deed largely, but you shall be banished from the country as the punishment of your crime. Thus the laws will not be infringed and the king's words not violated." On this he prepared two large ships (*boats*) in which he stored much provision (*cured rice or other grain*). The mother he detained in the kingdom, and provided her with all necessary things as the reward of the service done. The son and daughter each were placed in a separate boat, and abandoned to the chance of the waves and the wind. The boat in which the son was embarked, driven over the sea, came to this Ratnadvîpa. Seeing it abounded in precious gems, he took up his abode here.

Afterwards merchants seeking for gems frequently came to the island. He then killed the merchant chief and detained his children. Thus he extended his race. His sons and grandsons becoming numerous, they pro-

[10] The cave pictures from Ajaṇṭâ given in Mrs. Speir's *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 300 ff. seem to refer to the history of Vijaya and the "lion" legend; see also Burgess, *Cave Temples*, &c., pp. 312 f.

ceeded to elect a king and ministers and to divide the people into classes. They then built a city and erected towns, and seized on the territory by force; and because their original founder got his name by catching a lion,[11] they called the country (*after his name*) Siṁhala.

The boat in which the girl was embarked was driven over the sea till it reached Persia (Po-la-sse), the abode of the western demons, who by intercourse with her engendered a clan of women-children, and therefore the country is now called the Country of the Western Women;—this is the reason.

The men of the Siṁha kingdom are small in stature and black-complexioned; they have square chins and high foreheads; they are naturally fierce and impetuous, and cruelly savage without hesitation. This is from their inherited disposition as descended from a beast; but another version of the story is that they are very brave and courageous.

The records of the Buddhist religion say: In the middle of a great iron city of this Ratnadvîpa (P'ao-chu) was the dwelling of the Râkshasî women (Lo-t'sa). On the towers of this city they erected two high flagstaffs with lucky or unlucky signals, which they exhibited according to circumstances[12] (*to allure mariners*), when merchants came to the island (*Ratnadvîpa*). Then they changed themselves into beautiful women, holding flowers and scents, and with the sound of music[13] they went forth to meet them, and caressingly invited them

[11] *Chih-sse-tseu*, lion-catching; this seems also to be the meaning of *siṁhala*, where *la* means *to catch* or *take*. The *Dipavaṁśa* brings Vijaya, the son of Siṁha, from Siṁhapura in Lâḷa (Gujarât).

[12] "If circumstances were propitious, they agitated the lucky flag or drapery; if they were unfortunate or unlucky, they moved the unpropitious signal." It would seem to mean that if a ship drew near the shore as if to anchor, then the favourable flag or signal was shown; but if she kept away on her voyage, then the unfavourable signal was displayed. Or it may mean that the signal was to allure mariners.

[13] The curious parallel between the ways of these Râkshasîs and the Sirens has attracted frequent notice. Compare Pausanias, book x. cap. vi. *Σειρήνων νῆσος ἀνάπλεως ὀστεῶν*, viz., of those who had listened to their songs. Homer, Odys.,

to enter the iron city; then having shared with them all sorts of pleasure, they shut them up in an iron prison, and devoured them at their leisure.

At this time there was a great merchant of Jambudvîpa called Săng-kia (Siṁha) whose son was called Săng-kia-la (Siṁhala). His father having grown old, he was deputed to take charge of the house (*family*); he embarked, therefore, with 500 merchants to seek for precious stones; driven by the winds and waves, they came to Ratnadvîpa.

Then the Râkshasîs, displaying the lucky signal, began to wave it, and went forth with scents and flowers and the sound of music to meet them, and invite them to enter the iron city. The prince of the merchants accordingly, matched with the queen of the Râkshasîs, gave himself up to pleasure and indulgence. The other merchants also selected each one a companion, and so, in the course of time, a son was born to each. After this, the Râkshasîs, feeling tired of their old partners' love, (*were preparing to*) shut them up in the iron prison, and to seek new companions among other merchants.

At this time, Săng-kia-la, moved in the night by an evil dream, and impressed with a sense of its bad augury, sought some mode of escape, and coming to the iron stronghold, he heard the sounds of piteous cries within. Forthwith he climbed a great tree, and questioned them, saying, "Who are you thus bound, and why these miserable cries?" They replied, "Do you not know then that the women who occupy this place are all Râkshasîs? In former days, they allured us to enter the city with festive sounds of music, but when you arrived, they shut us up in this prison, and are gradually devouring our flesh. Now we are half eaten up; your turn too will soon come."

xii. 178, &c., with the account in the text and in the *Romantic Legend of Buddha*, p. 339. See also *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. x. p. 291, and the *Academy*, Aug. 13, 1881, pp. 120, 121.

Then Săng-kia-la (Siṁhala) said, "By what device then may we escape this danger?" They replied, and said, "We hear that on the sea-board there is a divine horse,[14] and whoever prays with supreme faith he will safely carry him across."

Siṁhala having heard this, secretly told the merchants his companions to assemble altogether on the sea-shore and there to offer up fervent prayers for deliverance. Then the divine horse came and addressed the men and said, "Each one of you grasp my hairy coat and look not behind; then will I deliver you and transport you across the sea out of danger's way. I will conduct you back to Jambudvîpa, to your happy homes (*country*)."

Then the merchants, obeying his directions, did each one implicitly as commanded. They seized the hairy coat (*of the divine horse*). Then he mounted aloft, traversed through the clouds, and passed the sea to the other side.

Then the Râkshasîs, perceiving all at once their husbands had escaped, spake one to another in surprise, and asked where they had gone. Then, taking each her child, they traversed to and fro the air. Perceiving, then, that the merchants had just left the shore, they issued a general order to unite in their flight to follow them. Not an hour had passed but they encountered them, and then, with mingled joy and tears, they came, and for a time restraining their grief they said, "We thought ourselves happy when first we met you, and made it our care to provide you homes, and for long have loved and cherished you, but now you are departing and deserting your wives and children, leaving them desolate. Who can bear the terrible grief that afflicts us! We pray you stay your departure and turn again with us to the city."

[14] The horse is called Kêśî in the *Abhinishkramana Sûtra* (*Romantic Legend*, loc. cit.) The reference appears to be to the change of monsoon, which would favour the departure of merchants (see note in the *Romantic Legend*). Avalôkitêśvara is often spoken of as a white horse, *i.e.*, as one who came across the sea.

But the minds of the merchants were as yet unwilling to consent. The Râkshasîs, seeing their words had no effect, had recourse to seductive blandishments, and by their conduct excited the feelings of the merchants; in consequence of which, being unable to suppress their tender emotions, their steadfastness forsook them, and, hesitating to go on, they paused, and at length returned in company with the Râkshasîs. The women, saluting and congratulating each other, closely holding to the men, went back.

Now the wisdom of Simhala was deep, and his firm purpose remained unchanged, and so he succeeded in traversing the ocean, and thus escaped the danger.

Then the queen of the Râkshasîs returned alone to the iron city; on which the other women addressing her said, "You are without wisdom or astuteness, and so you are abandoned by your husband; since you have so little cleverness or capacity you cannot dwell here." On this the Râkshasî queen, taking her child, hastened her flight after Simhala. She indulged before him in excessive blandishments and entreated him tenderly to return. But Simhala repeated with his mouth some spiritual charms, and with his hand brandishing a sword, he said, "You are a Râkshasî and I am a man, men and demons belong to different classes, there can be no union between such; if you trouble me further with your entreaties I will take your life."

The Râkshasî woman, knowing the uselessness of further parley, darted through the air and disappeared. Coming to Simhala's house, she addressed his father Simha, and said, "I am a king's daughter belonging to such and such a country. Simhala took me as his wife, and I have borne him a son. Having collected gems and goods, we were returning to my lord's country when the ship, driven by the winds and the sea, was lost, and only I, my child, and Simhala were saved. After crossing rivers and mountains with great difficulty, hungry and worn out, I

said a word displeasing to my husband, and I found myself deserted, and as he left me he let fall bitter words and raged on me as if he were a Râkshasa.[15] If I attempt to return, my native country is a very long distance off; if I stop, then I am left alone in a strange place: staying or returning I am without support. I have, therefore, dared to tell you the true state of things."

Siṁha said, "If your words be true, you have done right." Then she entered the king's house to dwell there. Not long after Siṁhala came, and his father addressing him said, "How is it you esteemed riches and gems so much and made so little of your wife and child?" Siṁhala said, "This is a Râkshasî." Then he related the whole previous history to his father and mother; then his relatives, angry on account of the whole affair, turned on her to drive her away; on which the Râkshasî went to the king and entreated him. The king wished to punish Siṁhala, but Siṁhala said, "The delusive influence of Râkshasîs is very great."

Moreover, the king, regarding his son's words as untrue, and being moved in his mind (*feelings*) by her fascination, addressed Siṁhala and said, "Since you have decided to reject this woman, I will now protect her in my after-palace." Siṁhala said, "I fear she will cause you some misfortune, for the Râkshasas eat only flesh and blood."

But the king would not listen to Siṁhala's words, and accordingly took her as his wife. In the middle of the night following this, flying away, she returned to Ratnadvîpa, and calling together 500 Râkshasa demon women, they all came to the king's palace, and there, by means of destructive charms and sorceries, they killed all living things within the building and devoured their flesh and

[15] Or, it may be, "as if I were a Râkshasî," and so Julien translates it. In this case we should supply the symbol *niu* (woman); but I observe that in the previous sentence where Siṁhala draws his sword he calls her a Râkshasa, not a Râkshasî, so that either translation is correct.

drank their blood, whilst they carried off the rest of the corpses and with them returned to the "island of gems."

The next day, early, all the ministers were assembled at the king's gates, which they found fast closed, and not able to be opened. After waiting a long time, and not hearing any sounds of voices within, they burst open the doors and gates, and pressed forward together (*into the house*). Coming to the palace hall, they found no living thing therein but only gnawed bones. The officers looking at one another in astonishment, then bent down their heads in their confusion, and uttered lamentable cries. Being unable to fathom the cause of the calamity that had happened, Siṁhala related to them from beginning to end the whole story. The ministers and people then saw from whence the evil came.

On this, the ministers of the country, the aged men and different officers, inquired in order as to the best person to appoint to the high dignity (*of the throne*). All looked in the direction of Siṁhala, (*so conspicuous for*) religious merit and wisdom. Then speaking together, they said, "With respect to a ruler, the selection is no trivial matter; he needs to be devout and wise, and at the same time of quick natural parts. If he be not good and wise, he would not be able to give lustre to the succession; if he have no natural parts (*skill* or *tact*), how could he direct the affairs of state? Now this Siṁhala appears to be such a man: he discovered in a dream the origin of the calamity;[16] by the effect of his virtue he encountered the divine horse, and he has loyally warned the king of his danger. By his prudence he has preserved himself; the succession should be his."

The result of the deliberation being known, the people joyfully raised him to the honourable position of king. Siṁhala was desirous of declining the honour, but was

16 Viz., of the Râkshasîs.

not able to do so. Then keeping to the middle course, he respectfully saluted the different officers of state, and forthwith accepted the kingly estate. On this, he corrected the former abuses, and promoted to honour the good and virtuous; then he made the following decree, "My old merchant friends are in the country of the Râkshasîs, but whether alive or dead I cannot tell. But in either case I will set out to rescue them from their danger; we must equip an army. To avert calamities and to help the unfortunate, this is the merit of a kingdom; to preserve treasures of precious stones and jewels, is the advantage of a state."

On this he arrayed his troops and embarked. Then on the top of the iron city the evil flag was agitated.[17]

Then the Râkshasîs seeing it, were filled with fear, and putting in practice their seducing arts, went forth to lead and cajole them. But the king, thoroughly understanding their false artifices, commanded the soldiers to recite some charmed words and to exhibit their martial bearing. Then the Râkshasîs were driven back, and fled precipitately to rocky islets of the sea; others were swallowed up and drowned in the waves. On this they destroyed the iron city and broke down the iron prison; they delivered the captive merchants, obtained large stores of jewels and precious stones, and then summoning the people to change their abodes, he (*Siṁhala*) founded his capital in the "island of gems," built towns, and so found himself at the head of a kingdom. Because of the king's name the country was called Siṁhala. This name is also connected with the *Jâtakas*, relating to Śâkya Tathâgata.

The kingdom of Siṁhala formerly was addicted to immoral religious worship, but after the first hundred years following Buddha's death the younger brother of Aśôkarâja, Mahêndra by name, giving up worldly desires,

[17] It would seem that "the evil flag" was a signal to warn the Râkshasîs of danger.

sought with ardour the fruit of Arhatship. He gained possession of the six supernatural powers and the eight means of liberation; and having the power of instant locomotion, he came to this country. He spread the knowledge of the true law and widely diffused the bequeathed doctrine. From his time there has fallen on the people a believing heart, and they have constructed 100 convents, containing some 20,000 priests. They principally follow the teaching of Buddha, according to the *dharma* of the Sthavira (Shang-ts'o-pu) school of the Mahâyâna sect.[18] When 200 years had elapsed,[19] through discussion, the one school was divided into two. The former, called the Mahâvihâravâsinas[20] (Mo-ho-pi-ho-lo-chu-pu), was opposed to the Great Vehicle and adhered to the teaching of the Little Vehicle; the other was called Abhayagirivâsinas ('O-p'o-ye-k'i-li-chu-pu);[21] they studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the *Tripiṭakas.* The priests attended to the moral rules, and were distinguished for their power of abstraction and their wisdom.[22] Their correct conduct was an example for subsequent ages; their manners grave and imposing.

[18] The Mahâyâna, or Great Vehicle, is generally supposed to have been unknown in the Southern school; but it is an elastic term, and in the present instance would refer probably to the developed doctrine (in what direction we hardly know) of the old school of the Sthaviras or elders.

[19] That is, as it seems, two hundred years after the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon, If so, the period referred to would be about the time of the reduction of the three *piṭakas* to writing in Ceylon, viz., B.C. 75. Does the phrase just following this, "they widely diffused the *Tripiṭakas*," refer to this event?

[20] This school evidently followed the teaching of the Mahâvihâra priests. The Mahâvihâra was about 7 li to the south of the capital Anurâdhapura. It was built by Dêvanampiyatissa, about 250 B.C. (*Fa-hian*, c. 39.) Compare *Dîpavaṁsa* (Oldenberg), xix. 10. Oldenberg makes some remarks respecting the *Aṭṭhakathâ* preserved in this monastery, *op. cit. Introd.*, pp. 6, 7. See for some notice of the vihâra, Beal, *Fa-hian*, p. 159, n. 1.

[21] For some account of the Abhayagiri vihâra see *Dîpavaṁsa*, xix. 14, 17; Beal's *Fa-hian*, p. 151, n. 1. It seems to have been the vihâra in which the tooth-relic was exhibited, *Fa-hian*, 157.

[22] "Meditative powers" and "wisdom." This would indicate a developed form of belief. It corresponds to the *chi kwan* school of Tien-tai in China. The same steps which led to the formation of the school there may have marked the development in Ceylon. It represents a compromise between quietism and practice of rules.

By the side of the king's palace is the *vihâra* of Buddha's tooth, several hundred feet high, brilliant with jewels and ornamented with rare gems. Above the *vihâra* is placed an upright pole on which is fixed a great Padma râja (*ruby*) jewel.[23] This gem constantly sheds a brilliant light, which is visible night and day for a long distance, and afar off appears like a bright star. The king three times a day washes the tooth of Buddha with perfumed water,[24] sometimes with powdered perfumes. Whether washing or burning, the whole ceremony is attended with a service of the most precious jewels.

[The country of Siṁhala,[25] formerly called the Kingdom of Lions, is also called the Sorrowless Kingdom;[26] it is the same as South India. This country is celebrated for its precious gems; it is also called Ratnadvîpa. Formerly, when Śâkyamuni Buddha took an apparitional body called Siṁhala, all the people, and priests, in honour of his character, made him king,[27] and therefore the country was called Siṁhala. By his mighty spiritual power he destroyed the great iron city and subdued the Râkshasî women, and rescued the miserable and distressed, and then founded a city, and built towns, and converted this district. In order to disseminate the true doctrine, he left a tooth to be kept in this land, firm as a diamond, indestructible through ages. It ever scatters its light like the stars or the moon in the sky, or, as brilliant as the sun, it lights up the night. All those who fast and pray in its presence obtain answers, like the echo (*answers the voice*). If the country is visited by calamity, or famine, or other plague, by use of earnest religious prayer, some

[23] For some notice of the rubies of Ceylon, see *Marco Polo*, book iii. cap. xiv.

[24] Or, every day thrice washes, &c.

[25] This and the following paragraphs are interpolated in the text; they belong to the time of the Ming dynasty (third year of Yung-lo, A.D. 1405). I have translated a portion of the passage, the rest will be found in a note at the end of this Book xi.

[26] Or the Aśôka kingdom. Compare the Aśôka garden of Râvaṇa, in the *Râmâyaṇa*.

[27] To do him honour.

spiritual manifestation ever removes the evil. It is now called Si-lan-mount,[28] but formerly Siṁhala country.

By the side of the king's palace is the *vihâra* of Buddha's tooth,[29] which is decorated with every kind of gem, the splendour of which dazzles the sight like that of the sun. For successive generations worship has been respectfully offered to this relic, but the present king of the country, called A-li-fun-nai-'rh (Alibunar' ?), a man of So-li (Chôḷa),[30] is strongly attached to the religion of the heretics and does not honour the law of Buddha; he is cruel and tyrannical, and opposed to all that is good. The people of the country, however, still cherish the tooth of Buddha.[31]]

By the side of the *vihâra* of Buddha's tooth is a little *vihâra* which is also ornamented with every kind of precious stone. In it is a golden statue of Buddha; it was cast by a former king of the country, and is of the size of life. He afterwards ornamented the head-dress (the *ushṇisha*) with a precious gem.

In course of time there was a robber who formed the design to carry off the precious stone, but as it was guarded by a double door and a surrounding balustrade, the thief resolved to tunnel out an entrance underneath the obstacles, and so to enter the *vihâra* and take the jewel. Accordingly he did so, but on attempting to seize the gem, the figure gradually raised itself higher, and outreached the grasp of the thief. He, then, finding his efforts of no avail, in departing sighed out thus, "Formerly when Tathâgata was practising the life of a Bôdhisattva, he cherished in himself a great heart and vowed that for

[28] Si-lan-shan. *Shan* corresponds to *giri*, the name therefore would be Silangiri, reminding us of the *Sirenum scopuli* of Virgil, *Æn.* v. 864. It is evident that this name was given to Ceylon before the Portuguese arrived in India

[29] This has been already stated in the previous section. For an account of Buddha's tooth and the *vihâra*, see Beal's *Fahian*, p. 153, n. 1; *Eastern Monachism*, by Spence Hardy, pp. 224, 226.

[30] For Soli see *Marco Polo* (Yule), vol. ii. p. 272. The Chôḷas had just before this conquered the Pallavas.

[31] The rest of this passage will be found at the end of this book (xi.)

the sake of the four kinds of living things he would of his compassion give up everything, from his own life down to his country and its towns. But now the statue which stands in his place (*bequeathed*) grudges to give up the precious stone. His words, weighed against this, do not seem to illustrate his ancient conduct." On this the statue lowered its head and let him take the gem. The thief having got it, went to the merchants to sell it; on which they all exclaimed and said, "This is the gem which our former king placed on the head-dress of the golden statue of Buddha. Where have you got it from, that you want to sell it surreptitiously to us?" Then they took him to the king and stated the case. The king then asked him from whom he had procured the gem, on which the thief said, "Buddha himself gave it to me. I am no robber." The king not believing him, ordered a messenger to be sent immediately to ascertain the truth. On arriving he found the head of the statue still bent down. The king seeing the miracle, his heart was affected by a sincere and firm faith. He would not punish the man, but bought the gem again from him, and ornamented with it the head-dress of the statue. Because the head of the figure was thus bent on that occasion, it remains so until now.

By the side of the king's palace there is built a large kitchen, in which daily is measured out food for eight thousand priests. The meal-time having come, the priests arrive with their *pâtras* to receive their allowance.[32] Having received and eaten it, they return, all of them, to their several abodes. Ever since the teaching of Buddha reached this country, the king has established this charity, and his successors have continued it down to our times. But during the last ten years or so the country has been in confusion, and there has been no established ruler to attend to this business.

[32] Fa-hian also alludes to this charitable mode of feeding the priests, p. 155, *op. cit.*

In a bay on the coast of the country the land is rich in gems and precious stones.[33] The king himself goes (*there*) to perform religious services, on which the spirits present him with rare and valuable objects. The inhabitants of the capital come, seeking to share in the gain, and invoke the spirits for that purpose. What they obtain is different according to their religious merit. They pay a tax on the pearls they find, according to their quantity.

On the south-east corner of the country is Mount Laṅkâ.[34] Its high crags and deep valleys are occupied by spirits that come and go; it was here that Tathâgata formerly delivered the *Ling-kia-king* (*Laṅka Sûtra* or *Laṅkâvatâra*).[35]

Passing seawards to the south of this country some

[33] Marco Polo (cap. xvi.) alludes to the pearl-fisheries off the west coast of Ceylon. He mentions Bettelar as the place of rendezvous. Colonel Yule thinks that this is Putlam, the Pattâla of Ibu Batuta. With reference to the account given by Marco Polo of the fishery, it is curious how, in all its particulars (except that of the charmers) it agrees with the arrangements of the pearl-fishery at La Paz, on the coast of Lower California. I have visited that fishery, and inquired into its management. The merchants fit out the boats and pay the gangs of divers (*armadores*); the shells are brought up in the same way as described by Marco Polo. The heap each day is divided into three parts — one for the State (estado), one for the Church (The Virgin), one for the chief merchant (armador), or sometimes, when the divers do not receive pay, they have a proportion of the last heap for themselves. The sharks which abound at La Paz can be seen swimming in the neighbourhood (so clear is the water under a cloudless and rainless sky), but the divers fear only one kind, which they call the *Tintero* (*the tiger shark*). They dive just as Marco Polo describes, and I may add that I never found one of them (experts though they were) remain down more than 58 seconds.

[34] Laṅkâ is sometimes spoken of as a city, sometimes as a mountain, and at other times applied to the whole island. Moreover, it is sometimes distinguished from Ceylon, and described as on the same meridian as Ujjayinî. The mountain is spoken of as three-peaked (*trikûṭa*) in the *Râmâyaṇa*. It was the abode of Râvaṇa.

[35] The *Laṅkâvatâra Sûtra* or the *Saddharma Laṅkâvatâra Sûtra* belongs to the later development and is of a mystical character. It refers everything to "the heart," which is simply the all-pervading *âtman*. There are three translations of the *sûtra* in China; see B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, 175, 176, 177. The title of 176, the "entering-Laṅkâ-sûtra," would almost justify us in considering this *sûtra* as belonging to Vaishnavism. Bodhidharma, who arrived in China, A.D. 526, from South India, attached his faith to the teaching of this *sûtra*; it was therefore composed before his time. The earliest translation in China (No. 175) dates from A.D. 443, but this is

thousands of li, we arrive at the island of Narakira (Na-lo-ki-lo). The people of this island[36] are small of stature, about three feet high; their bodies are those of men, but they have the beaks of birds; they grow no grain, but live only on cocoa-nuts.

Crossing the sea westward from this island several thousands of li, on the eastern cliff of a solitary island is a stone figure of Buddha more than 100 feet high. It is sitting facing the east. In the head-ornament (*ushṇîsha*) is a stone called *Yueh-ngai-chu* (Chandrakânta). When the moon begins to wane, water immediately runs down from this in a stream along the sides of the mountain, and along the ravines of the precipices.[37]

At one time there was a band of merchants who were driven by the winds and waves during a storm, till they reached this solitary island. The sea-water being salt, they were unable to drink it, and were parched with thirst for a long time. But now on the fifteenth day, when the moon was full, from the head of the image water began to trickle forth, and they obtained deliverance. They all thought that a miracle had been wrought, and were affected with a profound faith; they

incomplete; the next (No. 176) dates from A.D. 513; the third from A.D. 700. The following quotation from Csoma Korösi is found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 356. "The second treatise or *sûtra* in the fifth volume of the *Mdo* is entitled in Sanskrit *Ârya Laṅkâvatâra mahâyâna Sûtra*, a venerable *sûtra* of high principles (or speculation) on the visiting of Lankâ. This was delivered at the request of the lord of Lankâ by Shákya, when he was in the city of Lanâkâ on the top of the Malaya mountain, on the seashore, together with many priests and Bôdhisattvas." It is stated by Hodgson that the *Laṅkâvatâra* is regarded in Nepal as the fourth *dharma*; "it consists of 3000 slocas, and states that Râvaṇa, lord of Lankâ, having gone to the Malayagiri mountain, there heard the history of the Buddhas from Śakya Sinha, and obtained Boddhynàna" (*ibid.*) Laṅkâgiri, then, is probably the same as Mount Potaraka spoken of at the end of the tenth book.

[36] Perhaps the Maldive Islands; but see Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii. 249. Nârikera means *cocoa-nut*.

[37] Julien translates, "when the moon is about to reflect its light from this jewel (*d'y reflichir sa lumière*);" but the literal rendering is, "when the moon is about to turn back its light," that is, "to wane."

determined then to delay on the island. Some days having elapsed, as soon as the moon began to be hidden behind the high steeps, the water did not flow out. Then the merchant-chief said, "It cannot have been specially on our account that the water ran down. I have heard that there is a pearl 'loved by the moon,' when the moon's rays shine full on it, then the water begins to flow from it. The gem on the top of the statue of Buddha must be one of this sort." Then having climbed the mountain to examine the case, they saw that it was a Chandrakânta pearl in the head-ornament of the figure. This is the origin of the story as it was told by those men.

Crossing the sea many thousand li to the west of this country, we come to a large island renowned for its precious stones (*or* Mahâratnadvîpa); it is not inhabited, except by spirits. Seen from a distance on a calm night, a light seems to shine from mountains and valleys. Merchants going there are much surprised to find nothing can be procured.

Leaving the country of Ta-lo-pi-ch'a (Drâviḍa) and travelling northwards,[38] we enter a forest wild, in which are a succession of deserted towns, or rather little villages.[39] Brigands, in concert together, wound and capture (or delay) travellers. After going 2000 li or so we come to Kong-kin-na-pu-lo (Koṅkanâpura).[40]

KONG-KIN-NA-PU-LO (KOṄKANÂPURA).

This country is about 5000 li in circuit. The capital is

[38] Both General Cunningham and Mr. Fergusson give the direction north-west. This is a mistake (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 552; *J. R. A. S.*, vi. 266); but Hwui-lih has north-west. He moreover says that the pilgrim *returned* to the north-west. If we adopt the reading *north*, then the route would be a return one. The origin, as it seems, of the error in direction must be traced to M. V. de St. Martin (*Mémoire*, p. 400), who seems to adopt Hwui-lih's text as his guide.

[39] The passage may also be translated "passing through (or by) a deserted town and many little villages."

[40] Hwui-lih gives Kin-na-pu-lo, although in Julien we find Kong-kin-na-pu-lo. It may be an error in the text. In the passage before us

3000 li or so round. The land is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated, and produces large crops. The climate is hot; the disposition of the people ardent and quick. Their complexion is black, and their manners fierce and uncultivated. They love learning, and esteem virtue and talent. There are about 100 *saṅghârâmas*, with some 10,000 priests (*followers*). They study both the Great and the Little Vehicle. They also highly reverence the Dêvas, and there are several hundred temples in which many sectaries dwell together.

By the side of the royal palace is a great *saṅghârâma* with some 300 priests, who are all men of distinction. This convent has a great *vihâra*, a hundred feet and more in height. In it is a precious tiara belonging to Sarvârthasiddha (Yih-tsai-i-sh'ing) the prince. It is somewhat less than two feet in height, and is ornamented with gems and precious stones. It is kept in a jewelled casket. On fast-days it is brought out and placed on a high throne. They offer to it flowers and incense, on which occasions it is lit up with radiance.

By the side of the city is a great *saṅghârâma* in which is a *vihâra* about 50 feet high. In this is a figure of Maitrêya Bôdhisattva carved out of sandal-wood. It is about ten feet high. This also on fast-days reflects a bright light. It is the work of the Arhat Wen-'rh-pih-i (Śrutaviṁśatikôṭi).[41]

the country is Kong-kin-na-pu-lo, which is restored by Julien to Koṅkaṇâpura. It is stated that this country is in Southern India. There is no agreement as to the site of the capital. V. de St. Martin takes the pilgrim north-west to Vânavâsi (*Mémoire*, p. 401). General Cunningham thinks that Anagundi on the northern bank of the Tûṅgabhadrâ river is the place indicated (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 552), whilst Mr. Fergusson would take the pilgrim from Nagapaṭṭaṇ to the centre of the Maisûr plateau somewhere east of Bednore (*J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 267). Assuming, however, that his route was north, and that he was returning towards the neighbourhood of Chânda, we should have to look for the capital of Kong-kin-na near Golkonda.

41 For some reference to this person see *ante*, p. 187, n. 3. It seems likely that the allusion in the text is to Soṇa Kutikaṇṇa, as he was a disciple of Kâtyâyana, who dwelt in Southern India (*S. B. E.*, xvii. p. 32).

To the north of the city not far is a forest of *Tâla* trees about 30 li round. The leaves (*of this tree*) are long and broad, their colour shining and glistening. In all the countries of India these leaves are everywhere used for writing on. In the forest is a *stûpa*. Here the four former Buddhas sat down and walked for exercise, and traces of them still remain. Beside this is a *stûpa* containing the bequeathed relics of the Arhat Śrutaviṁśatikôti.

Not far to the east of the city is a *stûpa* which has sunk down into the ground from its foundations, but is still about thirty feet high. The old tradition says, In this *stûpa* is a relic of Tathâgata, and on religious days (*holy days*) it exhibits a miraculous light. In old days, when Tathâgata was in the world, he preached in this place, and exhibited his miraculous powers and converted a multitude of men.

Not far to the south-west of the city is a *stûpa* about a hundred feet high, which was built by Aśôka-râja. Here the Arhat Śrutaviṁśatikôṭi exhibited great miraculous powers and converted a great many people. By the side of it is a *saṅghârâma*, of which only the foundations remain. This was built by the fore-named Arhat.

From this going north-west, we enter a great forest wild, where savage beasts and bands of robbers inflict injury on travellers. Going thus 2400 or 2500 li, we come to the country of Mo-ho-la-ch'a (Mahârâshṭra).[42]

MO-HO-LA-CH'A (MAHÂRÂSHṬRA).

This country is about 5000 li in circuit. The capital[43] borders on the west on a great river. It is about 30 li

[42] "The great kingdom;" the country of the Marâṭhas.

[43] There have been various surmises as to the name of this capital. M. V. de St. Martin names Devagiri or Daulatâbâd, but this is not on a river. General Cunningham thinks Kalyâṇ or Kalyâṇî is the place intended, to the west of which flows the Kailâsâ river; but this is due south of Bharoch (the next station) instead of east. Mr. Fergusson names Toka, Phulthamba, or Paitan. However, the distance and direction from the capital of Koṅkaṇâpura is about 400 miles N.W. This seems to bring us near the river Tapti, or perhaps the Ghirṇâ river.

round. The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and very productive. The climate is hot; the disposition of the people is honest and simple; they are tall of stature, and of a stern, vindictive character. To their benefactors they are grateful; to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their life to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning; then, each being armed, they attack each other with lances (*spears*). When one turns to flee, the other pursues him, but they do not kill a man down (*a person who submits*). If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundred. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth they beat drums before them. Moreover, they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and, taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them.

The king, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Kshattriya caste, and his name is Pulakêśi (Pu-lo-ki-she). His plans and undertakings are wide-spread, and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time Śîlâditya[44] Mahârâja has conquered the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not

[44] That is, Śîlâditya of Kanauj (vol. i. p. 210 ss.)

submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops.

So much for their habits. The men are fond of learning, and study both heretical and orthodox (*books*). There are about 100 *saṅghârâmas*, with 5000 or so priests. They practise both the Great and Small Vehicle. There are about 100 Dêva temples, in which very many heretics of different persuasions dwell.

Within and without the capital are five *stûpas* to mark the spots where the four past Buddhas walked and sat. They were built by Aśôka-râja. There are, besides these, other *stûpas* made of brick or stone, so many that it would be difficult to name them all.

Not far to the south of the city is a *saṅghârâma* in which is a stone image of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhisattva. Its spiritual powers extend (*far and wide*), so that many of those who have secretly prayed to it have obtained their wishes.

On the eastern frontier of the country is a great mountain with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled-up rocks and scarped precipice. In this there is a *saṅghârâma* constructed, in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the (*or* open into the) face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley (*watercourse*).[45]

This convent was built by the Arhat Âchâra (O-che-lo).[46] This Arhat was a man of Western India. His

[45] This must refer to the famous Bauddha rock-temples at Ajaṇṭâ, in the Indhyâdri range of hills, cut in the lofty and almost perpendicular rocks that hem in a wild secluded glen. See Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, pp. 280–347; *Arch. Sur. West. Ind. Reports*, vol. iv. pp. 43–59.

[46] In the inscription on the Chaitya cave, No. xxvi., at Ajaṇṭâ, we read that "The ascetic Sthavira Achala, who glorified the faith and was grateful, caused to be built a mountain dwelling (*śailagṛiha*) for the Teacher, though his desires were fulfilled" (*Arch. Sur. West. Ind. Reports*, vol. iv. p. 135). This apparently decides the name of the Arhat mentioned here. But as the

mother having died, he looked to see in what condition she was re-born. He saw that she had received a woman's body in this kingdom. The Arhat accordingly came here with a view to convert her, according to her capabilities of receiving the truth. Having entered a village to beg food, he came to the house where his mother had been born. A young girl came forth with food to give him. At this moment the milk came from her breasts and trickled down. Her friends having seen this considered it an unlucky sign, but the Arhat recounted the history of her birth. The girl thus attained the holy fruit (*of Arhatship*). The Arhat, moved with gratitude[47] for her who had borne and cherished him, and remembering the end of such (*good*) works, from a desire to requite her, built this *saṅghârâma*. The great *vihâra* of the convent is about 100 feet or so in height; in the middle is a stone figure of Buddha about 70 feet or so high. Above it is a stone canopy of seven stages, towering upwards apparently without support. The space between each canopy[48] is about three feet. According to the old report, this is held in its place by the force of the vow of the Arhat. They also say it is by the force of his miraculous powers; others say by the virtue of some magical compound; but no trustworthy account has yet explained the reason of the wonder. On the four sides of the *vihâra*, on the stone walls, are painted[49] different scenes in the life of Tathâgata's preparatory life as a Bôdhisattva: the

Chinese translation of the name is *So hing* (he who does, or, the doer), we retain the equivalent Âchâra.

[47] Compare the words of the inscription given in the preceding note, "who glorified the faith and was grateful."

[48] See the drawings of Cave xix. and of the dâgaba in it, *Buddhist Cave Temples* (*Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Rep.*, vol. iv., pl. xxx., xxxi.; *Cave Temples*, pl. xxxvi., xxxvii. The measurements given "by report" are vastly exaggerated, as such matters very often are in India. But *possibly* there may have been a structural building against the face of the rock, with a dâgaba of larger dimensions, though by no means of the size indicated in the text. It is more probable, however, that the report is only an exaggerated account of the rock-cut chaityas. Hiuen Tsiang does not appear to have visited them personally.

[49] In mosaic, "carved and inlaid" (*teou low*).

wondrous signs of good fortune which attended his acquirement of the holy fruit (*of a Buddha*), and the spiritual manifestations accompanying his *Nirvâṇa.* These scenes have been cut out with the greatest accuracy and fineness.[50] On the outside of the gate of the *saṅghârâma,* on the north and south side, at the right hand and the left, there is a stone elephant.[51] The common report says that sometimes these elephants utter a great cry and the earth shakes throughout. In old days Jina (*or* Channa) Bôdhisattva[52] often stopped in this *saṅghârâma.*

Going from this 1000 li or so to the west,[53] and crossing the Nai-mo-to (Narmadâ) river, we arrive at the kingdom of Po-lu-kie-che-po (Bharukachheva; Barygaza or Bharôch).[54]

PO-LU-KIE-CH'E-P'O (BHARUKACHHA).

This kingdom is 2400 or 2500 li in circuit. Its capital is 20 li round. The soil is impregnated with salt. Trees and shrubs are scarce and scattered. They boil the sea-water to get the salt, and their sole profit is from the sea. The climate is warm. The air is always agitated with gusts of wind. Their ways are cold and indifferent; the disposition of the people crooked and perverse. They do not cultivate study, and are wedded to error and true

50 This must refer to the famous Ajaṇṭá frescoes.

51 This seems to refer to two elephants in *alto riliero* that were sculptured on the rock in front of Cave xv., but which are now scarcely recognisable. See Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples,* p. 306.

52 *Jour. R. As. Soc.,* vol. xx. p. 208.

53 Hwui-lih gives north-west. M. Julien has translated it north-east, by mistake (*Vie,* &c., p. 203).

54 Bharôch appears in a Pâli inscription at Junnar (*Arch. Sur. West. Ind. Rep.,* vol. iv. p. 96) under the form Bhârukachha; in Sanskrit it is Bharukachchha (*Bṛih. Saṁh.,* v. 40, xiv. 11, xvi. 6; Vassilief, p. 45) and Bhṛigukachcha (*Bhâg. Pur.,* viii. 18, 21; *As. Res.,* vol. ix. p. 104; inscrip. in *J. Amer. Or. Soc.,* vol. vii. p. 33) or Bhṛigukshêtra—from the locality being the traditional residence of the sage Bhṛigurishi. The Bhârgava Brâhmaṇs of Bharôch are the representatives of an early colony of the school of Bhṛigu. Bhârukachha is represented by the Greek Βαρύγαζα ἐμπόριον of Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 62) and of the author of the *Periplus Mar. Eryth.* (s. 42, &c.); Strabo (lib. xv. c. 1, 73) has Βαργόση. See Lassen, *I. A.,* vol. i. pp. 113, 136. It was from Bharôch the Śramaṇa came who burnt himself at Athens.

doctrine alike. There are some ten *saṅghârâmas*, with about 300 believers. They adhere to the Great Vehicle and the Sthavira school. There are also about ten Dêva temples, in which sectaries of various kinds congregate.

Going from this[55] north-west about 2000 li, we come to the country of Mo-la-po (Mâlava).[56]

Mo-la-p'o (Mâlava).

This country is about 6000 li in circuit. The capital is some 30 li round. It is defended (*or* supported) by the Mahî river on the south and east.[57] The soil is rich and fertile, and produces abundant harvests. Shrubs and trees are numerous and flourishing. Flowers and fruit are met with in great quantities. The soil is suitable in an especial manner for winter wheat. They mostly eat biscuits and (*or*, made of) parched corn-flour. The disposition of the men is virtuous and docile, and they are in general of remarkable intelligence. Their language is elegant and clear, and their learning is wide and profound.

Two countries in India, on the borders, are remarkable for the great learning of the people, viz., Mâlava on the south-west, and Magadha on the north-east. In this they esteem virtue and respect politeness (*humanity*). They are of an intelligent mind and exceedingly studious; nevertheless the men of this country are given to heretical

[55] The geography of this part of the pilgrim's route is involved in obscurities. I can only therefore offer some remarks on the text. In Hwui-lih the symbol used is *chi*, not *hing*, from which it might have been gathered that Hiuen Tsiang did not himself visit this country, or at least on this occasion. But in the text the symbol *hing* is used, so that no weight can be given to this supposition.

[56] If this country be Mâlava, it lies north-east from Barôch. But, on the other hand, it does not follow that the route was a direct one. The pilgrim and his companions from Ceylon may have travelled east towards the head waters of the Mahî river, and then north-west. It is said in a note to be the same as the southern *Lo-lo* (Lâra) country.

[57] The symbol *ku* implies that the capital was "held by" (either defended or supported by) the Mahî river on the south-east, or on the south and east. This would seem to take us to the neighbourhood of Dongarpúr (*Elphinstone's map*). Cunningham considers Dhâranagara to be intended, in which V. de St. Martin agrees.

belief as well as the true faith, and so live together. There are about 100 *saṅghârâmas* in which some 2000 priests dwell.[58] They study the Little Vehicle, and belong to the Sammatîya school. There are 100 Dêva temples of different kinds. The heretics are very numerous, but principally the Pâśupatas (*the cinder-covering heretics*).

The records of the country state: Sixty years before this[59] flourished Śîlâditya, a man of eminent wisdom and great learning; his skill in literature was profound. He cherished and protected the four kinds of creatures,[60] and deeply respected the three treasures.[61] From the time of his birth to his last hour, his face never crimsoned with anger, nor did his hands ever injure a living thing. His elephants and horses drank water that had been strained, after which he gave it them, lest any creature living in the water should be injured. Such were his love and humanity. During the fifty years and more of his reign, the wild beasts became familiar with men, and the people did not injure or slay them. By the side of his palace he built a *vihâra*. He exhausted the skill of the artists, and used every kind of ornament in decorating it. In it he put images of the seven Buddhas,[62] Lords of the World. Every year he convoked an assembly called *Môksha mahâparishad*, and summoned the priests of the four quarters. He offered them "the four things" in religious charity; he also gave them sets of three garments used in their religious services, and also bestowed on them the seven precious substances and jewels in wonderful variety. This meri-

[58] This can hardly refer to Ujjain, therefore, because we are told subsequently that the convents there were in ruins, and only about 300 priests in them. It is curious, however, that the circuit of this capital, thirty li (Julien has *twenty* li, by mistake), and that of Ujjain are the same.

[59] See *ante*, book ii. note 91.

[60] Viviparous, oviparous, born from spawn, or by transformation (*fă*) [*water-insects*, and so on].

[61] Buddha, dharma, saṅgha.

[62] For the seven Buddhas consult Eitel, *Handbook*, s. v. *Sapta Buddha*.

torious custom has continued in practice without interruption till now.

To the north-west of the capital about 200 li, we come to the town of the Brâhmaṇs.[63] By the side of it is a hollow ditch; into this the winter and summer streams flow continually, but though through decades of days the water runs into the hollow, yet it never seems to increase in quantity. By the side of it again is a little *stûpa*. The old traditions of the country say: Formerly a Brâhmaṇ of an exceedingly haughty mind[64] fell alive into this pit and went down to hell. In old days there was a Brâhmaṇ born in this town, who was acquainted with all things, and of learning beyond all the eminent men of his time. He had penetrated the secrets and dark sayings of books sacred and profane. He was acquainted with the calculations of astronomy as if they were in his hand; his fame was wide-spread and his behaviour without blemish. The king very highly esteemed him, and the people of the country made much of him. He had some 1000 disciples, who appreciated his doctrine and respected his character. He constantly said of himself, "I am come into the world for the purpose of publishing abroad the holy doctrine and to guide the people. Among the former sages, or those who have arrived at wisdom after them, there is none to compare with me. Mahêśvaradêva, Vâsudêva, Nârâyaṇadêva, Buddha-lôkanâtha, men everywhere worship these, and publish abroad their doctrine, represent them in their effigies, and pay them worship and honour. But now I am greater than they in character, and my fame exceeds that of all living. Why should they then be so notorious, for they have done no wonderful thing."

[63] This may be Brâhmaṇapura; there is a city of the Brâhmans named by Arrian (*Exped. Alex.*, vi. 7) and by Diodorus, called by him Harmatelia (vii. 465). See also Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, pp. 267, 268. But the town named in the text cannot be near Harmatelia.

[64] Or it may be a proper name, "the great-proud Brâhmaṇ."

Accordingly, he made out of red sandal-wood figures of Mahêśvaradêva, Vâsudêva, Nârâyaṇadêva, Buddhalôkanâtha, and placed them as feet to his chair, and wherever he went as a rule he took this chair with him, showing his pride and self-conceit.

Now at this time there was in Western India a Bhikshu, Bhadraruchi (Po-to-lo-liu-chi) by name; he had thoroughly exhausted the *Hêtuvidyâ* (*Śâstra*) and deeply investigated the sense of different discourses (*treatises*).[65] He was of excellent repute, and the perfume of his exceeding goodness (*morality*) spread in every direction. He had few desires and was contented with his lot, seeking nothing in the world. Hearing (*of the Brâhmaṇ*) he sighed and said, "Alas! how sad. This age (*time*) has no (*one worthy to be called a*) man; and so it permits that foolish master to dare to act as he does in defiance of virtue."

On this, he took his staff, and travelling afar, he came to this country. Whilst dwelling therein his mind was made up and he acquainted the king with it. The king, seeing his dirty clothes, conceived no reverence for him; but, in consideration of his high purpose, he forced himself to give him honour (*to treat him with respect*), and so he arranged the chair of discussion and called the Brâhmaṇ. The Brâhmaṇ hearing it smiled and said, "What man is this who has dared to conceive such an idea (*to cherish this determination*)."

His disciples having come together, and many (*hundred*) thousands of listeners being arranged before and behind the discussion-arena to attend as hearers, then Bhadraruchi, with his ancient robes and tattered clothes, arranging some grass on the ground, sat down. Then the Brâhmaṇ, sitting on his chair which he carried with him, began to revile the true law and to praise the teaching of the heretical schools.

The Bhikshu, with a clear distinction, like the running

[65] Or, it may possibly be, "different systems."

of water, encircled his arguments in order. Then the Brâhmaṇ after a while yielded, and confessed himself conquered.

The king replying said, "For a long time you have assumed a false reputation; you have deceived the sovereign and affected the multitude with delusion. Our old rescripts say, 'He who is defeated in discussion ought to suffer death.'" Then he prepared to have a heated plate of iron to make him sit thereon; the Brâhmaṇ thereupon, overpowered by fear, fell down to entreat pardon (*deliverance*).

Then Bhadraruchi, pitying the Brâhmaṇ, came and requested the king, saying, "Mahârâja! your virtue extends far and wide; the sound of your praises resounds through the public ways. Then let your goodness extend even to protect this man: give not way to a cruel design. Pass over his want of success and let him go his way." Then the king ordered him to be placed on an ass and to be proclaimed through all the towns and villages (*as an impostor*).

The Brâhmaṇ, nettled by his defeat, was so affected that he vomited blood. The Bhikshu having heard of it, went to condole with him, and said, "Your learning embraces subjects religious and profane; your renown is spread through all parts; in questions of distinction, or the contrary, success or defeat must be borne; but after all, what is there of reality in fame?" The Brâhmaṇ, filled with rage, roundly abused the Bhikshu, calumniated the system of the Great Vehicle, and treated with contumely the holy ones who had gone before; but the sound of his words had scarcely been lost before the earth opened and swallowed him up alive; and this is the origin of the traces still left in the ditch.

Going south-west we come to a bay of the sea,[66] then

[66] Literally, the passage runs, "From this, south-west, we enter a sea-blending, or a confluence of two seas." I have translated it "bay," because it is sometimes used so; it probably refers to the gulf of Kachh. Hwui-lih does not mention this gulf, but takes us away from the

going 2400 or 2500 li north-west we come to the kingdom of 'O-ch'a-li (Aṭali).

'O-CH'A-LI (AṬALI).[67]

This country is about 6000 li in circuit; the capital of the country is about 20 li or so in circnit. The population is dense; the quality of gems and precious substances stored up is very great; the produce of the land is sufficient for all purposes, yet commerce is their principal occupation. The soil is salt and sandy, the fruits and flowers are not plentiful. The country produces the *hu-tsian* tree. The leaves of this tree are like those of the Sz'chuen pepper (*Shuh tsiau*); it also produces the *hiun-lu* perfume tree, the leaf of which is like the *thang-li*.[68] The climate is warm, windy, and dusty. The disposition of the people is cold and indifferent. They esteem riches and despise virtue. Respecting their letters, language, and the manners and figures of the people, these are much the same as in the country of Mâlava. The greater part of the people have no faith in the virtue of religious merit; as to those who do believe, they worship principally the spirits of heaven, and their temples are some thousand in number, in which sectaries of different characters congregate.

Going north-west from the country of Mâlava, after passing over 300 li[69] or so, we come to the country of K'ie-ch'a (Kachha).

"city of the Brâhmaṇs" the same distance as in the text to 'O-ch'a-li.

[67] 'O-ch'a-li appears to be far north of Kachh. May it not have been Uchh or Bâhwalpur? There is a town called Aṭâri in the neighbourhood of Multân (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 228); but it is difficult to know what could have taken the pilgrim there. This place is identified by Cunningham with the city of the Brâhmans, taken by Alexander the Great (*l. c.*)

[68] Can this be the *Sâlai* from which *Kimdura*, Gujarâti *Kindru* or *Sâlainodhûpa*, Indian gum, olibanum, is obtained? This tree (*Boswellia thurifera*, *serrata* and *glabra*) is found in Oudh, Khandês, and Kâthiâwâḍ. *Guggula* (bdellium), the gum resin of *Balsamodenron roxburghii*, *pubescens*, and *mukul*, is also produced in Kachh and Sindh.

[69] In Hwui-lih, the distance is "three days'" journey.

K'IE-CH'A (KACHHA).[70]

This country is 3000 li or so in circuit, the capital about 20 li. The population is dense. The establishments wealthy. There is no king (*great ruler*) amongst them; the country is an appanage of Mâlava, and the climate, products of the soil, and manners of the people are very similar in both countries. There are some ten *saṅghârâmas*, with about 1000 priests, who study alike the Great and the Little Vehicle. There are also several tens of Dêva temples with very many unbelievers (*sectaries*).

From this going north[71] 1000 li or so, we come to Fa-la-pi (Valabhî).

FA-LA-PI (VALABHÎ).

This country is 6000 li or so in circuit, the capital about 30. The character of the soil, the climate, and manners of the people are like those of the kingdom of Mâlava. The population is very dense; the establishments rich. There are some hundred houses (*families*) or so, who possess a hundred lâkhs. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities. There are some hundred *saṅghârâmas*, with about 6000 priests. Most of them study the Little Vehicle,[72] according to the Sammatîya school. There

[70] The distance is to be reckoned from the kingdom or country of Mâlava, but the place is not named. General Cunningham proposes to read 1300 li from Dhâr to Khêḍa; this last place is a large town of Gujarât, situated between Ahmadâbâd and Khambay, and would be in its Sanskrit form the same as Kheḍa, which again is the equivalent of the Chinese Kie-ch'a. But Kie-ch'a, although it might be correctly restored to Kheḍa, is the name of a country. The distance, also, being "three days," in Hwui-lih, seems to confirm the 300 li in the text. We must therefore retain the restoration of Kachha.

[71] Although we should expect the direction to be south from Kachh, the reading is north, both in the text and in Hwui-lih; wherever the Valabhî of Hiuen Tsiang was situated, it is said to have been "the kingdom of the Northern Lâra (Lo-lo) people." (Note in the Chinese text).

[72] In a copper-plate deed of Guhasêna of Valabhî, he says, "In order to obtain for myself and my parents benefits in this life and the next, I have granted, by liba-

are several hundred Dêva temples with very many sectaries of different sorts.

When Tathâgata lived in the world, he often travelled through this country. Hence Aśôka-râja raised monuments or built *stûpas* in all those places where Buddha rested. Scattered among these are spots where the three past Buddhas sat down, or walked, or preached the law. The present king is of the Kshattriya caste, as they all are. He is the nephew of Śilâditya-râja of Mâlava, and son-in-law of the son of Silâditya, the present king of Kanyâkubja. His name is Dhruvapaṭa (T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu).[73] He is of a lively and hasty disposition, his wisdom and statecraft are shallow. Quite recently he has attached himself sincerely to faith in the three "precious ones." Yearly he summons a great assembly, and for seven days gives away most valuable gems, exquisite meats, and on the priests he bestows in charity the three garments and medicaments, or their equivalent in value, and precious articles made of rare and costly gems of the seven sorts. Having given these in charity, he redeems them at twice their price. He esteems virtue (*or the virtuous*) and honours the good; he reverences those who are noted for their wisdom.[74] The great priests

tion of water, to the community of the reverend Śâkya Bhikshus belonging to the eighteen schools (*nikâyâ*) who have come from various directions to the great convent (*Mahâvihâra*) of Duḍḍâ." *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv. p. 175. This Duḍḍâ was the daughter of Dhruvasêna I's sister (*Ib.*, p. 106), and so a grand-daughter of Bhaṭârka, the founder of the Valabhî dynasty. In another copper-plate of Guhusêna, he makes a grant to "the foreign monks belonging to the eighteen schools, and living in the Abhyantarikâ vihâra built by the venerable Mimmâ, and situated close to the monastery of Bhaṭârka, presented to the Râjasthânîya Śura." *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v. p. 206; conf. Vassilief, *Le Bouddh.*, p. 63. *Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Reports*, vol. iii. p. 94. The "eighteen schools" here mentioned point to the Hînayâna doctrine.

[73] Dr. Buhler argues that this king was the same as Śilâditya VI., surnamed Dhrûbhaṭa, (which he supposes to stand for Dhruvabhaṭa, "the constant warrior"), of whom we have a grant dated "Saṁ. 447" (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. p. 80). General Cunningham adopts the same view (*A. S. Reports*, vol. ix. pp. 16, 18); but Burgess is disposed to regard this king as the Dhruvasêna II. of a Valabhî grant dated "Saṁ. 310" (*Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, vol. ii. pp. 82, ff.); and Oldenberg, as possibly Dhêrabhata, the cousin of Dhruvasêna II. (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. x. p. 219).

[74] Or, he reverences religion and makes much of wisdom.

who come from distant regions he particularly honours and respects.

Not far from the city is a great *saṅghârâma* which was built by the Arhat Âchâra ('O-che-lo);[75] here the Bôdhisattvas Guṇamati and Sthiramâti[76] (Kien-hwui) fixed their residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown.

From this going north-west 700 li or so, we come to 'O-nan-to-pu-lo (Ânandapura).

'O-NAN-TO-PU-LO (ANANDAPURA).

This country is about 2000 li in circuit, the capital about 20. The population is dense; the establishments rich. There is no chief ruler, but it is an appanage of Mâlava.[77] The produce, climate, and literature and laws are the same as those of Mâlava. There are some ten *saṅgharamas* with less than 1000 priests; they study the Little Vehicle of the Sammatiya school. There are several tens of Dêva temples, and sectaries of different kinds frequent them.

Going west from Valabhî 500 li or so, we come to the country of Su-la-ch'a (Surâshṭra).

SU-LA-CH'A (SURASHṬRA).[78]

This country is 4000 li or so in circuit, the capital

[75] This is confirmed by a grant of Dharasêna II. of Valabhî, in which the Sanskrit name of the founder is given as Atharya (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv. p. 164 n.; vol. vi. p. 9). Julien has Âchâra; the Chinese translation *so-hing* requires this restoration.

[76] Sthiramati Sthavira was one of the famous disciples of Vasubandhu, the twenty-first patriarch, who wrote commentaries on all the works of his master. He is named in a grant of Dharasêna I. as the Âchâryya Bhadanta Sthiramati, who founded the *vihâra* of Śrî Bappapâda at Valabhî (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi. p. 9; Vassilief, p. 78; M. Muller's *India*, p. 305; B. Nanjio's *Cat. Budd. Trip.*, c. 372). Guṇamati was also a disciple of Vasubandhu. He had a famous disciple, Vasumitra (Pho-shu-mi), who wrote a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakôshai* (Bunyiu Nanjio's *Cat. Bud. Trip.*, cc. 375, 377; M. Muller, *India*, pp. 305, 309, 310, 632; Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 505; Vassilief, p. 78).

[77] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii.; *Ar. Sur. W. Ind.*, vol. ii. p. 83.

[78] Surâshṭra, or Surâṭha, or Soraṭh. As this district is in the Gujarât peninsula, it is difficult to under-

about 30 li. On the west the chief town borders on the Mahî river; the population is dense, and the various establishments (*families*) are rich. The country is dependent on Valabhî. The soil is impregnated with salt; flowers and fruit are rare. Although the climate is equable, yet there is no cessation of tempests. The manners of the people are careless and indifferent; their disposition light and frivolous. They do not love learning and are attached both to the true faith and also to heretical doctrine. There are some fifty *saṅghârâmas* in this kingdom, with about 3000 priests; they mostly belong to the Sthavira school of the Great Vehicle. There are a hundred or so Dêva temples, occupied by sectaries of various sorts. As this country is on the western sea route, the men all derive their livelihood from the sea and engage in commerce and exchange of commodities.

Not far from the city is a mountain called Yuh-chen-to (Ujjanta),[79] on the top of which is a *saṅghârâma*. The cells and galleries have mostly been excavated from the mountain-side. The mountain is covered with thick jungle and forest trees, whilst streams flow round its limits. Here saints and sages roam and rest, and Rĭshis endued with spiritual faculties congregate here and stay.

Going north from the country of Valabhî 1800 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo (Gurjjara).

KIU-CHE-LO (GURJJARA).

This country[80] is 5000 li or so in circuit, the capital,

stand how its chief town "on the west" borders on the Mahî river; perhaps it should be "on the east." But this part of the pilgrim's narrative seems to be carelessly written. Perhaps, as Fergusson supposes, the original documents had been lost in crossing the Indus at Attok (see Book xii.), and the details supplied from memory or notes. For remarks on localities see V. de St. Martin, *Mémoire*, p. 405; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 325.

[79] The old Prâkṛit name of Girnâra, close to Junâgaḍh in Kâthiâwâḍ; the Sanskrit form is Ujjayanta (*Mahâbh.*, iii. 8347 ff.) Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 686 n.) misplaces it at or near Ajaṇṭâ. It is sacred to Nêminâtha, the twenty-second Jina, and Urjayata (Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 212; *Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Rep.*, vol. ii. p. 129), and is also called Raivata.

[80] Prof. R. G. Bhâṇḍarkar suggests that Kukura, a district men-

which is called Pi-lo-mo-lo,[81] is 30 li or so round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people resemble those of Surâshṭra. The population is dense; the establishments are rich and well supplied with materials (*wealth*). They mostly are unbelievers; a few are attached to the law of Buddha. There is one *saṅghârâma,* with about a hundred priests; they are attached to the teaching of the Little Vehicle and the school of the Sarvâstivâdas. There are several tens of Dêva temples, in which sectaries of various denominations dwell. The king is of the Kshattriya caste. He is just twenty years old; he is distinguished for wisdom, and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha; and highly honours men of distinguished ability.

From this going south-east 2800 li or so, we come to the country of U-she-yen-na (Ujjayanî).

U-SHE-YEN-NA (UJJAYANÎ).

This country[82] is about 6000 li in circuit; the capital is some 30 li round. The produce and manners of the people are like those of the country of Surâshṭra. The population is dense and the establishments wealthy. There are several tens of convents, but they are mostly in ruins; some three or five are preserved. There are some 300 priests; they study the doctrines both of the Great and the Little Vehicle. There are several tens of Dêva temples, occupied by sectaries of various kinds.

tioned in an inscription of Pulumâyi at Nâsik, and in the Rudradâman inscription at Girnâra, might be Kiu-che-lo, but the Chinese syllables are against such an identification (*Trans. Int. Cong. Orient.*, 1874, p. 312; *Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Rep.*, vol. iv. p. 109, and vol. ii. pp. 129, 131. Gurjara is certainly the proper representative, and the district as well as the language extended into the southern parts of modern Râjputâna and Mâlwâ. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 136; Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 31 n.; *Râjataraṅg.*, v. 144 ff.

[81] Bâlmêr in Râjputâna (lat. 25° 48′ N., long. 71° 16′ E.) From this neighbourhood several of the clans in Kâthiâwâḍ say they originally came.

[82] Ujjayanî or Ujjayinî is properly the capital of Avanti in Mâlava, the capital of Tiastanes (Chashtana), the Ὀζήνη of Ptolemy lib. vii. c. i. 63) and the *Peripl. Mar. Æryth.* (c. xlviii.) Bohlen, *Alte Ind.*, vol. i. p. 94.

The king belongs to the Brâhmaṇ caste. He is well versed in heretical books, and believes not in the true law.

Not far from the city is a *stûpa;* this is the place where Aśôka-râja made the hell (*of punishment*).

Going north-east from this 1000 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Chi-ki-to.

CHI-KI-TO.

This country is about 4000 li in circuit; the capital is some 15 or 16 li round. The soil is celebrated for its fertility; it is regularly cultivated and yields abundant crops; it is specially adapted for beans and barley; it produces abundance of flowers and fruits. The climate is temperate; the people are naturally virtuous and docile; most of them believe in heretical doctrine, a few honour the law of Buddha. There are several tens of *saṅghârâmas* with few priests. There are about ten Dêva temples, which some thousand followers frequent. The king is of the Brâhmaṇ caste. He firmly believes in the (three) precious ones; he honours and rewards those who are distinguished for virtue. Very many learned men from distant countries congregate in this place.

Going from here north 900 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Mo-hi-shi-fa-lo-pu-lo (Mahêśvarapura).

MO-HI-SHI-FA-LO-PU-LO (MAHÊŚVARAPURA).

This kingdom is about 3000 li in circuit; the capital city is some 30 li round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people are like those of the kingdom of Ujjayanî. They greatly esteem the heretics and do not reverence the law of Buddha. There are several tens of Dêva temples, and the sectaries principally belong to the Pâśupatas. The king is of the Brâhmaṇ caste; he places but little faith in the doctrine of Buddha.

From this, going in a backward direction to the country of Kiu-che-lo (Gurjjara) and then proceeding northward

through wild deserts and dangerous defiles about 1900 li, crossing the great river Sin-tu, we come to the kingdom of Sin-tu (Sindh).

SIN-TU (SINDH).

This country is about 7000 li in circuit; the capital city, called P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo,[83] is about 30 li round. The soil is favourable for the growth of cereals and produces abundance of wheat and millet. It also abounds in gold and silver and native copper. It is suitable for the breeding of oxen, sheep, camels, mules, and other kinds of beasts. The camels are small in size and have only one hump. They find here a great quantity of salt, which is red like cinnabar; also white salt, black salt and rock salt. In different places, both far and near, this salt is used for medicine. The disposition of the men is hard and impulsive; but they are honest and upright. They quarrel and are much given to contradiction. They study without aiming to excel; they have faith in the law of Buddha. There are several hundred *saṅghârâmas*, occupied by about 10,000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatîya school. As a rule, they are indolent and given to indulgence and debauchery. Those who are very earnest as followers of the virtue of the sages live alone in desert places, dwelling far off in the mountains and the forests. There night and day they exert themselves in aiming after the acquirement of the holy fruit (*of Arhatship*). There are about thirty Dêva temples, in which sectaries of various kinds congregate.

The king is of the Śûdra (Shu-t'o-lo) caste. He is by nature honest and sincere, and he reverences the law of Buddha.

When Tathâgata was in the world, he frequently passed through this country, therefore Aśôka-râja has founded several tens of *stûpas* in places where the sacred traces of

[83] Vichavapura—Julien. Reinaud suggests Vasmapura or Balmapura and Minagara. See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. viii. p. 336 f.

his presence were found. Upagupta,[84] the great Arhat, sojourned very frequently in this kingdom, explaining the law and convincing and guiding men. The places where he stopped and the traces he left are all commemorated by the building of *saṅghârâmas* or the erection of *stûpas.* These buildings are seen everywhere; we can only speak of them briefly.

By the side of the river Sindh, along the flat marshy lowlands for some thousand li, there are several hundreds of thousands (*a very great many*) of families settled. They are of an unfeeling and hasty temper, and are given to bloodshed only. They give themselves exclusively to tending cattle, and from this derive their livelihood. They have no masters, and, whether men or women, have neither rich nor poor; they shave their heads and wear the *Kashâya* robes of Bhikshus, whom they resemble outwardly, whilst they engage themselves in the ordinary affairs of lay life. They hold to their narrow (*little*) views and attack the Great Vehicle.

The old reports state that formerly these people were extremely hasty (*impatient*), and only practised violence and cruelty. At this time there was an Arhat, who, pitying their perversity, and desiring to convert them, mounted in the air and came amongst them. He exhibited his miraculous powers and displayed his wonderful capabilities. Thus he led the people to believe and accept the doctrine, and gradually he taught them in words; all of them joyfully accepted his teaching and respectfully prayed him to direct them in their religious life. The Arhat perceiving that the hearts of the people had become submissive, delivered to them the three "Refuges" and restrained their cruel tendencies; they entirely gave up "taking life," they shaved their heads, and assumed the soiled robes of a Bhikshu, and obediently walked according to the doctrine of religion. Since then, generations have passed by and the changed times have weakened

[84] Bk. viii.; Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 118, 197, 378 f.

their virtue, but as for the rest, they retain their old customs. But though they wear the robes of religion, they live without any moral rules, and their sons and grandsons continue to live as worldly people, without any regard to their religious profession.

Going from this eastward 900 li or so, crossing the Sindh river and proceeding along the eastern bank, we come to the kingdom of Mu-lo-san-p'u-lu.

MU-LO-SAN-P'U-LU (MÛLASTHÂNAPURA).

This country[85] is about 4000 li in circuit; the capital town is some 30 li round. It is thickly populated. The establishments are wealthy. This country is in dependence on the kingdom of Chêka (Tse-kia). The soil is rich and fertile. The climate is soft and agreeable; the manners of the people are simple and honest; they love learning and honour the virtuous. The greater part sacrifice to the spirits; few believe in the law of Buddha. There are about ten *saṅghârâmas*, mostly in ruins; there are a few priests, who study indeed, but without any wish to excel. There are eight Dêva temples, in which sectaries of various classes dwell. There is a temple dedicated to the sun,[86] very magnificent and profusely decorated. The image of the Sun-dêva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its divine insight is mysteriously manifested and its spiritual power made plain to all. Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to honour it. This custom has been continued from the very first. The kings and high families of the five Indies never fail to make their offerings of gems and precious stones (*to this Dêva*). They have founded a house of mercy (*happiness*), in which they provide food, and drink, and medicines for the poor and sick, affording succour and sustenance. Men from all

[85] Mûlasthânapur or Multân (see Reinaud, *Mém. s. l. Inde*, p. 98).

[86] Aditya or Sûrya.

countries come here to offer up their prayers; there are always some thousands doing so. On the four sides of the temple are tanks with flowering groves where one can wander about without restraint.

From this going north-east 700 li or so, we come to the country of Po-fa-to.

PO-FA-TO (PARVATA).[87]

This country is 5000 li or so in circuit, its capital is about 20 li. It is thickly populated, and depends on the country of Chêka (Tse-kia). A great deal of dry-ground rice is here grown. The soil is also fit for beans and wheat. The climate is temperate, the disposition of the people honest and upright. They are naturally quick and hasty; their language is low and common. They are well versed in composition and literature. There are heretics and believers in common. There are some ten *saṅghârâmas* with about 1000 priests; they study both the Great and Little Vehicle. There are four *stûpas* built by Aśôka-râja. There are also some twenty Dêva temples frequented by sectaries of different sorts.

By the side of the chief town is a great *saṅghârâma* with about 100 priests in it; they study the teaching of the Great Vehicle. It was here that Jinaputra, a master of *śâstras*,[88] composed the *Yôgâchâryabhûmi Śâstrakârikâ;* here also Bhadraruchi and Guṇaprabha, masters of *śâstras*, embraced the religious life. This great *saṅghârâma* has been destroyed by fire, and is now waste and ruined.

Leaving the Sindh country, and going south-west 1500 or 1600 li, we come to the kingdom of 'O-tin-p'o-chi-lo (Atyanabakêla).

[87] Parvata is given by Pâṇini (iv. 2, 143) as the name of a country in the Panjâb under the group Takshaśilâdi (iv. 3, 93). *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 22.

[88] Jinaputra, in Chinese Tsuï-shing-tszu; his work, the *Yü-chie sh'-ti-lun-shih*, is a commentary on the *Yôgâchâryabhûmi Śâstra* (*Yü-chie-sh'-ti-lun*) of Maitrêya. Both works were translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsiang.

'O-TIEN-P'O-CHI-LO.

This country is about 5000 li in circuit. The chief town is called Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo, and is about 30 li round. It lies on the river Sindh, and borders on the ocean. The houses are richly ornamented, and mostly possess rare and costly substances. Lately there has been no ruler; it is under the protection of Sindh. The soil is low and damp and the ground is impregnated with salt. It is covered with wild shrubs, and is mostly waste land: it is little cultivated, yet it produces some sorts of grain, but principally beans and wheat, of which there is a great quantity. The climate is rather cold and subject to violent storms of wind. It is fit for raising oxen, sheep, camels, asses, and other kinds of beasts. The disposition of the people is violent and hasty. They have no love for learning. Their language differs slightly from that of Mid-India. The people are generally honest and sincere. They deeply reverence the three precious objects of worship. There are about eighty *saṅghârâmas* with some 5000 priests. They mostly study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatîya school. There are ten Dêva temples, mostly occupied by heretics belonging to the Pâśupatas.

In the capital town is a temple of Ta-tsz'-tsai-tin (Mahê vara Dêva). The temple is ornamented with rich sculptures, and the image of the Dêva is possessed of great spiritual powers. The Pâśupata heretics dwell in this temple. In old days Tathâgata often travelled through this country to preach the law and convent men, leading the multitude and benefiting the people. On this account Aśôka-râja built *stûpas* on the spots consecrated by the sacred traces, six in number.

Going west from this less than 2000 li, we come to the country of Long-kie-lo (Laṅgala).

LONG-KIE-LO (LAṄGALA).

This country[89] is several thousand li from east to west and from north to south. The capital is about 30 li round. It is named Su-nu-li-chi-fa-lo (Sûnurîśvara?).[90] The soil is rich and fertile, and yields abundant harvests. The climate and the manners of the people are like those of 'O-tin-p'o-chi-lo. The population is dense. It possesses abundance of precious gems and stones. It borders on the ocean. It is on the route to the kingdom of the western women.[91] It has no chief ruler. The people occupy a long valley, and are not dependent on one another. They are under the government of Persia. The letters are much the same as those of India: their language is a little different. There are believers and heretics living together amongst them. There are some hundred *saṅghârâmas*, and perhaps 6000 priests, who study the teaching of both the Little and Great Vehicle. There are several hundred Dêva temples. The heretics called Pâśupatas are exceedingly numerous. In the city is a temple to Mahêśvara-Dêva: it is richly adorned and sculptured. The Pâśupata heretics here offer their religious worship.

From this going north-west, we come to the kingdom of Po-la-sse (Persia).

PO-LA-SSE (PERSIA).

This kingdom[92] is several myriad of lis in circuit. Its chief town, called Su-la-sa-t'ang-na (Surasthâna), is about 40 li in circuit. The valleys are extensive, and so the climate differs in character, but in general it is warm.

[89] General Cunningham thinks this country may represent Lâkorîân or Lakûra, the name of a great ruined city which Masson found between Khozdâr and Kilât, about 2000 li to the north-west of Koṭesar in Kachh (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 311). The Chinese symbols might be restored to Longhir.

[90] Cunningham suggests Sambhurisvara as the restoration of this name (*ibid.*, loc. cit.)

[91] See p. 240, *ante*.

[92] This country does not belong to India (*Ch. Ed.*) Hiuen Tsiang did not visit it personally; he writes from report.

They draw the water up to irrigate the fields. The people are rich and affluent. The country produces gold, silver, copper, rock-crystal (*sphâṭika*), rare pearls, and various precious substances. Their artists know how to weave fine brocaded silks, woollen stuffs, carpets, and so on. They have many *shen* horses and camels. In commerce they use large silver pieces. They are by nature violent and impulsive, and in their behaviour they practise neither decorum nor justice. Their writing and their language are different from other countries. They care not for learning, but give themselves entirely to works of art. All that they make the neighbouring countries value very much. Their marriage-customs are merely promiscuous intercourse. When dead their corpses are mostly abandoned. In stature they are tall: they tie up their hair (*arrange their head-dress*) and go uncovered. Their robes are either of skin, or wool, or felt, or figured silk. Each family is subject to a tax of four pieces of silver per man. The Dêva temples are very numerous. Dinava[93] (Ti-na-po) is principally worshipped by the heretics. There are two or three *saṅghârâmas*, with several hundred priests, who principally study the teaching of the Little Vehicle according to the Sarvâstavâdin school. The *pâtra* of Śâkya Buddha is in this (*country*), in the king's palace.[94]

On the eastern frontiers of the country is the town of Ho-mo (Ormus?). The city inside is not great, but the external walls are in circuit about 60 li or so. The people who inhabit it are all very rich. To the north-west this country borders on the kingdom of Fo-lin,[95]

[93] Julien restores this name, doubtfully, to Dinabha. Dinava, or Dinapa, however, may be a contraction for Dinapa(ti), "the lord of the day," or "the sun."

[94] For the wanderings of the *pâtra* of Buddha, see Fa-hian, chap. xxxix. It is interesting to know that there were Buddhist temples and a community of priests in Persia at the time of Hiuen Tsiang. As they belonged to the school of the Little Vehicle, it is probable they had been established there from an early date.

[95] Fo-lin (πόλιν) is generally supposed to represent the Byzantine Empire.

which resembles the kingdom of Persia in point of soil, and manners, and customs; but they differ in point of language and appearance of the inhabitants. These also possess a quantity of valuable gems, and are very rich.

To the south-west of Fo-lin, in an island of the sea, is the kingdom of the western women:[96] here there are only women, with no men; they possess a large quantity of gems and precious stones, which they exchange in Fo-lin. Therefore the king of Fo-lin sends certain men to live with them for a time. If they should have male children, they are not allowed to bring them up.

On leaving the kingdom of O-tin-p'o-chi-lo, and going north 700 li or so, we come to the country of Pi-to-shi-lo.

PI-TO-SHI-LO (PITÂŚILÂ).

This kingdom is about 3000 li round; the capital is some 20 li in circuit. The population is dense. They have no chief ruler, but they depend on the country of Sin-tu. The soil is salt and sandy; the country is subject to a cold tempestuous wind. A great quantity of beans and wheat is grown. Flowers and fruits are scarce. The manners of the people are fierce and rough. Their language slightly differs from that of Mid-India. They do not love learning, but as far as they know they have a sincere faith. There are some fifty *saṅghârâmas* with about 3000 priests; they study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatîya school. There are twenty Dêva temples, frequented mostly by the heretics called Pâśupatas.

To the north of the city 15 or 16 li, in the middle of a great forest, is a *stûpa* several hundred feet high, built by Aśôka-râja. It contains relics which from time

[96] For some references to the island or kingdom of the western women, see Marco Polo, chap. xxxi., and Colonel Yule's note (vol. ii. p. 339).

to time emit a bright light. It was here that Tathâgata, when in old time he was a Rĭshi, was subjected to the cruelty of the king.

Not far east from this is an old *saṅghârâma*. This was built by the great Arhat, the great Kâtyâyana. By the side of it are traces where the four Buddhas of the past age sat down and walked for exercise. They have erected a *stûpa* to denote the spot.

Going north-east from this 300 li or so, we come to the country of 'O-fan-ch'a.

'O-FAN-CH'A (AVANDA ?).

This kingdom is 2400 or 2500 li in circuit; the capital is about 20 li. There is no chief ruler, but the country is subject to Sin-tu. The soil is fit for the cultivation of grain, and abounds in beans and wheat; it produces but few flowers or fruits; the woods are thin. The climate is windy and cold; the disposition of the men is fierce and impulsive. Their language is simple and uncultivated. They do not value learning, but they are earnest and sincere believers in "the three gems." There are about twenty *saṅghârâmas*, with some 2000 priests; they mostly study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatîya school. There are some five Dêva temples, frequented by the heretics called Pâśupatas.

To the north-east of the city, not a great distance, in the middle of a great bamboo forest is a *saṅghârâma* mostly in ruins. Here Tathâgata gave permission to the Bhikshus to wear *Kih-fu-to* (*boots*).[97] By the side of it is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. Although the foundations have sunk into the earth, yet the remains are some hundred feet high. In a *vihâra* by the side of the *stûpa* is a blue-stone standing figure of Buddha. On

[97] There are some remarks made about permission to wear boots or shoes with thick linings in the *Mahâvagga*, varga 13, § 6 (*S. B. E.*, vol. xvii. p. 35). It would seem from these records that this country of Avanda corresponded with Avanti.

sacred days (*fast-days*) it spreads abroad a divine light.

To the south 800 paces or so, in a forest, is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśôka-râja. Tathâgata, in time gone by, stopping here, finding it cold in the night, covered himself with his three garments: on the morning following he permitted the Bhikshus to wear wadded garments. In this wood is a place where Buddha walked for exercise. There are also a number of *stûpas* placed opposite one another, where the four Buddhas of the past age sat. In this *stûpa* are relics of Buddha's hair and nails. On holy days they emit a miraculous light.

Going from this north-east 900 li or so, we come to the country of Fa-la-na.

FA-LA-NA (VARANA).[98]

This kingdom is about 4000 li in circuit, and the chief town about 20 li. The population is dense. The kingdom is subject to Kapiśa. The chief portion of the country consists of mountains and forests. It is regularly cultivated. The climate is rather cold. The manners of the people are rough and fierce. They are persevering in their habits, but their purposes are low. Their language is somewhat like that of Mid-India. Some of them believe in Buddha, others not. They do not care about literature or the arts. There are some tens of *saṅghârâmas*, but they are in ruins. There are about 300 priests, who study the Great Vehicle. There are about five Dêva temples, frequented mostly by Pâśupata heretics.

Not far to the south of the city is an old *saṅghârâma*. Here Tathâgata in old days preached, exhibiting the profit and delight of his doctrine, and opening the mind

[98] Pâṇini has a country called Varṇu (iv. 2, 103; iv. 3, 93), from a river of the same name, in the group Suvâstavâdi; also in the group Kachchhâdi, in which Gândhâra also is included.

of his hearers. By the side of it are traces where the four past Buddhas sat down or walked for exercise. The common report says on the western frontier of this country is the kingdom of Ki-kiang-na (Kikaṇa?). The people live amid the great mountains and valleys in separate clans. They have no chief ruler. They breed an immense quantity of sheep and horses. The *shen* horses are of a large size, and the countries around breed but few, and therefore they are highly valued.

Leaving this country and going north-west, after traversing great mountains and crossing wide valleys, and passing a succession of smaller towns, and going 2000 li or so, we leave the frontiers of India and come to the kingdom of Tsau-ku-ṭa.

NOTE.—The remainder of the section, noticed on pp. 248, 249, records a mission sent to the same king of Ceylon, Alibunar, by the Emperor of China (Ch'hêng Tsu), under the direction of the eunuch Ch'hing Ho; his object was to offer incense and flowers. Having arrived, he exhorted the king to respect the teaching of Buddha and to expel the heretics. The king being enraged, desired to slay him, but Ch'hing Ho being aware of the plot, escaped. Again the same ambassador was sent to receive the homage of foreign states, and came to Ceylon (Si-lan-shan-kwo, the country of the Seilan mountain). The king rebelliously refused to pay any respect to the embassage, and collected 50,000 soldiers to block the way and to destroy the ships. Ch'hing Ho having learned the purpose of the king, sent secretly by a circuitous way to the ships, and got 3000 soldiers by night to march on the royal city. Being surrounded by the enemy's troops, they defended the city for six days, and then having treated the king with contumely, they opened the gates in the morning, and fought their way for twenty li; when the daylight began to fail, they offered up prayers to the sacred tooth, and suddenly an unusual light shone before them and lighted them on their way. Having reached their ships, they rested in peace, and arrived at the capital in the ninth year of Yung-loh (A.D. 1412), the seventh month, and ninth day.

END OF BOOK XI.

BOOK XII.

Contains an account of twenty-two countries, viz., (1) *Tsu-ku-cha* (2) *Fo-li-shi-sa-t'ang-na;* (3) *'An-ta-lo-po;* (4) *K'woh-si-to;* (5) *Hwoh;* (6) *Mung-kin;* (7) *O-li-ni;* (8) *Ho-lo-hu;* (9) *Ki-li-si-mo;* (10) *Po-li-ho;* (11) *Hi-mo-ta-lo;* (12) *Po-to-chang-na;* (13) *In-po-kin;* (14) *Kiu-lang-na;* (15) *Ta-mo-si-tie-ti;* (16) *Shi-k'i-ni;* (17) *Chang-mi;* (18) *K'ie-p'an-to;* (19) *U-sha;* (20) *Kie-sha;* (21) *Cho-kiu-kia;* (22) *K'iu-sa-ta-na.*

TSU-KU-CHA (TSAUKÛṬA).

THIS country[1] is about 7000 li in circuit, the capital, which is called Ho-si-na (Ghazna), is about 30 li round. There is another capital, Ho-sa-la,[2] which is about 30 li round. Both of them are naturally strong and also fortified.[3] Mountains and valleys succeed each other, with plains intervening, fit for cultivation. The land is sown and reaped in due season. Winter wheat is grown in great abundance; shrubs and trees grow in rich variety, and there are flowers and fruits in abundance. The soil is favourable for the *yo-kin* plant (*turmeric*) and for the *hing-kiu;*[4] this last grows in the valley Lo-ma-in-tu.[5]

In the city Ho-sa-lo is a fountain, of which the water

[1] For some reference to the country Tsaukûṭa, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 62, n. 218. Cunningham identifies it with the Arachosia of classical writers (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 40).

[2] The identification of Ho-si-na with Ghazni was first made by M. V. de St. Martin; he also proposed to restore Ho-sa-la to Hazâra, but General Cunningham remarks that this name, as applied to the district in question, is not older than the time of Chinghiz Khan; he, therefore, proposes Guzaristan, on the Helmand, the Ozola of Ptolemy, as the equivalent of the Chinese symbols (*ibid.*, loc. cit.)

[3] For the strength of Ghaẓni see Cunningham (*op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42).

[4] *Hiṅgu*, assafœtida (Julien).

[5] Râmêndu? (Julien).

divides itself into many branches, and which the people utilise for the purposes of irrigation. The climate is cold; there are frequent hail and snow storms. The people are naturally light-hearted and impulsive; they are crafty and deceitful. They love learning and the arts, and show considerable skill in magical sentences, but they have no good aim in view.

They daily repeat several myriads of words; their writing and language differ from those of other countries. They are very specious in vain talk, but there is little body or truth in what they say. Although they worship a hundred (*many*) spirits, yet they also greatly reverence the three precious ones. There are several hundred *saṅghârâmas*, with 1000 or so priests. They all study the Great Vehicle. The reigning sovereign is sincere and honest in his faith, and is the successor of a long line of kings. He applies himself assiduously to religious work (*merit*) and is well instructed and fond of learning. There are some ten *stûpas* built by Aśôka-râja, and several tens of Dêva temples, in which sectaries of various denominations dwell together.

The Tîrthaka[6] heretics are very numerous; they worship principally the Dêva Kshuna (T'seu-na). This Dêva spirit formerly came from Mount Aruṇa ('O-lu-nao) in Kapiśa, and took up his abode here in the southern districts of this kingdom, in the Mount Sunagir.[7] He is severe or good, causing misfortune or exercising violence. Those who invoke him with faith obtain their wishes; those who despise him reap misfortune. Therefore people both far off and near show for him deep reverence; high and low alike are filled with religious awe of him. The princes, nobles, and people of this as well as of foreign

[6] The symbols *Wai-tao* may denote the Tîrthakas, as Julien seems to suppose; or they may be simply equal to "only the greater part are *Wai-tao*," the symbols *wai-tao* are generally applied to the Tîrthakas, for which see Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.

[7] For this mountain see *ante*, vol. i. p. 62. It may be restored to Kshuna Hilo or Hila.

countries assemble every year at a season of rejoicing which is not fixed, and offer gold and silver and precious objects of rare value (*choice trifles*), with sheep, and horses, and domestic animals; all which they present in simple and confiding trust, so that though the earth is covered with silver and gold, and the sheep and horses fill the valleys, yet no one would dare to covet them: they consider them as things set apart for sacred purposes. The heretics (Tîrthakas), by subduing their minds and mortifying their flesh, get from the spirits of heaven sacred formulæ. By the use of these they are frequently able to control diseases and recover the sick.

Going from this northwards 500 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Fo-li-shi-sa-t'ang-na.

FO-LI-SHI-SA-T'ANG-NA (PARŚUSTHÂNA, *or* VARDASTHÂNA ?)

This kingdom[8] is about 2000 li from east to west and 1000 li from north to south. The capital is called U-pi-na (Hupiân),[9] and is 20 li round. As regards the soil and the manners of the people, these are the same as in Tsu-ku-cha; the language, however, is different. The climate is icy cold; the men are naturally fierce and impetuous. The king is a Turk (Tu-kieuh). They have (*or* he has) profound faith for the three precious objects of worship; he esteems learning and honours virtue (*or*, the virtuous, *i.e.*, the priests).

Going to the north-east of this kingdom, traversing mountains and crossing rivers, and passing several tens of little towns situated on the frontier of the country of Kapiśa, we come to a great mountain pass called Po-lo-

[8] Panini mentions Parśusthâna, the country of the Parśus, a warlike tribe, in this direction (v. 3, 117; *Bṛih. Sam.*, xiv. 18). Baber (*Mem.*, p. 140) mentions the Parâchis among the tribes of Afghanistan. Ptolemy has two places, Parsiana (lib. vi. c. 18, s. 4) and Parsia (*ib.*, s. 5), and also the tribes Parsioi and Parsuêtai (*ib.*, s. 3), somewhere in this vicinity.

[9] Hupiân or Opian, a little to the north of Charikar, in lat. 35° 2′ N., long. 69° 1′ E., at the entrance of a pass over the north-east end of the Pamghân range.

si-na (Varasêna),[10] which forms part of the great snowy mountains. This mountain pass is very high; the precipices are wild and dangerous; the path is tortuous, and the caverns and hollows wind and intertwine together. At one time the traveller enters a deep valley, at another he mounts a high peak, which in full summer is blocked with frozen ice. By cutting steps up the ice the traveller passes on, and after three days he comes to the highest point of the pass. There the icy wind, intensely cold, blows with fury; the piled snow fills the valleys. Travellers pushing their way through, dare not pause on their route. The very birds that fly in their wheeling flight[11] cannot mount alone this point, but go afoot across the height and then fly downwards. Looking at the mountains round, they seem as little hillocks. This is the highest peak of all Jambudvîpa. No trees are seen upon it, but only a mass of rocks, crowded one by the side of the other, like a wild forest.

Going on for three days more, we descend the pass and come to 'An-ta-lo-po (Andar-âb).[12]

'AN-TA-LO-PO (ANDAR-ÂB).

This is the old land of the Tu-ho-lo country.[13] It is about 3000 li round; the capital is 14 or 15 li round. They have no chief ruler; it is dependent on the Turks (Tuh-kiueh).[14] Mountains and hills follow in chains, with valleys intersecting them. The arable land is very contracted. The climate is very severe. The wind and the snow are intensely cold and violent; yet the country is regularly cultivated and productive: it is suitable also for flowers and fruits. The men are naturally fierce and

[10] This pass over the Hindu Kush (the Paropamisus or Indian Caucasus) is probably the same as the Khawak Pass described by Wood (*Oxus*, p. 274). He found it to be 13,000 feet in height.

[11] *Ngo ts'eung*, soaring birds.

[12] See Book i., n. 146

[13] That is, of the Tokhâri people. See Book i., n. 121.

[14] That is, on the Turkish tribe from the borders of China that had overrun this district (see note, *loc. cit.*)

violent. The common people are unrestrained in their ways, and know neither wrong nor right. They do not care about learning, and give themselves only to the worship of spirits. Few of them believe in the religion of Buddha. There are three *saṅghârâmas* and some tens of priests. They follow the teaching of the Mahâsaṅghika (Ta-chong-pu) school. There is one *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja.

Going north-west from this we enter a valley, skirt along a mountain pass, traverse several little towns, and after going about 400 li we arrive at K'woh-si-to.

K'WOH-SI-TO (KHOST).[15]

This also is the old land of the Tu-ho-lo country. It is about 3000 li in circuit; the capital is about 10 li round. It has no chief ruler, but is dependent on the Turks. It is mountainous, with many contracted valleys; hence it is subject to icy-cold winds. It produces much grain, and it abounds with flowers and fruits. The disposition of the men is fierce and violent; they live without laws. There are three *saṅghârâmas*, with very few priests.

Going from this north-west, skirting the mountains and crossing the valleys, and passing by several towns, after about 300 li we come to the country called Hwoh.

HWOH (KUNDUZ).[16]

This country is also the old land of the Tuh-ho-lo country. It is about 3000 li in circuit; the chief town is about 10 li. There is no chief ruler, but the country depends on the Turks. The land is level and plain. It is regularly cultivated, and produces cereals in abundance. Trees and shrubs grow plentifully, and flowers and fruits (*of various kinds*) are wonderfully abundant. The climate is soft and agreeable; the manners of the people simple

[15] See Book i., n. 145. [16] See Book i., n. 35.

and honest. The men are naturally quick and impulsive; they clothe themselves with woollen garments. Many believe in the three precious objects (*of worship*), and a few pay their adoration to the spirits. There are ten *saṅghârâmas* with several hundred followers (*priests*). They study both the Great and the Little Vehicle, and practise the discipline of both. The king is of the Turkish clan; he governs all the little kingdoms to the south of the Iron Gates.[17] He constantly shifts his dwelling, like a bird (*his bird-dwelling*), not constantly occupying this town.

Going east from this, we enter the T'sung-ling mountains.[18] These mountains are situated in the middle of Jambuduvîpa. On the south they border on the great snowy mountains; on the north they reach to the hot sea (*Lake Temurtu*), and to the "Thousand Springs;" on the west they extend to the kingdom of Hwoh; on the east to the kingdom of U-cha (Och). From east to west and from north to south they run equally for several thousand li, and abound in many hundreds of steep peaks and dark valleys. The mountain heights are rendered dangerous by the glaciers and frozen snow. The cold winds blow with fury. As the land produces a great quantity of onions therefore it is called T'sung-ling; or because the crags of these mountains have a greenish-blue tint, hence also the name.

Going east 100 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Mung-kin.

MUNG-KIN (MUNJAN).

This country [19] is an old territory of the Tu-ho-li country. It is about 400 li in circuit. The chief city is about 15 or 16 li round. The soil and manners of the people resemble to a great extent the Hwoh country. There is no chief ruler, but they depend on the Turks. Going north we come to the country of 'O-li-ni.

[17] For the "iron gates" see Book i., n. 119.

[18] For the T'sung-ling Mountains see Book i., n. 77.

[19] For Mung-kin see Book i., n. 144.

O-LI-NI (AHRENG).

This country[20] is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo. It borders both sides of the river Oxus.[21] It is about 300 li in circuit; the chief city is 14 or 15 li round. In character of its soil and manners of the people it greatly resembles the Hwoh country.

Going east, we come to Ho-lo-hu.[22]

HO-LO-HU (RAGH).

This country[23] is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo. On the north it borders on the Oxus (Fo-ts'u, Vakshu). It is about 200 li in circuit. The chief town is about 14 or 15 li round. The products of the soil and the manners of the people greatly resemble the Hwoh country.

Going eastward from the Mung-kin country, skirting along high mountain passes, and penetrating deep valleys, and passing in succession various districts and towns, after a journey of 300 li or so we arrive at the country of Ki-li-si-mo.

KI-LI-SI-MO (KHRISHMA OR KISHM).

This country[24] is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo. From east to west it is 1000 li or so; from north to south it is 300 li. The capital is 15 or 16 li round. The soil and the manners of the people are just like those of Mung-kin, except that these men are naturally hot-tempered and violent.

Going north-east we come to the kingdom of Po-li-ho (Bolor).

PO-LI-HO (BOLOR).

This country[25] is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo. From

[20] For this country see Book i., n. 143.

[21] The Fo-t'su (Vakshu).

[22] The Japanese gives Ka-ra-ko. After Julien it represents Roh or Roshan (V. St. Martin, p. 421).

[23] See Book i., n. 142.

[24] See Book i., n. 141.

[25] See Book i., n. 140.

east to west it is about 100 li, and from north to south about 300 li. The chief town is some 20 li or so in circuit. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people are like those of Ki-li-si-mo.

Going east from Ki-li-si-mo, after traversing mountains and crossing valleys for about 300 li, we come to the country of Hi-mo-ta-lo.

HI-MO-TA-LO (HIMATALA).

This country [26] is an old territory of the country of Tu-ho-lo. It is about 300 li in circuit. It is cut up by mountains and valleys. The soil is rich and fertile, and fit for cereals. It produces much winter wheat. Every kind of plant flourishes, and fruits of all sorts grow in abundance. The climate is cold; the disposition of the men violent and hasty. They do not distinguish between wrong and right. Their appearance is vulgar and ignoble. In respect of their modes of behaviour and forms of etiquette, their clothes of wool, and skin, and felt, they are like the Turks. Their wives wear upon their head-dress a wooden horn about three feet or so in length. It has two branches (*a double branch*) in front, which signify father and mother of the husband. The upper horn denotes the father, the lower one the mother. Whichever of these two dies first, they remove one horn, but when both are dead, they give up this style of headdress.

The first king of this country was a Śâkya,[27] fearless and bold. To the west of the T'sung-ling mountains most of the people were subdued to his power. The frontiers were close to the Turks, and so they adopted their low customs, and suffering from their attacks they protected their frontier. And thus the people of this kingdom were dispersed into different districts, and had many tens of fortified cities, over each of which a separate chief was

[26] See Book i., n. 139.

[27] Referring, as I suppose, to the history of the champions who were banished from Kapilavastu.

placed. The people live in tents made of felt, and lead the life of nomads.

On the west side this kingdom touches the country of Ki-li-si-mo. Going from this 200 odd li, we arrive at the country of Po-to-chang-na (Badakshân).

PO-TO-CHANG-NA (BADAKSHÂN).

This kingdom[28] is an old territory of the Tu-ho-lo country; it is about 2000 li in circuit, and the capital, which is placed on the side of a mountain precipice, is some 6 or 7 li in circuit. It is intersected with mountains and valleys, a vast expanse of sand and stone stretches over it; the soil is fit for the growth of beans and wheat; it produces an abundance of grapes, the khamil peach, and plums, &c. The climate is very cold. The men are naturally fierce and hasty; their customs are ill-regulated; they have no knowledge of letters or the arts; their appearance is low and ignoble; they wear mostly garments of wool. There are three or four *saṅghârâmas*, with very few followers. The king is of an honest and sincere disposition. He has a deep faith in the three precious objects of worship.

Going from this south-east, passing across mountains and valleys, after 200 li or so we come to the country of In-po-kin (Yamgân).

IN-PO-KIN (YAMGÂN).

This country[29] is an old territory of the Tu-ho-lo country. It is about 1000 li or so in circuit. The capital is about 10 li round. There is a connected line of hills and valleys through the country, with narrow strips of arable land. With respect to the produce of the soil, the climate, and the character of the people, these differ little from the kingdom of Po-to-chang-na, only the character of the language differs slightly. The king's nature is

[28] See Book i., n. 136. [29] See Book i., n. 137.

violent and impulsive, and he does not know clearly the difference between right and wrong.

Going from this south-east, skirting the mountains and crossing the valleys, traversing thus by narrow and difficult ways a distance of 300 li or so, we arrive at the country of Kiu-lang-na.

KIU-LANG-NA (KURÂN).

This country[30] is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo; it is about 2000 li round. As regards the character of the soil, the mountains and the valleys, the climate and the seasons, it resembles the kingdom of In-po-kien (Invakan). The customs of the people are without rule, their disposition is rough (*common*) and violent; the greater portion do not attend to religion; a few believe in the law of Buddha. The appearance of the people is displeasing and ungainly. They wear principally woollen garments. There is a mountain cavern from which much pure gold is procured (*dug out*). They break the stones and afterwards procure the gold. There are few *saṅghârâmas*, and scarcely any priests. The king is honest and simple-minded. He deeply reverences the three precious objects of worship.

Going north-east from this, after climbing the mountains and penetrating valleys, and going along a precipitous and dangerous road for 500 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Ta-mo-si-tie-ti.

TA-MO-SI-TIE-TI (TAMASTHITI ?).

This country[31] is situated between two mountains. It is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo. From east to west it extends about 1500 or 1600 li; from north to south its width is only 4 or 5 li, and in its narrowest part not more than one li. It lies upon the Oxus (Fo-t'su) river, which it follows along its winding course. It is broken up with

[30] See Book i., n. 138.

[31] See Book i., n. 135.

hills of different heights, whilst sand and stones lie scattered over the surface of the soil. The wind is icy cold and blows fiercely. Though they sow the ground, it produces but a little wheat and pulse. There are few trees (*forest trees*), but plenty of flowers and fruits. Here the *shen* horse is bred. The horse, though small in size, yet easily travels a long distance. The manners of the people have no regard to propriety. The men are rough and violent; their appearance low and ignoble. They wear woollen garments. Their eyes are mostly of a blue colour,[32] and in this respect they differ from people of other countries. There are some ten *saṅghârâmas*, with very few priests (*religious followers*).

The capital of the country is called Hwăn-t'o-to. In the middle of it is a *saṅghârâma* built by a former king of this country. In its construction[33] he excavated the side of the hill and filled up the valley. The early kings of this country were not believers in Buddha, but sacrificed only to the spirits worshipped by unbelievers; but for some centuries the converting power of the true law has been diffused. At the beginning, the son of the king of this country, who was much loved by him, fell sick of a serious disease; he employed the utmost skill of the medicine art, but it brought no benefit. Then the king went personally to the Dêva temple to worship and ask for some means of recovering his child. On this the chief of the temple, speaking in the name of the spirit, said, "Your son will certainly recover; let your mind rest in peace." The king having heard it, was greatly pleased, and returned homewards. On his way he met a Shaman, his demeanour staid and remarkable. Astonished at his appearance and dress, the king asked him whence he came and whither he was going. The Shaman having already reached the holy fruit (*of an Arhat*), desired to spread the law of Buddha, and therefore he had

[32] *Pih*, either blue or green, like the deep sea.

[33] In constructing and shaping its courts and halls.

assumed this deportment and appearance; so replying he said, "I am a disciple of Tathâgata, and am called a Bhikshu." The king, who was in great anxiety, at once asked him, "My son is grievously afflicted; I scarcely know whether he is living or dead. (*Will he recover?*") The Shaman said, "You might raise (*from the dead*) the spirits of your ancestors, but your loved son it is difficult to deliver." The king replied, "A spirit of heaven has assured me he will not die, and the Shaman says he will die; it is difficult to know what to believe, coming from these masters of religion."[34] Coming to his palace, he found that his loved son was already dead. Hiding the corpse and making no funeral preparations, he again asked the priest of the Dêva temple respecting him. In reply he said, "He will not die; he will certainly recover." The king in a rage seized the priest and held him fast, and then upbraiding him he said, "You and your accomplices are monstrous cheats; you pretend to be religious, but you practise lying. My son is dead, and yet you say he will certainly recover. Such lying cannot be endured; the priest (*master*) of the temple shall die and the building be destroyed." On this he killed the priest and took the image and flung it into the Oxus. On his return, he once more met the Shaman; on seeing him he was glad, and respectfully prostrated himself before him, as he gratefully said, "Hitherto I have ignorantly followed (*my guide*), and trod the path of false teaching. Although I have for a long time followed the windings of error, now the change has come from this.[35] I pray you condescend to come with me to my dwelling." The Shaman accepted the invitation and went to the palace. The funeral ceremonies being over, (*the king*) addressed the Shaman and said, "The world of men is in confusion, birth and death flow on ceaselessly; my son was sick, and I asked whether he would remain with me or depart, and the lying spirit said he would surely re-

[34] *Kwei tsuh che jin*, men who reprove the world.

[35] *I.e.*, from this interview.

cover; but the first words of indication you gave were true and not false. Therefore the system of religion you teach is to be reverenced. Deign to receive me, deceived as I have been, as a disciple." He, moreover, begged the Shaman to plan and measure out a *saṅghârâma;* then, according to the right dimensions, he constructed this building, and from that time till now the law of Buddha has been in a flourishing condition.

In the middle of the old *saṅghârâma* is the *vihâra* built by this Arhat. In the *vihâra* is a statue of Buddha in stone above the statue is a circular cover of gilded copper, and ornamented with gems; when men walk round the statue in worship, the cover also turns; when they stop, the cover stops. The miracle cannot be explained. According to the account given by the old people, it is said that the force of a prayer of a holy man effects the miracle. Others say there is some secret mechanism in the matter; but when looking at the solid stone walls of the hall, and inquiring from the people as to their knowledge (*of such mechanism*), it is difficult to arrive at any satisfaction about the matter.

Leaving this country, and traversing a great mountain northward, we arrive at the country of Shi-k'i-ni (Shikhnân).

SHI-K'I-NI (SHIKHNÂN).

This country[36] is about 2000 li in circuit, the chief city is 5 or 6 li. Mountains and valleys follow each other in a connected succession; sand and stones lie scattered over the waste lands. Much wheat and beans are grown, but little rice. The trees are thin, flowers and fruits not abundant. The climate is icy-cold; the men are fierce and intrepid. They think nothing of murder and robbery; they are ignorant of good manners or justice, and cannot distinguish between right and wrong. They are deceived as to the happiness and misery of the future,

[36] See Book i., n. 133

and only fear present calamities. Their figure and appearance are poor and ignoble; their garments are made of wool or skin; their writing is the same as that of the Turks, but the spoken language is different.

Passing along a great mountain to the south of the kingdom of Ta-mo-si-tie-ti (Tamasthiti?[37]), we come to the country of Shang-mi.

SHANG-MI (ŚÂMBHÎ?).

This country[38] is about 2500 or 2600 li in circuit. It is intersected with mountains and valleys; with hills of various heights. Every kind of grain is cultivated; beans and wheat are abundant. Grapes are plentiful. The country produces yellow arsenic. They bore into the cliffs and break the stones, and so obtain it. The mountain spirits are cruel and wicked; they frequently cause calamities to befall the kindgom.

On entering the country, sacrifice is offered up to them, after which good success attends the persons in coming and going. If no sacrifice is offered them, the wind and the hail attack the travellers. The climate is very cold; the ways of the people are quick, their disposition is honest and simple. They have no rules of propriety or justice in their behaviour; their wisdom is small, and in the arts they have very little ability. Their writing is the same as that of the kingdom of Tu-ho-lo, but the spoken language is somewhat different. Their clothes are mostly made of woollen stuff. Their king is of the race of Śâkya.[39] He greatly esteems the law of Buddha.

[37] Tamasthiti, according to Eitel (*Handbook*, s. v.), was "an ancient province of Tukhâra, noted for the ferocious character of its inhabitants." But this is probably derived from Julien's restoration in the text, which he gives doubtfully.

[38] This is the country over which one of the banished Śâkya youths reigned (see *ante*, p. 21). It is restored by Julien to Sâmbhî in the passage before us, but to Sâmbî, vol. ii. p. 318. Eitel (*op. cit.*, s. v.) speaks of this kingdom as founded by refugees of the Śâkya family, and situated near Chitral, lat. 35° 35′ N., and long. 72° 27′ E.

[39] See previous note.

The people follow his example, and are all animated by a sincere faith. There are two *saṅghârâmas*, with very few followers.

On the north-east of the frontier of the country, skirting the mountains and crossing the valleys, advancing along a dangerous and precipitous road, after going 700 li or so, we come to the valley of Po-mi-lo (Pâmir).[40] It stretches 1000 li or so east and west, and 100 li or so from north to south; in the narrowest part it is not more than 10 li. It is situated among the snowy mountains; on this account the climate is cold, and the winds blow constantly. The snow falls both in summer and spring-time. Night and day the wind rages violently. The soil is impregnated with salt and covered with quantities of gravel and sand. The grain which is sown does not ripen, shrubs and trees are rare; there is but a succession of desert without any inhabitants.

In the middle of the Pâmir valley is a great dragon lake (Nâgahrada); from east to west it is 300 li or so, from north to south 50 li. It is situated in the midst of the great T'sung ling mountains, and is the central point of Jambudvîpa.[41] The land is very high; the water is pure and clear as a mirror; it cannot be fathomed; the colour of the lake is a dark blue; the taste of the water sweet and soft: in the water hide the *kau-ki* fish (*shark-spider*), dragons, crocodiles, tortoises; floating on its surface[42] are ducks, wild geese, cranes,

[40] Pâmir, according to Sir T. D. Forsyth (*Report of Mission to Yarkand*, p. 231, n.) is a Khokandi Turki word signifying "desert." For a description of this district and its watersheds, see Forsyth (*op. cit.*, p. 231), also Wood's *Oxus*, chap. xxi.

[41] This no doubt refers to the Sarik-kul lake, otherwise called Kul-i-Pâmir-kulân, the lake of the Great Pâmir; see *ante*, vol. i. p. 12, n. 33. The great Nâga lake is sometimes called the Râvaṇahrada; Râvaṇa also dwelt on Laṅka-giri (Potaraka ?), and possibly from him is derived the Arabic name for Adam's Peak, Mount Rahwan. The remark in the text "that it cannot be fathomed" is a mistake. Wood found soundings at 9 fathoms (*Oxus*, p. 237.

[42] Hiuen Tsiang's visit was during the summer months (probably of A.D. 642); in the winter, the lake is frozen to a thickness of two feet and a half (Wood's

and so on; large eggs are found concealed in the wild desert wastes, or among the marshy shrubs, or on the sandy islets.

To the west of the lake there is a large stream, which, going west, reaches so far as the eastern borders of the kingdom of Ta-mo-si-tie-ti (? Tamasthiti), and there joins the river Oxus (Fo-t'su) and flows still to the west. So on this side of the lake all the streams flow westward.

On the east of the lake is a great stream,[43] which, flowing north-east, reaches to the western frontiers of the country of Kie-sha (? Kashgâr), and there joins the Si-to (Śîtâ) river[44] and flows eastward, and so all streams on the left side of the lake flow eastward.

Passing over a mountain to the south of the Pâmir valley, we find the country of Po-lo-lo (Bolor);[45] here is found much gold and silver; the gold is as red as fire.

On leaving the midst of this valley and going south-east, along the route there is no inhabited place (*no men or village*). Ascending the mountains, traversing the side of precipices, encountering nothing but ice and snow, and thus going 500 li we arrive at the kingdom of K'ie-p'an-to.

K'IE-P'AN-TO.

This country[46] is about 2000 li in circuit; the capital

Oxus, p. 236). But in the summer the ice on the lake is broken up, and the hills in its neighbourhood clear of snow; this (according to the statement of the Khirghiz who accompanied Wood) takes place as early as the end of June, "at which time the water swarms with aquatic birds" (*op. cit.*, p. 239); this confirms the remark in the text. For the other remarks, see Marco Polo, book i. chap. xxxii., and Yule's notes.

[43] "The story of an eastern outflow from the lake is no doubt a legend connected with an ancient Hindu belief (see *Cathay*, p. 347), but Burnes in modern times heard much the same story" (Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 166).

[44] For some remarks on the Śîtâ river see *ante*, vol. i. n. 34. Julien, in a note found on p. 572, vol. iii., corrects the name to Śîtâ, meaning "cold;" his authority is the Chinese Dictionary, *I-tsi-king-in-i*.

[45] Perhaps the same as Balti, a Tibetan kingdom. See Cunningham (quoted by Yule, *M. P.*, vol. i. p. 168).

[46] Julien restores the symbols K'ie-p'an-to to Khavandha doubtfully. V. de St. Martin in his *Mémoire* (p. 426) restores it to Kar-

rests on a great rocky crag of the mountain, and is backed by the river Śitâ. It is about 20 li in circuit. The mountain chains run in continuous succession, the valleys and plains are very contracted. There is very little rice cultivated, but beans and corn grow in abundance. Trees grow thinly, there are only few fruits and flowers. The plateaux are soppy, the hills are waste, the towns are deserted; the manners of the people are without any rules of propriety. There are very few of the people who give themselves to study. They are naturally uncouth and impetuous, but yet they are bold and courageous. Their appearance is common and revolting; their clothes are made of woollen stuffs. Their letters are much like those of the Kie-sha (? Kashgar) country. They know how to express themselves sincerely, and they greatly reverence the law of Buddha. There are some ten *saṅghârâmas* with about 500 followers. They study the Little Vehicle according to the school of the Sarvâstivâdas.

The reigning king is of an upright and honest character; he greatly honours the three treasures; his external

chu, and in *Fa-hian* (p. 9, n. 6). I have adopted this restoration. Col. Yule, however (Wood's *Oxus*, xlviii. n. 1), speaks of Karchu as "a will-o'-the wisp, which never had any existence." On the other hand, he says, "We know this state (*i.e.*, Kabandha, the *K'ie-p'an-to* of the text) to be identical with the modern territory of Sarikol, otherwise called Tush Kurghan from its chief town" (*op. cit.*, p. xlviii.); and again, "As for Karchu, which in so many maps occupies a position on the waters of the Yarkand river, it was an erroneous transliteration of the name Hatchût or Ketchût, which appeared in the (Chinese) tables of the later Jesuit surveyors to the south of Sarikol and was by them apparently intended as a loose approximation to the position of the frontier of the Dard state of Kanjút or Hunza" (*op. cit.*, p. lv.) It would appear from the above extracts that K'ie-pa'n-to must be identified with Sarikol and Tush Kurghan (stone-tower), and not with the Kie-cha of Fa-hian. I am unable, however, to trace Fa-hian's route to "Kie-cha or Ladak," as stated by Yule (*op. cit.*, xl.), and Cunningham (*Ladak*, quoted by Yule, *ibid.*); for if *Kie-cha* be Ladak, how can the pilgrim describe it as in the middle of the T'sung-ling mountains (chap. v.), or say that a journey of one month westward across the T'sung-ling mountains brought him to North India (chap. vi.)? Dr. Eitel identifies the K'ie-cha of Fa-hian with the Kasioi of Ptolemy (*Handbook*, s. v. *Khaśa*); M. V. de St. Martin observes (*Mémoire*, p. 427) that Kashgâr and its territory correspond with the *Casia regio Scythiæ* of Ptolemy.

manner is quiet and unassuming; he is of a vigorous mind and loves learning.

Since the establishment of the kingdom many successive ages have passed. Sometimes the people speak of themselves as deriving their name from the Chi-na-ti-po-k'iu-ta-lo (China-dêva-gôtra). Formerly this country was a desert valley in the midst of the T'sung-ling mountains. At this time a king of the kingdom of Persia (Po-la-sse) took a wife from the Han country. She had been met by an escort on her progress so far as this, when the roads east and west were stopped by military operations. On this they placed the king's daughter on a solitary mountain peak, very high and dangerous, which could only be approached by ladders, up and down; moreover, they surrounded it with guards both night and day for protection. After three months the disturbances were quelled (*they put down the robbers*). Quiet being restored, they were about to resume their homeward journey. But now the lady was found to be enceinte. Then the minister in charge of the mission was filled with fear and he addressed his colleagues thus: "The king's commands were that I should go to meet his bride. Our company, in expectation of a cessation of the troubles that endangered the roads, at one time encamped in the wilds, at another in the deserts; in the morning we knew not what would happen before the evening. At length the influence of our king having quieted the country, I was resuming the progress homeward when I found that the bride was enceinte. This has caused me great grief, and I know not the place of my death. We must inquire about the villain who has done this (*secretly*), with a view to punish him hereafter. If we talk about it and noise it abroad, we shall never get at the truth." Then his servant, addressing the envoy, said, "Let there be no inquiry; it is a spirit that has had knowledge of her; every day at noon there was a chief-master who came from the sun's disc, and, mounted on horseback, came to

meet her." The envoy said, "If this be so, how can I clear myself from fault? If I go back I shall certainly be put to death; if I delay here they will send to have me punished. What is the best thing to do?" He answered, "This is not so complicated a matter; who is there to make inquiries about matters or to exact punishment outside the frontiers? Put it off a few days (*from morning to evening*)."

On this he built, on the top of a rocky peak, a palace with its surrounding apartments;[47] then having erected an enclosure round the palace of some 300 paces, he located the princess there as chief. She established rules of government and enacted laws. Her time having come, she bore a son of extraordinary beauty and perfect parts. The mother directed the affairs of state; the son received his honourable title;[48] he was able to fly through the air and control the winds and snow. He extended his power far and wide, and the renown of his laws was everywhere known. The neighbouring countries and those at a distance subscribed themselves his subjects.

The king having died from age, they buried him in a stone chamber concealed with a great mountain cavern about 100 li to the south-east of this city. His body, being dried, has escaped corruption down to the present time. The form of his body is shrivelled up and thin: he looks as if he were asleep. From time to time they change his clothes, and regularly place incense and flowers by his side. From that time till now his descendants have ever recollected their origin, that their mother (*or*, on their mother's side), they were descended from the king of Han, and on their father's side from the race of the Sun-dêva, and therefore they style themselves "descendants of the Han and Sun-god."[49]

47 This may be the origin of the term *Tash Kurghan*, stone tower.

48 That is, the son of the Sun-god.

49 There is in this story a sort of resemblance to the tale about Syâwush the Persian and Afrâsyab the Turanian. The latter gave to the royal refugee his daughter Farangis, with the provinces of Khutan and

The members of the royal family in appearance resemble the people of the Middle Country (China). They wear on their heads a square cap, and their clothes are like those of the Hu people (Uighurs). In after-ages these people fell under the power of the barbarians, who kept their country in their power.

When Aśôka-râja was in the world he built in this palace a *stûpa*. Afterwards, when the king changed his residence to the north-east angle of the royal precinct, he built in this old palace a *saṅghârâma* for the sake of Kumâralabdha (T'ong-shiu). The towers of this building are high (*and its halls*) wide. There is in it a figure of Buddha of majestic appearance. The venerable Kumâralabdha was a native of Takshaśilâ. From his childhood he showed a rare intelligence, and in early life gave up the world. He allowed his mind to wander through the sacred texts, and let his spirit indulge itself in profound reveries. Daily he recited 32,000 words and wrote 32,000 letters. In this way he was able to surpass all his contemporaries, and to establish his renown beyond the age in which he lived. He settled the true law, and overcame false doctrine, and distinguished himself by the brilliancy of his discussion. There was no difficulty which he could not overcome. All the men of the five Indies came to see him, and assigned him the highest rank. He composed many tens of *śâstras*. These were much renowned and studied by all. He was the founder of the Sautrântika (King-pu) school.

At this time in the east was Aśvaghôsha, in the south Dêva, in the west Nâgârjuna, in the north Kumâralabdha. These four were called the four sons that illu-

Chín or Mâchín (Mahâchin ?). They settled at Kung, some distance north-east of Khutan. See Bellew, *History of Kashgâr* (chap. iii., Forsyth's *Report*). The fame of Kaikhusro (Cyrus) as a hero-child of the sun seems to agree with the miraculous birth and conquests of the child whose birth is narrated in the text. I may add that a consideration of the circumstances connected with the history of the Persian (Iranian) and Turanian tribes confirms me in the opinion that the Tu-ho-lu of Hiuen Tsiang refers to the Turanian people, and not to the Turks (so-called).

mined the world. The king of this country, therefore, having heard of the honourable one (*Kumâralabdha*) and his great qualities, raised an army to attack Takshaśila, and carried him off by force. He then built this *saṅghârâma*.

Going south-east 300 li or so from the city, we come to a great rocky scarp in which two chambers are excavated, in each of which is an Arhat plunged in complete ecstasy. They are sitting upright, and they could be moved but with difficulty. Their appearance is shrivelled, but their skin and bones still survive. Though 700 years have elapsed, their hair still grows, and because of this the priests cut their hair every year and change their clothes.

To the north-east of the great crag after going 200 li or so along the mountain-side and the precipices, we come to a *Puṇyaśâlâ* (*a hospice*).

In the midst of four mountains belonging to the eastern chain of the T'sung-ling mountains there is a space comprising some hundred *k'ing* (*thousand acres*). In this, both during summer and winter, there fall down piles of snow; the cold winds and icy storms rage. The ground, impregnated with salt, produces no crops; there are no trees and nothing but scrubby underwood. Even at the time of great heat the wind and the snow continue. Scarcely have travellers entered this region when they find themselves surrounded by vapour from the snow. Merchant bands, caravans, in coming and going suffer severely in these difficult and dangerous spots.

The old story says: "Formerly there was a troop of merchants, who, with their followers, amounted to 10,000 or so, with many thousand camels. They were occupied in transporting their goods and getting profit. They were assailed by wind and snow, and both men and beasts perished.

As this time there was a great Arhat who belonged to the kingdom of Kie-p'an-to, who, taking a wide look, saw them in their danger, and being moved by pity, de-

sired to exert his spiritual power for their rescue; but when he arrived they were already dead. On this he collected the precious objects that lay scattered about and constructed a house, and gathering in this all the wealth he could, he bought the neighbouring land and built houses in the bordering cities for the accommodation of travellers, and now merchantmen and travellers enjoy the benefit of his beneficence.

Going north-east from this, descending the T'sung-ling mountains to the eastward, after passing dangerous defiles and deep valleys, and traversing steep and dangerous roads, assailed at every step by snow and wind, after going 100 li or so, we emerge from the T'sung-ling mountains and come to the kingdom of U-sha.

U-SHA (OCH).

This kingdom is about 1000 li in circuit; the chief town is about 10 li round. On the south it borders on the river Śîtâ. The soil is rich and productive; it is regularly cultivated and yields abundant harvests. The trees and forests spread their foliage afar, and flowers and fruits abound. This country produces jade of different sorts in great quantities; white jade, black, and green. The climate is soft and agreeable; the winds and rain follow in their season; the manners of the people are not much in keeping with the principles of politeness. The men are naturally hard and uncivilised; they are greatly given to falsehood, and few of them have any feeling of shame. Their language and writing are nearly the same as those of Kie-sha. Their personal appearance is low and repulsive. Their clothes are made of skins and woollen stuffs. However, they have a firm faith in the law of Buddha and greatly honour him. There are some ten *saṅghârâmas*, with somewhat less than 1000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle according to the school of the Sarvâstivâdas. For some centuries the royal line has

been extinct. They have no ruler of their own, but are in dependence on the country of K'ie-p'an-to.

Two hundred li or so to the west of the city we come to a great mountain. This mountain is covered with brooding vapours, which hang like clouds above the rocks. The crags rise one above another, and seem as if about to fall where they are suspended. On the mountain top is erected a *stûpa* of a wonderful and mysterious character. This is the old story:—Many centuries ago this mountain suddenly opened; in the middle was seen a Bhikshu, with closed eyes, sitting; his body was of gigantic stature and his form was dried up; his hair descended low on his shoulders and enshrouded his face. A hunter having caught sight of him, told the king. The king in person went to see him and to pay him homage. All the men of the town came spontaneously to burn incense and offer flowers as religious tribute to him. Then the king said, "What man is this of such great stature?" Then there was a Bhikshu who said in reply, "This man with his hair descending over his shoulders and clad in a *kashâya* garment is an Arhat who has entered the *samâdhi* which produces extinction of mind. Those who enter this kind of *samâdhi* have to await a certain signal (*or period*); some say that if they hear the sound of the *ghaṇṭâ* they awake; others, if they see the shining of the sun, then this is a signal for them to arouse themselves from their ecstasy; in the absence of such signal, they rest unmoved and quiet, whilst the power of their ecstasy keeps their bodies from destruction. When they come from their trance after their long fast, the body ought to be well rubbed with oil and the limbs made supple with soft applications; after this the *ghaṇṭâ* may be sounded to restore the mind plunged in *samâdhi*." The king said, "Let it be done," and then he sounded the gong.

Scarcely had the sound died away, but the Arhat, recognising the signal, looking down on them from on high

for a long time, at length said, "What creatures are you with forms so small and mean, clothed with brown robes?" They answered, "We are Bhikshus!" He said, "And where now dwells my master Kâśyapa Tathâgata?" They replied, "He has entered the great *nirvâna* for a long time past." Having heard this, he shut his eyes, as a man disappointed and ready to die. Then suddenly he asked again, "Has Śâkya Tathâgata come into the world?" "He has been born, and having guided the world spiritually, he has also entered *nirvâna*." Hearing this, he bowed his head, and so remained for a long time. Then rising up into the air, he exhibited spiritual transformations, and at last he was consumed by fire and his bones fell to the ground. The king having collected them, raised over them this *stûpa*.

Going north from this country, and traversing the rocky mountains and desert plains for 500 li or so, we come to the country of Kie-sha.[50]

KIE-SHA (KASHGÂR).

The country of Kie-sha is about 5000 li in circuit. It has much sandy and stony soil, and very little loam. It is regularly cultivated and is productive. Flowers and fruits are abundant. Its manufactures are a fine kind of twilled haircloth, and carpets of a fine texture and skilfully woven. The climate is soft and agreeable; the winds and rain regularly succeed each other. The disposition of the men is fierce and impetuous, and they are mostly false and deceitful. They make light of decorum and politeness, and esteem learning but little. Their custom is when a child is born to compress his head with a board of wood.[51] Their appearance is common and ignoble. They paint (*mark*) their

[50] Anciently called Su-li: this also is the name of its chief city; the full name is Shi-li-ki-li-to-ti (Śríkrîtati). The sound Su-li is corrupt.—*Ch. Ed.*

[51] See vol. i. p. 19, n. 60.

bodies and around their eyelids.[52] For their writing (*written characters*) they take their model from India, and although they (*i.e., the forms of the letters*) are somewhat mutilated, yet they are essentially the same in form.[53] Their language and pronunciation are different from that of other countries. They have a sincere faith in the religion of Buddha, and give themselves earnestly to the practice of it. There are several hundreds of *saṅghârâmas,* with some 10,000 followers; they study the Little Vehicle and belong to the Sarvâstivâda school. Without understanding the principles, they recite many religious chants; therefore there are many who can say throughout the three *Piṭakas* and the *Vibhâshâ* (*Pi-p'o-sha*).

Going from this south-east 500 li or so, passing the river Śîtâ and crossing a great stony precipice, we come to the kingdom of Cho-kiu-kia.[54]

CHO-KIU-KIA (CHAKUKA? YARKIANG).

This kingdom[55] is some 1000 li or so round; the capital is about 10 li in circuit. It is hemmed in by crags and mountain fastnesses. The residences are numerous. Mountains and hills succeed each other in a continuous line. Stony districts[56] spread in every direction. This kingdom borders on two rivers;[57] the cultivation of grain and of fruit-trees is successful, principally figs, pears, and plums. Cold and winds prevail

[52] This is the only translation I can give. Julien renders it, "They have green eyeballs;" but his text must differ from mine.

[53] This passage, too, is very obscure; Julien has omitted it. As an alternative translation of the whole passage, this may be offered: "They paint their bodies and their eyelids; for their models in these figures (painted letters) they take (those of) India; although they thus disfigure themselves, yet they retain great vigour of form (or body)."

[54] Anciently called Tsie-ku.

[55] V. de St. Martin identifies Cho-kiu-kia with Yarkiang, but he gives no authority. Dr. Eitel (Handbook, s. v. *Tchakuka*) states that "it is an ancient kingdom in Little Bukharia, probably the modern Yarkiang." The distance and bearing from Kashgâr would point to Yarkand.

[56] Compare W. H. Bellew's account of this neighbourhood. *Kashmir and Kashgir*, p. 365.

[57] Probably the Yarkand and Khotan rivers.

throughout the year. The men are passionate and cruel; they are false and treacherous, and in open day practise robbery. The letters are the same as those of K'iu-sa-ta-na (Khotan), but the spoken language is different. Their politeness is very scant, and their knowledge of literature and the arts equally so. They have an honest faith, however, in the three precious objects of worship, and love the practice of religion. There are several tens of *saṅghârâmas*, but mostly in a ruinous condition; there are some hundred followers, who study the Great Vehicle.

On the southern frontier of the country is a great mountain, with lofty defiles and peaks piled up one on the other, and covered with matted underwood and jungle. In winter and all through the year the mountain streams and torrents rush down on every side. There are niches and stone chambers in the outside; they occur in regular order between the rocks and woods. The Arhats from India, displaying their spiritual power, coming from far, abide here at rest. As many Arhats have here arrived at *nirvâṇa*, so there are many *stûpas* here erected. At present there are three Arhats dwelling in these mountain passes in deep recesses, who have entered the *samâdhi* of "extinction of mind." Their bodies are withered away; their hair continues to grow, so that Shamans from time to time go to shave them. In this kingdom, the writings of the Great Vehicle are very abundant. There is no place where the law of Buddha is more flourishing than this. There is a collection here[58] of ten myriads of verses, divided into ten parts. From the time of its introduction till now it has wonderfully spread.

Going east from this, skirting along the high mountain passes and traversing valleys, after going about 800 li, we come to the kingdom of K'iu-sa-ta-na (Kustana—Khotan).

[58] Series of sacred books.

K'IU-SA-TA-NA (KHOTAN).

This country is about 4000 li in circuit; the greater part is nothing but sand and gravel (*a sandy waste*); the arable portion of the land is very contracted. What land there is, is suitable for regular cultivation, and produces abundance of fruits. The manufactures are carpets, haircloth of a fine quality, and fine-woven silken fabrics. Moreover, it produces white and green jade. The climate is soft and agreeable, but there are tornados which bring with them clouds of flying gravel (*dust*). They have a knowledge of politeness and justice. The men are naturally quiet and respectful. They love to study literature and the arts, in which they make considerable advance. The people live in easy circumstances, and are contented with their lot.

This country is renowned for its music;[59] the men love the song and the dance. Few of them wear garments of skin (*felt*) and wool; most wear taffetas and white linen. Their external behaviour is full of urbanity; their customs are properly regulated. Their written characters and their mode of forming their sentences resemble the Indian model; the forms of the letters differ somewhat; the differences, however, are slight. The spoken language also differs from that of other countries. They greatly esteem the law of Buddha. There are about a hundred *saṅghârâmas* with some 5000 followers, who all study the doctrine of the Great Vehicle.

The king is extremely courageous and warlike; he greatly venerates the law of Buddha. He says that he is of the race of Pi-shi-meṅ (Vaiśravaṇa) Dêva. In old times this country was waste and desert, and without inhabitants. The Dêva Pi-shi-men came to fix his dwelling here. The eldest son of Aśôka-râja, when dwelling in Takshaśilâ

[59] Compare the remark of Fa-hian (chap. iii.), "They love religious music." For the products and general abundance of the district round Khotan consult *Marco Polo*, Yule's notes, vol. i. pp. 174, 175.

having had his eyes put out, the King Aśôka was very angry, and sent deputies to order the chief of the tribes dwelling there to be transported to the north of the snowy mountains, and to establish themselves in the midst of a desert valley. Accordingly, the men so banished, having arrived at this western frontier (*of the kingdom*), put at their head a chief of their tribe and made him king. It was just at this time a son of the king of the eastern region (*China*) having been expelled from his country, was dwelling in this eastern region. The people who dwelt here urged him also to accept the position of king. Years and months having elapsed, and their laws not yet being settled,[60] because each party used to meet by chance in the hunting-ground, they came to mutual recriminations, and, having questioned each other as to their family and so on, they resolved to resort to armed force. There was then one present who used remonstrances and said, "Why do you urge each other thus to-day? It is no good fighting on the hunting-ground; better return and train your soldiers and then return and fight." Then each returned to his own kingdom and practised their cavalry and encouraged their warriors for the fray. At length, being arrayed one against the other, with drums and trumpets, at dawn of the day, the western army (*lord*) was defeated. They pursued him to the north and beheaded him. The eastern king, profiting by his victory, reunited the broken parts of his kingdom (*consolidated his power*), changed his capital to the middle land,[61] and fortified it with walls; but, because he had no (*surveyed*) territory, he was filled with fear lest he should be unable to complete his scheme, and so he proclaimed far and near, "Who knows how to survey a dominion?" At this time there was a heretic covered with cinders who carried on his shoulder a great calabash full of water, and, advancing to the king, said,

[60] *I.e.*, the mutual relations of the two. The passage respecting the "western frontier" refers to the frontier of the "western kingdom."

[61] That is, according to Julien (note, p. 225), "the land between the eastern and western states."

"I understand a method" (*a territory*), and so he began to walk round with the water of his calabash running out, and thus completed an immense circle. After this he fled quickly and disappeared.

Following the traces of the water, the king laid the foundation of his capital city; and having retained its distinction, it is here the actual king reigns. The city, having no heights near it, cannot be easily taken by assault. From ancient times until now no one has been able to conquer it. The king having changed his capital to this spot, and built towns and settled the country, and acquired much religious merit, now had arrived at extreme old age and had no successor to the throne. Fearing lest his house should become extinct, he repaired to the temple of Vaiśravaṇa, and prayed him to grant his desire. Forthwith the head of the image (*idol*) opened at the top, and there came forth a young child. Taking it, he returned to his palace. The whole country addressed congratulations to him, but as the child would not drink milk, he feared he would not live. He then returned to the temple and again asked (*the god*) for means to nourish him. The earth in front of the divinity then suddenly opened and offered an appearance like a pap. The divine child drank from it eagerly. Having reached supreme power in due course, he shed glory on his ancestors by his wisdom and courage, and extended far and wide the influence of his laws. Forthwith he raised to the god (*Vaiśravaṇa*) a temple in honour of his ancestors. From that time till now the succession of kings has been in regular order, and the power has been lineally transmitted. And for this reason also the present temple of the Dêva is richly adorned with rare gems and worship is punctually offered in it. From the first king having been nourished from milk coming from the earth the country was called by its name (*pap of the earth*—Kustana).

About 10 li south of the capital is a large *saṅghârâma*,

built by a former king of the country in honour of Vairôchana [62] (Pi-lu-che-na) Arhat.

In old days, when the law of Buddha had not yet extended to this country, that Arhat came from the country of Kaśmîr to this place. He sat down in the middle of a wood and gave himself to meditation. At this time certain persons beheld him, and, astonished at his appearance and dress, they came and told the king. The king forthwith went to see him for himself. Beholding his appearance, he asked him, saying, "What man are you, dwelling alone in this dark forest?" The Arhat replied, "I am a disciple of Tathâgata; I am dwelling here to practise meditation. Your majesty ought to establish religious merit by extolling the doctrine of Buddha, building a convent, and providing a body of priests." The king said, "What virtue has Tathâgata, what spiritual power, that you should be hiding here as a bird practising his doctrine (*or* rules)?" He replied, "Tathâgata is full of love and compassion for all that lives; he has come to guide living things throughout the three worlds; he reveals himself by birth or he hides himself; he comes and goes. Those who follow his law avoid the necessity of birth and death; all those ignorant of his doctrine are still kept in the net of worldly desire." The king said, "Truly what you say is a matter of high importance." Then, after deliberation, he said with a loud voice, "Let the great saint appear for my sake and show himself; having seen his appearance, then I will build a monastery, and believe in him, and advance his cause." The Arhat replied, "Let the king build the convent, then, on account of his accomplished merit, he may gain his desire."

The temple having been finished, there was a great assembly of priests from far and near; but as yet there was no *ghaṇṭâ* to call together the congregation; on

[62] In Chinese *Pin-chiu*, "he who shines in every place," or, "the everywhere glorious."

which the king said, "The convent is finished, but where is the appearance of Buddha?" The Arhat said, "Let the king exercise true faith and the spiritual appearance will not be far off!" Suddenly in mid-air appeared a figure of Buddha descending from heaven, and gave to the king a *ghaṇṭâ* (*kien-ti*), on which his faith was confirmed, and he spread abroad the doctrine of Buddha.

To the south-west of the royal city about 20 li or so is Mount Gôśṛiṅga (K'iu-shi-ling-kia); there are two peaks to this mountain, and around these peaks there are on each side a connected line of hills. In one of the valleys there has been built a *saṅghârâma;* in this is placed a figure of Buddha, which from time to time emits rays of glory; in this place Tathâgata formerly delivered a concise digest of the law for the benefit of the Dêvas. He prophesied also that in this place there would be founded a kingdom, and that in it the principles of the bequeathed law would be extended and the Great Vehicle be largely practised.

In the caverns of Mount Gôśṛiṅga is a great rock-dwelling where there is an Arhat plunged in the ecstasy called "destroying the mind;" he awaits the coming of Maitrêya Buddha. During several centuries constant homage has been paid to him. During the last few years the mountain tops have fallen and obstructed the way (*to the cavern*). The king of the country wished to remove the fallen rocks by means of his soldiers, but they were attacked by swarms of black bees, who poisoned the men, and so to this day the gate of the cavern is blocked up.

To the south-west of the chief city about 10 li there is a monastery called Ti-kia-p'o-fo-na (Dîrghabhâvana?), in which is a standing figure of Buddha of Kiu-chi.[63] Originally this figure came from Kiu-chi (Kuchê), and stayed here.

[63] This is restored by Julien to Kuchê (text *in loco*); a Chinese note tells us it was in the "icy mountains," and is now called Tu-sha (? Tush kurghan).

In old time there was a minister who was banished from this country to Kiu-chi; whilst there he paid worship only to this image, and afterwards, when he returned to his own country, his mind still was moved with reverence towards it. After midnight the figure suddenly came of itself to the place, on which the man left his home and built this convent.

Going west from the capital 300 li or so, we come to the town of Po-kia-i (Bhagai?); in this town is a sitting figure of Buddha about seven feet high, and marked with all the distinguishing signs of beauty. Its appearance is imposing and dignified. On its head is a precious gem-ornament, which ever spreads abroad a brilliant light. The general tradition is to this effect:—this statue formerly belonged to the country of Kaśmîr; by the influence of prayer (*being requested*), it removed itself here. In old days there was an Arhat who had a disciple, a Śrâmanêra, on the point of death. He desired to have a cake of sown rice (*ts'hu mai*); the Arhat by his divine sight seeing there was rice of this sort in Kustana, transported himself thither by his miraculous power to procure some. The Śrâmaṇêra having eaten it, prayed that he might be re-born in this country, and in consequence of his previous destiny he was born there as a king's son. When he had succeeded to the throne, he subdued all the neighbouring territory, and passing the snowy mountains, he attacked Kaśmîr. The king of Kaśmîr assembled his troops with a view to resist the invaders. On this the Arhat warned the king against the use of force, and said, "I am able to restrain him."

Then going to meet the king of Kustana (K'iu-sa-ta-na), began to recite choice selections of scripture (*the law*).

The king at first, having no faith, determined to go on with his military preparations. On this the Arhat, taking the robes which were worn by the king in his former con-

dition as a Śrâmaṇêra, showed them to him. Having seen them, the king reached to the knowledge of his previous lives, and he went to the king of Kaśmîr and made profession of his joy and attachment. He then dispersed his troops and returned. The image which he had honoured when a Sha-mi he now respectfully took in front of the army, and came to this kingdom at his request. But having arrived at this spot, he could not get further, and so built this *saṅghârâma*; and calling the priests together, he gave his jewelled headdress for the image, and this is the one now belonging to the figure, the gift of the former king.

To the west of the capital city 150 or 160 li, in the midst of the straight road across a great sandy desert, there are a succession of small hills, formed by the burrowing of rats. I heard the following as the common story:—"In this desert there are rats as big as hedgehogs, their hair of a gold and silver colour. There is a head rat to the company. Every day he comes out of his hole and walks about; when he has finished the other rats follow him. In old days a general of the Hiung-nu came to ravage the border of this country with several tens of myriads of followers. When he had arrived thus far at the rat-mounds, he encamped his soldiers. Then the king of Kustana, who commanded only some few myriads of men, feared that his force was not sufficient to take the offensive. He knew of the wonderful character of these desert rats, and that he had not yet made any religious offering to them; but now he was at a loss where to look for succour. His ministers, too, were all in alarm, and could think of no expedient. At last he determined to offer a religious offering to the rats and request their aid, if by these means his army might be strengthened a little. That night the king of Kustana in a dream[64] saw a great

[64] For these desert rats, which are probably the same as the "golden ants" of Herodotos and Nearkhos, see Mrs. Spiers' *Ancient India*, p. 216. For "the dream" and the destruction of the Assyrian army in Egypt by mice, see Herodotus, Bk. ii. chap. 141.

rat, who said to him, "I wish respectfully to assist you. To-morrow morning put your troops in movement; attack the enemy, and you will conquer."

The king of Kustana, recognising the miraculous character of this intervention, forthwith arrayed his cavalry and ordered his captains to set out before dawn, and at their head, after a rapid march, he fell unexpectedly on the enemy. The Hiung-nu, hearing their approach, were overcome by fear. They hastened to harness their horses and equip their chariots, but they found that the leather of their armour, and their horses' gear, and their bow strings, and all the fastenings of their clothes, had been gnawed by the rats. And now their enemies had arrived, and they were taken in disorder. Thereupon their chief was killed and the principal soldiers made prisoners. The Hiung-nu were terrified on perceiving a divine interposition on behalf of their enemies. The king of Kustana, in gratitude to the rats, built a temple and offered sacrifices; and ever since they have continued to receive homage and reverence, and they have offered to them rare and precious things. Hence, from the highest to the lowest of the people, they pay these rats constant reverence and seek to propitiate them by sacrifices. On passing the mounds they descend from their chariots and pay their respects as they pass on, praying for success as they worship. Others offer clothes, and bows, and arrows; others scents, and flowers, and costly meats. Most of those who practise these religious rites obtain their wishes; but if they neglect them, then misfortune is sure to occur.

To the west of the royal city 5 or 6 li[65] is a convent called Sa-mo-joh (*Samajña*). In the middle of it is a *stûpa* about 100 feet high, which exhibits many miraculous indications (*signs*). Formerly there was an Arhat, who, coming from a distance, took up his abode in this forest, and by his spiritual power shed abroad a miraculous light. Then the king at night-time, being in a tower of

[65] Julien has "fifty or sixty li."

his palace,[68] saw at a distance, in the middle of the wood, brilliant light shining. Asking a number of persons in succession what their opinion was, they all said, "There is a Śramaṇa who has come from far, and is sitting alone in this wood. By the exercise of his supernatural power he spreads abroad this light." The king then ordered his chariot to be equipped, and went in person to the spot. Having seen the illustrious sage, his heart was filled with reverence, and after having offered him every respect, he invited him to come to the palace. The Śramaṇa said, "Living things have their place, and the mind has its place. For me the sombre woods and the desert marshes have attraction. The storeyed halls of a palace and its extensive courts are not suitable for my tastes."

The king hearing this felt redoubled reverence for him, and paid him increased respect. He constructed for him a *saṅghârâma* and raised a *stûpa*. The Śramaṇa, having been invited to do so, took up his abode there.

The king having procured some hundred particles of relics, was filled with joy and thought with himself, "These relics have come late; if they had come before, I could have placed them under this *stûpa*, and then what a miracle of merit it would have been." Going then to the *saṅghârâma*, he asked the Śramaṇa. The Arhat said, "Let not the king be distressed. In order to place them in their proper place you ought to prepare a gold, silver, copper, iron, and stone receptacle, and place them one in the other, in order to contain the relics. The king then gave orders to workmen to do this, and it was finished in a day. Then carrying the relics on an ornamented car (*or*, stand), they brought them to the *saṅghârâma*. At this time the king, at the head of a hundred officers, left the palace (*to witness the procession of the relics*), whilst the beholders amounted to several myriads. Then the Arhat with his right hand raised the *stûpa*, and holding it in his palms, he addressed the king and said, "You can now conceal the relics underneath." Accordingly he dug

[68] *Or*, a double tower; a belvedere.

a place for the chest, and all being done, the Arhat lowered the *stûpa* without hurt or inconvenience.

The beholders, exulting at the miracle, placed their faith in Buddha, and felt increased reverence for his law. Then the king, addressing his ministers, said, "I have heard it said that the power of Buddha is difficult to calculate, and his spiritual abilities difficult to measure. At one time he divided his body into ten million parts; at other times he appeared among Dêvas and men, holding the world in the palm of his hand without disturbing any one, explaining the law and its character in ordinary words, so that men and others, according to their kind, understood it, exhibiting the nature of the law in one uniform way, drawing all men (*things*) to a knowledge of it according to their minds. Thus his spiritual power was peculiarly his own; his wisdom was beyond the power of words to describe. His spirit has passed away, but his teaching remains. Those who are nourished by the sweetness of his doctrine and partake of (*drink*) his instruction; who follow his directions and aim at his spiritual enlightenment, how great their happiness, how deep their insight. You hundred officers ought to honour and respect Buddha; the mysteries of his law will then become clear to you."

To the south-east of the royal city 5 or 6 li is a convent called Lu-shi,[67] which was founded by a queen of a former ruler of the country. In old time this country knew nothing about mulberry trees or silkworms. Hearing that the eastern country had them, they sent an embassy to seek for them. At this time the prince of the eastern kingdom kept the secret and would not give the possession of it to any. He kept guard over his territory and would not permit either the seeds of the mulberry or the silkworms' eggs to be carried off.

The king of Kustana sent off to seek a marriage union

[67] *Lu-shi* means "stag-pierced;" but it is probably a phonetic form in this passage, and is the name of the daughter of the prince of the eastern kingdom.

with a princess of the eastern kingdom (China), in token of his allegiance and submission. The king being well-affected to the neighbouring states acceded to his wish. Then the king of Kustana dispatched a messenger to escort the royal princess and gave the following direction: "Speak thus to the eastern princess,—Our country has neither silk or silken stuffs. You had better bring with you some mulberry seeds and silkworms, then you can make robes for yourself."

The princess, hearing these words, secretly procured the seed of the mulberry and silkworms' eggs and concealed them in her head-dress. Having arrived at the barrier, the guard searched everywhere, but he did not dare to remove the princess's head-dress. Arriving then in the kingdom of Kustana, they stopped on the site afterwards occupied by the Lu-shi *saṅghârâma*; thence they conducted her in great pomp to the royal palace. Here then they left the silkworms and mulberry seeds.

In the spring-time they set the seeds, and when the time for the silkworms had come they gathered leaves for their food; but from their first arrival it was necessary to feed them on different kinds of leaves, but afterwards the mulberry trees began to flourish. Then the queen wrote on a stone the following decree, "It is not permitted to kill the silkworm! After the butterfly has gone, then the silk may be twined off (*the cocoon*). Whoever offends against this rule may he be deprived of divine protection." Then she founded this *saṅghârâma* on the spot where the first silkworms were bred; and there are about here many old mulberry tree trunks which they say are the remains of the old trees first planted. From old time till now this kingdom has possessed silkworms, which nobody is allowed to kill, with a view to take away the silk stealthily. Those who do so are not allowed to rear the worms for a succession of years.

To the south-east of the capital about 200 li or so is a

great river[68] flowing north-west. The people take advantage of it to irrigate their lands. After a time this stream ceased to flow. The king, greatly astonished at the strange event, ordered his carriage to be equipped and went to an Arhat and asked him, "The waters of the great river, which have been so beneficial to man, have suddenly ceased. Is not my rule a just one? are not my benefits (*virtues*) widely distributed through the world? If it be not so, what is my fault, or why is this calamity permitted?"

The Arhat said, "Your majesty governs his kingdom well, and the influence of your rule is for the well-being and peace of your people. The arrest in the flow of the river is on account of the dragon dwelling therein. You should offer sacrifices and address your prayers to him; you will then recover your former benefits (*from the river*)."

Then the king returned and offered sacrifice to the river dragon. Suddenly a woman emerged from the stream, and advancing said to him, "My lord is just dead, and there is no one to issue orders; and this is the reason why the current of the stream is arrested and the husbandmen have lost their usual profits. If your majesty will choose from your kingdom a minister of state of noble family and give him to me as a husband, then he may order the stream to flow as before."

The king said, "I will attend with respect to your request and meet your wishes." The Nâga (*woman*) was rejoiced (*to have obtained the promise of*) a great minister of the country (*as a husband*).

The king having returned, addressed his dependents thus, "A great minister is the stronghold of the state. The pursuit of agriculture is the secret of men's life. Without a strong support, then, there is ruin to the state;

[68] Probably the Karakash river. Its sandy and dry bed is still marked with a dotted line on Shaw's map (High Tartary and Yarkand). Or it may be the Khotan-dâria.

without food there is death to the people. In the presence of such calamities what is to be done?"

A great minister, leaving his seat, prostrated himself and said, "For a long time I have led a useless life, and held an important post without profit to others. Although I have desired to benefit my country, no occasion has offered. Now, then, I pray you choose me, and I will do my best to meet your wishes. In view of the good of the entire people what is the life of one minister? A minister is the support of the country; the people the substance. I beg your majesty not to hesitate. I only ask that, for the purpose of securing merit, I may found a convent."

The king having consented, the thing was done forthwith, and his request complied with. On this the minister asked to be allowed to enter at once the dragon-palace. Then all the chief men of the kingdom made a feast, with music and rejoicing, whilst the minister, clad in white garments and riding a white horse, took leave of the king and respectfully parted with the people of the country. So, pressing on his horse, he entered the river; advancing in the stream, he sank not, till at length, when in the middle of it, he whipped the stream with his lash, and forthwith the water opened in the midst and he disappeared. A short time afterwards the white horse came up and floated on the water, carrying on his back a great sandalwood drum, in which was a letter, the contents of which were briefly these: "Your majesty has not made the least error in selecting me for this office in connection with the spirit (*Nâga*). May you enjoy much happiness and your kingdom be prosperous! Your minister sends you this drum to suspend at the south-east of the city; if an enemy approaches, it will sound first of all."

The river began then to flow, and down to the present time has caused continued advantage to the people.

Many years and months have elapsed since then, and the place where the dragon-drum was hung has long since disappeared, but the ruined convent by the side of the drum-lake still remains, but it has no priests and is deserted.

Three hundred li or so to the east of the royal city is a great desert marsh, upwards of several thousands acres in extent, without any verdure whatever. Its surface is a reddish-black. The old people explain the matter thus: This is the place where an army was defeated. In old days an army of the eastern country numbering a hundred myriads of men invaded the western kingdom. The king of Kustana, on his side, equipped a body of cavalry to the number of ten myriads, and advanced to the east to offer the enemy battle. Coming to this spot, an engagement took place. The troops of the west being defeated, they were cut to pieces and their king was taken prisoner and all their officers killed without leaving one to escape. The ground was dyed with blood, and the traces of it still remain (*in the colour of the earth*).

After going east 30 li or so from the field of battle we come to the town of Pimâ (Pi-mo). Here there is a figure of Buddha in a standing position made of sandalwood. The figure is about twenty feet high. It works many miracles and reflects constantly a bright light. Those who have any disease, according to the part affected, cover the corresponding place on the statue with gold-leaf, and forthwith they are healed. People who address prayers to it with a sincere heart mostly obtain their wishes. This is what the natives say: This image in old days when Buddha was alive was made by Udâyana (U-to-yen-na), king of Kauśâmbî (Kiao-shang-mi). When Buddha left the world, it mounted of its own accord into the air and came to the north of this kingdom, to the town of Ho-lo-lo-kia.[69] The men of this city were rich and prosperous,

[69] Râgha or Raghan, or perhaps Ourgha.

and deeply attached to heretical teaching, with no respect for any other form of religion. From the time the image came there it showed its divine character, but no one paid it respect.

Afterwards there was an Arhat who bowed down and saluted the image; the people of the country were alarmed at his strange appearance and dress, and they hastened to tell the king. The king issued a decree that the stranger should be covered over with sand and earth. At this time the Arhat's body being covered with sand, he sought in vain for food as nourishment.[70] There was a man whose heart was indignant at such treatment; he had himself always respected the image and honoured it with worship, and now seeing the Arhat in this condition, he secretly gave him food. The Arhat being on the point of departure, addressed this man and said, "Seven days hence there will be a rain of sand and earth which will fill this city full, and there will in a brief space be none left alive. You ought to take measures for escape in knowledge of this. They have covered me with earth, and this is the consequence to them." Having said this he departed, disappearing in a moment.

The man, entering the city, told the tidings to his relatives, but they did nothing but mock at him. The second day a great wind suddenly arose, which carried before it all the dirty soil, whilst there fell various precious substances.[71] Then the men continued to revile the man who had told them (*about the sand and earth*).

But this man, knowing in his heart what must certainly happen, excavated for himself an underground passage leading outside the city, and there lay concealed. On the seventh day, in the evening, just after the division of the

[70] It would seem that his body was buried up to his neck.

[71] Stas. Julien prefers substituting *Sha-tu* in the text for *Tsah-pao*. In that case it would be "sand and earth;" but, if this be so, why did the people still find fault with the prophet?

night, it rained sand and earth, and filled the city.[72] This man escaped through his tunnel and went to the east, and, arriving in this country, he took his abode in Pima. Scarcely had the man arrived when the statue also appeared there. He forthwith paid it worship in this place and dared not go farther (*change his abode*). According to the old account it is said, "When the law of Śâkya is extinct then this image will enter the dragon-palace."

The town of Ho-lo-lo-kia is now a great sand mound. The kings of the neighbouring countries and persons in power from distant spots have many times wished to excavate the mound and take away the precious things buried there; but as soon as they have arrived at the borders of the place, a furious wind has sprung up, dark clouds have gathered together from the four quarters of heaven, and they have become lost to find their way.

To the east of the valley of Pima[73] we enter a sandy desert, and after going 200 li or so, we come to the town of Ni-jang. This city is about 3 or 4 li in circuit; it stands in a great marsh; the soil of the marsh is warm and soft, so that it is difficult to walk on it. It is covered with rushes and tangled herbage, and there are no roads or pathways; there is only the path that leads to the city, through which one can pass with difficulty, so that every one coming and going must pass by this town. The king of Kustana makes this the guard of his eastern frontier.

Going east from this, we enter a great drifting sand desert. These sands extend like a drifting flood for a great distance, piled up or scattered according to the wind. There is no trace left behind by travellers, and

[72] For an account of sand-buried cities, and particularly of Kaṭak, see Bellew, *Kashmir and Kashgar*, pp. 370, 371. Also for Pimâ, probably near Keria, see Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii., Appendix M.; and also vol. i. chap. xxxvii. and *note* 1. It is probably the *Han-mo* of Sung Yun.

[73] Pimâ was probably the Pein of Marco Polo. See Yule, *ut supra*.

oftentimes the way is lost, and so they wander hither and thither quite bewildered, without any guide or direction. So travellers pile up the bones of animals as beacons. There is neither water nor herbage to be found, and hot winds frequently blow. When these winds rise, then both men and beasts become confused and forgetful, and then they remain perfectly disabled (*sick*). At times sad and plaintive notes are heard and piteous cries, so that between the sights and sounds of this desert men get confused and know not whither they go. Hence there are so many who perish in the journey. But it is all the work of demons and evil spirits.

Going on 400 li or so, we arrive at the old kingdom of Tu-ho-lo (Tukhâra).[74] This country has long been deserted and wild. All the towns are ruined and uninhabited.

From this going east 600 li or so, we come to the ancient kingdom of Che-mo-t'o-na,[75] which is the same as the country called Ni-mo. The city walls still stand loftily, but the inhabitants are dispersed and scattered.

From this going north-east a thousand li or so, we come to the old country of Navapa (Na-fo-po), which is the same as Leu-lan.[76] We need not speak of the mountains and valleys and soil of this neighbouring country. The habits of the people are wild and unpolished, their manners not uniform; their preferences and dislikes are not always the same. There are some things difficult to verify to the utmost, and it is not always easy to recollect all that has occurred.

[74] This was probably the extreme limit of the old kingdom of Tu-ho-lo towards the east. When the Yue-chi spread eastwards they dispossessed the old Turanian population.

[75] This is the Tso-moh of Sung-yun. It must have been near Sorghâk of Prejevalsky's map. For some interesting notes on this place see Kingsmill, *China Review*, vol. viii. No. 3, p. 163.

[76] Also called Shen-shen; see *China Review*, loc. cit. Kingsmill makes Navapa equal to Navapura, *i.e.*, Neapolis.

But the traveller has written a brief summary of all he witnessed or heard. All were desirous to be instructed, and wherever he went his virtuous conduct drew the admiration of those who beheld it. And why not? in the case of one who had gone alone and afoot from Ku, and had completed such a mission by stages of myriads of li! [77]

[77] M. Julien renders this passage: "How could he be compared simply to such men as have gone on a mission with a single car, and who have traversed by post a space of a thousand li?" But if the symbol *Ku* be for *Ku-sse, i.e.*, "the ancient land of the Uigurs" (see vol. i. p. 17, n. 51), then I think the translation I have given is the right one. Respecting this land of Kau-chang, we are told it was called Ming-fo-chau in the Han period, and Ku-sse-ti (the land of Ku-sse) during the Tang period (*vid.* the map called *Yu-ti-tsun-t'si*).

END OF BOOK XII.

INDEX.

References to the Introduction are indicated by black figures.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

VOL. II.

Page 1, *line* 5.—For *Kie-pi-lo-fu-sse-to* read *fa-su-tu.*

Page 13.—For *Kie-pi-lo-fa-sse-ti* read *fa-su-tu.*

Page 44, *line* 3.—For *Fi-she-lai* read *Fei-she-li.*

Page 44, *line* 3.—For *Fo-li-she* read *Fo-li-shi.*

Page 66, *n.* 67.—*Dele* "the Viḍḍhals"; the Yue-chi were probably *not* the Viḍḍhals or Ephthalites, but Goths.

Page 150, *line* 16.—For *lo* read *to.*

Page 186.—In heading of book, read in line 2 *khi* for *kai*; line 3, *li* for *lae*; line 5, *kiao* for *kiu*; line 6, *kiu* for *kin.*

Page 235.—In heading of book, line 2, read *pu* for *po*; line 5, read *shi* for *chi*; *tu* for *to*; line 7, read *shi* for *chi.*

Page 289, *n.* 21.—Read *Po-t'su* for *Fo*[illegible], and so in every case.

Page 251, *n.* 33, *line* 17.—For *armadores* read *buzos.*

Page 283, *line* 5.—For *Ki-li-si-mo* read *Ki-li-seh-mo.*

Page 283, *line* 7.—For *Chang-mi* read *Shang-mi.*

Other mis-spellings are corrected in the Index.

